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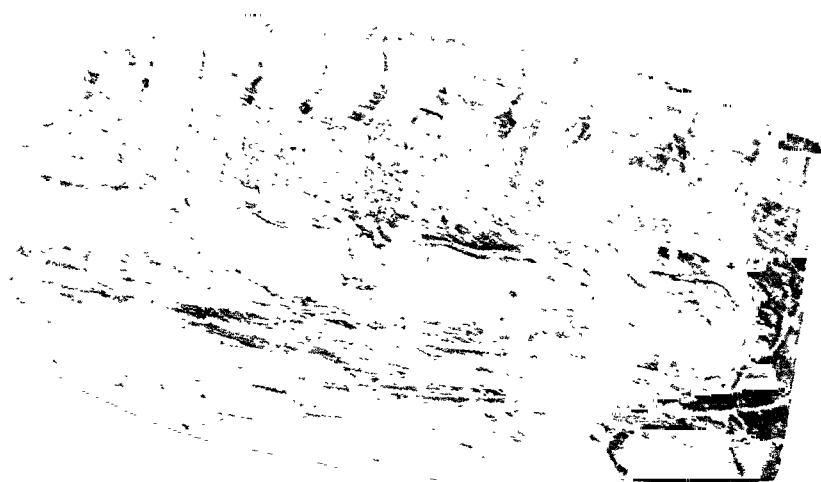
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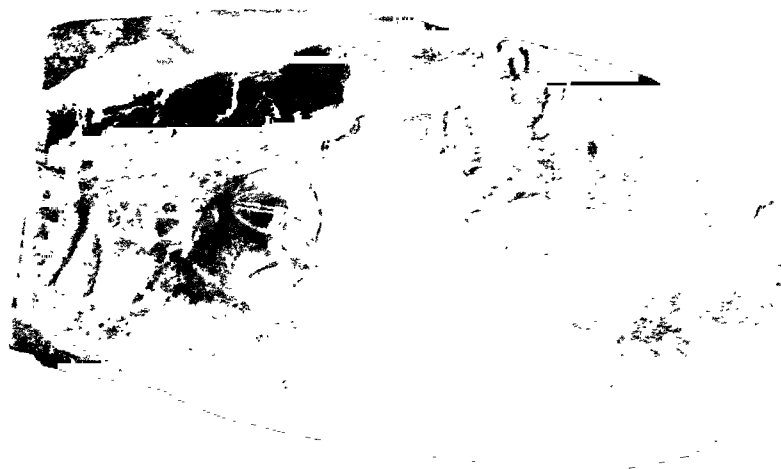
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Plate 1



REVERSE



REVERSE

IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE  
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF CARNARVON

## THE CARNARVON IVORY<sup>1</sup>

By GEORGES BÉNÉDITE

AT the same time that the Louvre acquired the prehistoric knife with ivory handle, the archaeological interest of which has recently been pointed out<sup>2</sup>, a handle which once belonged to a knife of the same kind came into the possession of the Earl of Carnarvon, who has done me the great favour of entrusting me with its publication. I am not as yet aware of the *provenance* of this object; however, the questions which it raises are so far independent of the place of its discovery as to render it unnecessary for me to enquire into this matter for the present<sup>3</sup>. The map of prehistoric Egypt is extended further year by year, and questions of locality diminish in value proportionately. What does not lose value, on the other hand, is the character and style of the figured representations, when such are found, in view of the small place taken by a somewhat complex iconography in the remains of the predynastic civilisation.

By this fact alone the ivory about to be discussed (Pls. I and II) acquires a great part of its importance; for it is a handle of the same family with those which I have already enumerated elsewhere, namely:—

(1) The knife-handle of Abu Zédân, found by H. de Morgan, and at present in the Brooklyn Museum;

(2) The handle of the Pitt-Rivers Collection, first published by Prof. Petrie in *Nagada and Ballas* (Pl. LXXVII), and now in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Farnham (Dorset);

(3) The knife-handle of Gebel el-ʿArak, to which I have already alluded in the first lines of this article (Louvre):

(4) A fourth handle, that of the Petrie knife, now in the Museum of University College, London, which differs from the first three by the absence of a boss for suspension.

I must now briefly recall the special characters of these objects. They are flat handles, fashioned from single pieces of ivory, with rounded upper part and a base rectangular in section. The flint blade was not fitted very deeply into the handle, and was firmly fixed to it by means of a narrow gold collar which gripped both the base of the handle and

<sup>1</sup> We are indebted to Mr Battiscombe Gunn for this translation from the original French of the Author.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1914; G. BÉNÉDITE, *Le Couteau de Gebel el-ʿArak*, in *Monuments et Mémoires*, Fondation Eugène Piot, 1916; W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *Egypt and Mesopotamia*, in *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, pp. 26—37.

<sup>3</sup> The distance existing between the necropolis of Gebel el-ʿArak near Nagʿ Hamâdi, the source of the Louvre knife, and the necropolis of Abu Zédân, near Edfû, whence came the Brooklyn Museum knife, is one indication of dispersal which will have to be taken into account.



the beginning of the blade. Traces of this mode of attachment are still visible in the Louvre knife. On one of the sides a boss pierced with a hole running parallel with the length of the handle forms a characteristic protuberance, the exact position of which varies somewhat in different cases. In the Louvre specimen its place is very nearly in the middle; in the two others it is nearer to the base, and this characteristic, which accordingly is the rule, is found also in the Carnarvon Ivory. Through the longitudinal channel the suspensory thong was undoubtedly passed. This fact suffices to show us that the weapon had no sheath, which is quite natural since logically a sheath is of use only with metal blades<sup>1</sup>. I have noticed that in the Pitt-Rivers handle this boss is an added piece; such was not the case with the Carnarvon Ivory. And this leads me to say that being obliged, on account of the present conditions, to depend on reproductions (for I have been unable to inspect the original), I shall not have very much information to give regarding the actual object. Dr Alan H. Gardiner has kindly drawn up for me a diagram from which I have taken the measurements that are given in a footnote<sup>2</sup>. I find from it that a flat surface has been obtained on only one of the sides, that which carries the boss: the other side presents, on the contrary, a very marked convexity, which has preserved the curve of the ivory tusk out of which the handle was fashioned—for the hypothesis of the hippopotamus tooth, which I put forward to explain the curvature of the Gebel el-*ʿAraḳ* handle, is out of the question here. A bevel, produced by cutting down the edge obliquely, is conclusive as to the original existence of the gold collar already spoken of.

A few words on the injuries which unfortunately deface this precious object, and which chiefly affect the periphery. The best-preserved part has been considerably chipped near the base<sup>3</sup>, and the resulting loss is not negligible. The opposite edge, less affected, belongs nevertheless to the region of the greatest corrosion and decay. It is a fact often observed that the situation of the damaged places on an antique object indicate the position which the latter has occupied in the ground; and in this case also we can see that one part of the handle, the same on both sides, has in the course of time been subjected to an action of which the other part shows no trace, although I am unable to decide, from the photograph alone, what was the exact nature of this action.

As in the Brooklyn and Pitt-Rivers specimens, the decoration of both sides consists exclusively of scenes of animals arranged in single file and proceeding in the direction of the blade; but instead of a striving after excessive multiplicity as in those two specimens (especially the former, on which Flinders Petrie has counted nearly 300 figures) we have to do with a less confused arrangement, recalling the Louvre knife in its simplicity and in the scale of the figures; however it is not, for the moment, my intention to push the comparison further. These animals are arranged in three registers. On the convex side there are ten birds and nine mammals; on the flat side nine mammals are more or less visible, and a tenth is to be restored in a space now empty. Such being the case, a fairly detailed execution was only to be expected, and the archaeological value of the object is thereby greatly enhanced.

<sup>1</sup> The traces of a leather sheath observable on the flint blade of a knife in the British Museum (No. 22816) do not invalidate this view, as this dagger with spindle-shaped hilt belongs to a type without boss.

<sup>2</sup> Length, .103 m.; breadth across the middle, .058 m.; depth of socket for flint blade, .025 m. Length of boss, .028 m.; thickness measured at the centre, .018 m.; height, .021 m.; its elliptical section is .050 m. from the top of the handle and .025 m. from the base.

<sup>3</sup> This scaling is modern, and comes from the handling of the very friable object by Arabs.

## CONVEX SIDE.

FIRST REGISTER. A file of ten wader birds. Between the first and second has been interposed a giraffe, whose head, as also that of the first bird, has disappeared in the fracturing of the material. The same characteristics are to be observed in the whole file with the exception of the last two figures. The beak is very big at its root, and is long, with the lower mandible very pronounced and accompanied by a kind of fleshy sac at its juncture with the throat. No detail is shown in the plumage, which, as in most of the representations of this period, is drawn summarily in outline. The tail is short and square. Where the scale of the work permits, *i.e.*, in the first four birds, there is an attempt to express the anatomy of the leg by a medial groove. The narrowing of the register caused by the curve of the ivory has involved the reduction of the end figures, and the two waders which complete the file have had to be chosen from a species which could easily bear reducing to this extent: their beaks are shorter and sharper, and lack the fleshy protuberances. Less meagrely covered than their companions, whether intentionally or not, their drooping tails do not (in the last especially) affect the square shape which definitely characterises the large-beaked waders.

The identification of this row of birds raises a question upon which I touched on a previous occasion when dealing with the representations of sacred animals<sup>1</sup>. This question is twofold. We must, on the one hand, take into consideration the methods of the Egyptian draughtsman, without, on the other hand, losing sight of the Nile *fauna* such as we must conceive it to have been, and above all such as it reveals itself to us at the beginning of the historic period. From the outset of the Old Kingdom the artist was bent on rendering vigorously the most salient features of the animal, creating sometimes quite remarkable prototypes which reached their perfection under the Fifth Dynasty, and became what might be called in English "standard animal-types." Each one is such a complete synthesis of its species that it imposed itself as a model, and underwent only infinitesimal variations in the whole course of the evolution of the art. Readers who do not accept this theory have but to compare the *fauna* of the *mustabels*—cattle, antelopes, goats, sheep, and even the fish in the well-known fishing scene, a veritable illustrated catalogue of Nile ichthyology—with the drawings in our modern works on natural history, and above all with photographs of living animals. In Egyptian representations not only does the idea of the individual disappear, but that of varieties of the species is also almost non-existent, to the great embarrassment of whoever wishes to classify them. I have had personal experience of this with regard to the fishes, which are usually considered to be scrupulously accurate. It is a far cry, in this respect, from Egyptian art to that real aid to the naturalist, namely, the art of Japan.

If we go back to the primitive period, we find that this synthetic spirit, from the mere fact of the clumsiness of the technique, takes on a character of pronounced exaggeration which finds expression in nothing less than a caricature of the animal. Its characteristics are much accentuated: and for us the danger lies in taking these representations too literally. We are impelled by a spirit of precision to seek in nature or in zoological works for types which exactly correspond with these forms: this is what recently befell

<sup>1</sup> *Falcon on Eperrier*, in *Monuments et Mémoires* Fondation Eugène Piot, vol. xvii, pp. 23 foll.

the learned Mr Legge with regard to a mammal and a bird on the palette of the two giraffes<sup>1</sup>. Were I to yield to the same tendency I should not hesitate to identify the birds from no. 2 to no. 8 in the upper register with the jabiru (*Mycteria senegalensis*) of the White Nile, in which is found the peculiarity of the long beak swollen equally in both mandibles and accompanied at its base by two glands or wattles, as well as the scanty covering with the square tail. But this argument involves another: strict fidelity in the drawing cannot be assumed as a criterion unless it be assumed of all the figures. Now, this fidelity ceases to exist in the second register, and we shall, therefore, do well to suspend our judgment, for the similarity to the *mycteria* may be merely fortuitous, resulting from a clumsy effort to render some other large-beaked wader such as the Goliath Heron of the White Nile (*Ardea Goliath*, RÜPPELL), or some other kind, just as the giraffes of the palette, by certain omissions in the drawing, have become Gerenuk gazelles<sup>2</sup>. The two waders which bring up the rear correspond pretty well to the Common Crane (*Grus cinerea*, BECHST.) so often represented in the Memphite *mas̄tabehs*<sup>3</sup>.

**SECOND REGISTER.** This is composed of a line of three large *felidae* preceded by an elephant trampling on two long serpents with uplifted heads. The *Elephas africanus*, with its sloping forehead, enormous ears and long tail, is accurately rendered. It will be agreed, I think, that this is the most successful figure on this side. There is not the same certainty with regard to the three *felidae*. The leonine type is strongly marked, and no hesitation would be possible, were there the least sign of an intention to represent the mane of the adult male. That they are none the less lions must be deduced, not from their massive outline, which does not distinguish them from the oxen of the register below, and which the same technique would have attributed equally to the leopard<sup>4</sup>, but from the whiskers that surround the cheek.

For the art of the pre-Thinite period acquaints us with two different conceptions of the leonine type: on the one hand the maned type, the evolution of which I have traced elsewhere<sup>5</sup>, and on the other hand a type with neither pectoral nor dorsal mane, but characterised by the collar of hair surrounding the cheeks, a natural feature which gives a singular majesty to the face of the animal, and of which sculpture has made the most at all periods. It will be remembered that the classic type of the couchant lion with the visage thus framed is fully perfected in the Thinite period, witness the lion playing-pieces

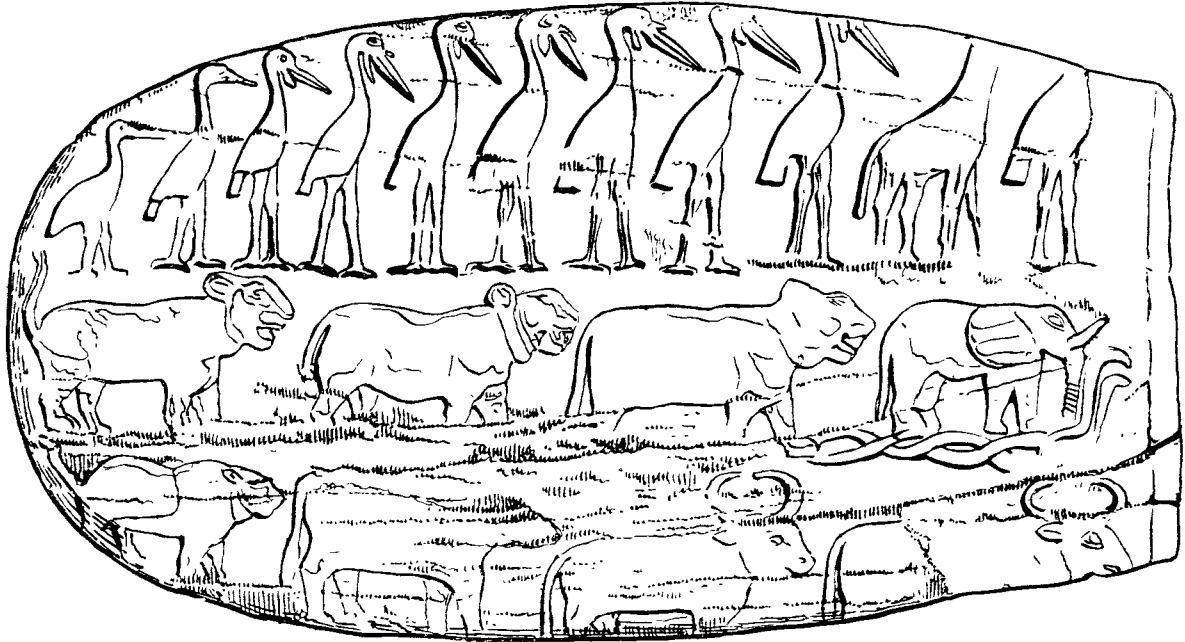
<sup>1</sup> *The Carved Slates and this Season's Discoveries*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXXI (1909), pp. 298-9.

<sup>2</sup> If one were to be deceived by the abnormalities due to primitive technique one would end by not finding sufficiently similar types among existing species, and would have to turn to fossils. It is evident that such a course would add several thousands of years to the duration of certain quaternary species.

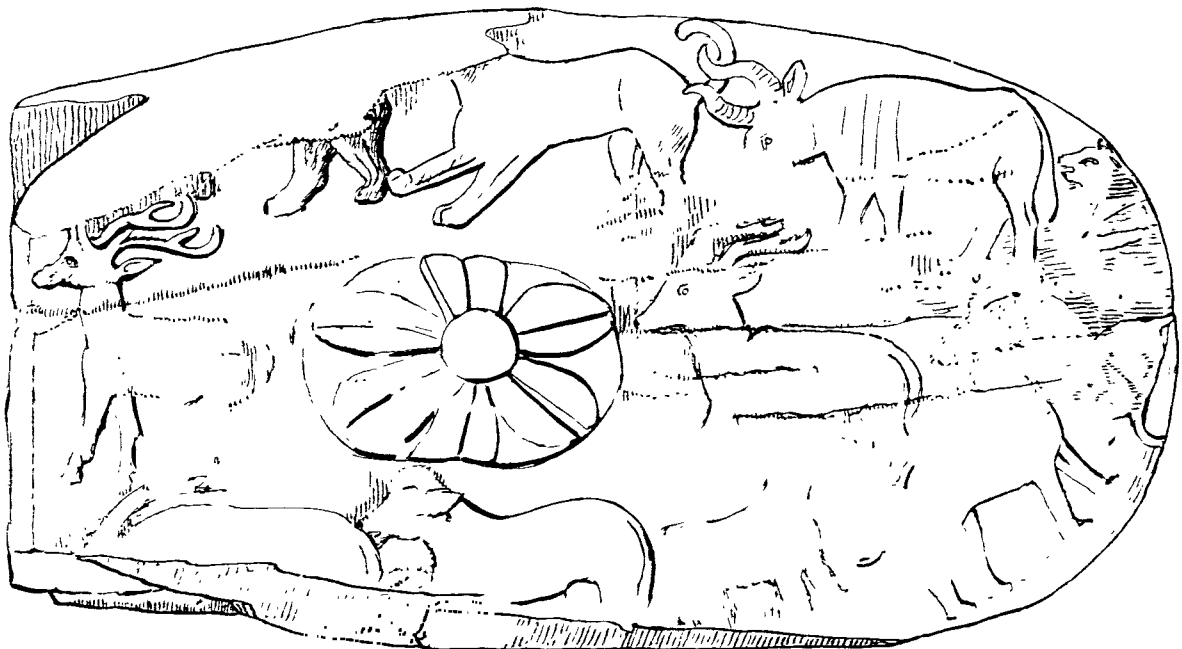
<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially *Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, vol. I, Pls. XXI, XXVII and XXVIII; already identified by Robert Hartmann in DUMICHEN, *Resultate*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> A mere hypothesis, for up to the present the only indisputable leopard made known to us by the fauna of the palettes has taken the form of a fabulous animal with long and flexible neck. The two *felidae* with no manes and short necks on the reverse of the small Hierakonpolis palette might just as well be a lioness and her lion whelp (the latter characterised by the size of its ears). However this may be, the engraved works which attribute a slim and supple trunk to the maneless *felidae* attribute this character also to the maneless lion. In this respect there is complete equality between the lion and the other wild animals. It is thus a matter of style.

<sup>5</sup> *Le Coucou de Gobel et d'Arak*, p. 30.



Convex Side



Flat Side

THE CARNARVON IVORY



from Umm el-Kāḥab<sup>1</sup> and from Abydos<sup>2</sup>. The development of the mane on the front part of the torso was marked merely by a line, and so did not modify the outline of the animal. This surface work has naturally vanished in most of the ivory lions, the skin of which has crumbled more or less. Going back beyond this period, the type can be traced well into the pre-dynastic age in the four limestone playing-pieces found by Quibell at Ballās and the small figures of the same material which Petrie considers to have come from Nekādeh and Gebelēn<sup>3</sup>. Since the publication of these specimens, others have certainly passed from the dealers' hands into those of collectors<sup>4</sup>, and when these latter have realised the interest attaching to the problem of the origin of the couchant lion as an art-form, they will publish them without delay. It will readily be admitted that in many objects of this class—playing-pieces or amulets, turned out very rapidly—the maker may have neglected to engrave the mane; from this arose doubtless the type of the bearded lion without mane which has found its place in the art of the reliefs concurrently with the bearded lion with mane (Louvre knife) and the lion with mane but without beard (Palette of the Hunt and the small Hierakonpolis palette). This is what may be called the exclusively archaeological solution of the problem; but the existence in primitive art of the merely bearded lion may have a cause quite other than the degeneration of a type. For this is the aspect presented by the young lion which has only just arrived at maturity, an animal which may have attracted the more attention from the animal sculptors and engravers of that remote period because it must have been reared in captivity in fairly large numbers<sup>5</sup>. It is probably a young lion just arrived at the adult age which the able artist of the Gebel el-ʿAraḥ handle has depicted leaping on to the rump of an ox. There is a great difference between this young beast, with the sharp outline of its ears, and the old lions which the Egyptian Gilgamesh (the prehistoric Bes)<sup>6</sup> is represented as subduing, and whose ears are enveloped in the mass of the mane. The simultaneous presence of these two types in one and the same scene, perfect in execution, is, I believe, sufficiently conclusive<sup>7</sup>. Finally,

<sup>1</sup> E. AMÉLINEAU, *Les nouvelles fouilles d'Abydos* (1895—1896), Pl. XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Abydos*, vol. II, Pl. III, nos. 23—9.

<sup>3</sup> PETRIE-QUIBELL, *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. VII, 2, and Pl. LX, 12, 16, 23, 24, 25, 26.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Petrie mentions (*op. cit.*, p. 46) the existence of small figures of lions in hard stone which were acquired from a Luxor dealer by the Rev. Randolph Berens. I am inclined to believe that they belonged to the maneless type.

<sup>5</sup> The young lion (without mane) in captivity is known at present only from the two ivories found by Petrie in the excavations of the temple of Abydos (*Abydos*, vol. II, Pl. III, nos. 26 and 28), and assigned by him to the end of the First Dynasty. He considers them to represent lionesses (p. 24). Can the lioness, capricious and fierce as she is, be tamed and led on a leash? Only travellers who have seen domesticated lions in Persia or Abyssinia can answer this question.

<sup>6</sup> This is the conclusion to which I have come since the publication of my last memoir, the continuation of which I hope to publish at an early date.

<sup>7</sup> I reject *a priori* the inadmissible hypothesis of the simultaneous appearance of the African lion and the Asiatic lion on one monument.—The evolution of the lion type in primitive sculpture has been the subject of interesting observations on the part of Prof. Petrie, *Royal Tombs*, vol. II, p. 23 (comparison of two playing-pieces found in a tomb dependent upon that of King Zer with the lion found by J. de Morgan in the so-called tomb of Mena at Nekādeh), and *Abydos*, vol. II, p. 24 (comparison of the pieces just mentioned with seven playing-pieces which were found in the Abydos temple together with ivories which must be placed between the end of the First Dynasty and the Second). The most archaic type of lion couchant with tail on back is maintained in the lions of the Royal Tombs: the tail passes over the right side of the rump in the Abydos example. Capart (*Débats de l'art*, pp. 172–6) takes up the same thesis starting from the Nekādeh period, but following Petrie's example he neglects the variations of the mane,

the identification proposed is completed by the fact that logically one would expect to meet the lion in every scene where the feline family, as representing the *fauna* of the desert, has a part to play. This reasoning, applied logically to the hyaena, one of the commonest African animals and frequently represented in the *mastabehs*, incites me—rather late in the day—to see hyaenas in the four quadrupeds with round ears and flat muzzles which run round the border of the Louvre palette<sup>1</sup>. Later, the type will gain in accuracy and will detach itself entirely from the generic outline given by the primitive artists to a whole category of Carnivores of the canine family, the jackal, the wolf, the hyaena-dog (*Cynhyuena* or *Lycoon*) and the hyaena, for us a stranger to this family, but not so to the Egyptians. The fall of the rump and the reduction of the hind-quarters will be more correctly observed, but the long and bushy tail will remain contaminated by the jackal type<sup>2</sup>.

Before we leave the second register, this final interpretation may be put forward: the three *felidae* represent a lioness followed by her two lion whelps, the first of the three being more massive and robust in outline than the two others and having also a more strongly-marked muzzle.

THE THIRD REGISTER, less well preserved than the two preceding ones, is occupied by three oxen and an animal which, although on a somewhat smaller scale than that of the three *felidae* of the middle register, offers none the less all the characteristics of the old maned lion. The heavy carriage, which is, so to speak, the trade-mark of our engraver, is found also in the three oxen<sup>3</sup>, whose heads, too much fused with their breasts, carry horns forming a crescent the two points of which tend to meet.


Science already possesses solid works on the cattle of ancient Egypt; Ulrich Dürst of Zürich, Lortet and Gaillard of Lyons, have the first title to the gratitude of Egyptologists.


while, with regard to the *râtus*, of which he sees the development in the Thinite epoch, he does not notice that it exists fully in the lions of the pre-Menite palettes. BISSING (BISSING-BRUCKMANN, *Denkmäler*, text, p. 74) gives a general historical outline of the question. His treatment, which is not lacking in correct views, errs in taking the Thinite period as the point of departure. He does not observe that the type had already undergone transformations in the course of the Nekâdeh period. Further, he raises to the importance of typical productions amulets which have been coarsely roughed out for reasons connected with the material, and which are contemporary or posterior to the infinitely more advanced creations of the art of the palettes. To my remarks on the maneless lion I may add that this character belongs equally to the limestone lions of Koptos, the exact age of which is most uncertain. Cf. PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. V, no. 5.

<sup>1</sup> *Une Nouvelle Palette de Schiste*, in *Monuments et Mémoires* (Fondation Piot), vol. x, Pl. XI, and *A new Carved Slate* by F. LEGGE in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxvi (1904), pp. 262-3 and Plate. In another article, *The Carved Slates* (*op. cit.*, vol. xxxi, 1909, p. 304), Mr Legge contests the authenticity of this palette. I imagine that he has since given up this prepossession on referring to the fragment published by himself three years previously (*op. cit.*, vol. xxviii, 1906, p. 87), which is conclusive as to the summary technique, and which at the same time reveals the existence of a class of palettes having an outline different from those of Hierakonpolis. In this fragment, which belongs to the Rev. W. MacGregor, the hyaena character is more pronounced than in the Louvre example. If I had known it in 1903, I should not have considered these four animals in the border to be dogs, influenced as I was by the small Hierakonpolis palette. The hyaena trained for hunting has already been observed in the representations of the Memphite *mastabehs*. Its domestication will therefore go back to a far earlier period; cf. GAILLARD, *Les tatouements des Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire à la recherche des animaux à domestiquer*, in *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> See *Faucon ou Epervier* (*Monuments et Mémoires*, vol. xvii, 1909), in which I have dealt at length (pp. 21-5) with the theory of the contamination of forms, particularly in the mythological *fauna*.

<sup>3</sup> The third bovid, whose horns I do not see distinctly, is perhaps a calf.

But the question, enriched to-day by numerous representations from the periods which elapsed before the Memphite Dynasties, is worth reconsideration. When Lortet and Gaillard speak of a large-horned *Bos africanus*, which according to them and to Schweinfurth, upon whom they base their opinions, originated in central Africa, and which has now disappeared from the Egyptian soil and has been replaced at a recent date, as yet not fixed, by an ox with small horns and not presenting the cervoid (long-legged) aspect of the ancient bovine species<sup>1</sup>, these writers are considering especially the state of things revealed by the cemeteries of the New Kingdom. All the mummies of oxen studied by them fall within this category. But the study of the monuments confronts us with facts far more complex. In the first place Dürst is right, as against Lortet and Gaillard, when he assumes the existence of an ox with smaller horns which may easily be recognised in the low reliefs of the temple of Sahurê<sup>2</sup> together with the *Bos africanus* proper<sup>3</sup>. It would seem that the Egyptian language had two words at its disposal to designate these two species. Such is the opinion of Miss Murray, who recognises the large-horned ox (the *Bos macroceros* of Dürst) in the word  and the ox with the smaller horns in the word

<sup>4</sup>. Montet does not take this view: according to him, the former term applies to the animal of the meadows, which can be caught only with the lasso, while the latter applies to the stalled ox<sup>5</sup>. The *mustabeh* of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep apparently supports him<sup>6</sup>. This ox of the Memphite reliefs is manifest to us in the primitive period in the large-horned ox<sup>7</sup> summarily but clearly drawn on a vase published by Weigall<sup>8</sup>. In its general carriage, and in the lyriiform structure of its horns, it differs from the cervoid ox, with its horns forming a more or less open crescent, which is represented on one of the Hierakonpolis maces<sup>9</sup>, and still more from the ox engraved on one of the primitive statues of Min from Coptos<sup>10</sup>. If, nevertheless, the same animal is in question, the differences will have to be explained, apart from considerations of style (with more than a thousand years' interval), by the well-known results of castration<sup>11</sup>. But I cannot bring myself to identify it with the ox of our ivory, whose horns form a closed crescent. For it would be a great error to disregard entirely a characteristic upon which the primitive artist has laid the greatest possible stress,

<sup>1</sup> *La Faune momifiée de l'ancienne Egypte*, vol. I, pp. 65—71.

<sup>2</sup> *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, Pl. I and p. 178. See the whole treatment of the question of the *Bos brachyceros* of Rittmeyer in DÜRSST, *Die Rinder von Babylonien, Assyrien und Aegypten*, 1899, pp. 15 and 74-6: see also, by the latter author, *Notes sur quelques bovidés préhistoriques*, in *L'Anthropologie*, 1900, pp. 158 and 655-68.

<sup>3</sup> *Saggarah Mustabas*, vol. I, p. 34.

<sup>4</sup> *Les scènes de boucherie dans les tombes de l'ancien Empire*, in *Bull. de l'Institut franç. d'Archéologie Orientale*, vol. VII (1910), p. 42. Gaillard (*Les tâtonnements des Egyptiens*) shares and upholds Montet's opinion.

<sup>5</sup> DAVIES, *The Mastaba of Ptahhetep and Akhetetep*, vol. II, Pl. XXI; but LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. 49 is against his thesis and supports that of Miss Murray.

<sup>6</sup> DÜRSST (*Die Rinder*, p. 64) rejects among other denominations that of *Bos africanus*, LINNÉ, which includes also the smaller-horned bull of Africa, and adopts that of the *Bos taurus macroceros*. He rejects *a fortiori* that of *Bos primigenius*, BOJANUS, his thesis consisting chiefly in saying that it is entirely distinct from it (pp. 59—64; cf. *Notes sur quelques Bovidés*, pp. 668-74).

<sup>7</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. VIII, p. 49, fig. 5.

<sup>8</sup> *Hierakonpolis*, vol. I, Pl. XXVI B great mace, no. 2.

<sup>9</sup> PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. III.

<sup>10</sup> The stock cattle withdrawn from reproduction are sharply distinguished from the bulls in the Memphite reliefs. In LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. 77, there is a good example of a domestic bull of the breed with large horns which attain their greatest development in the castrated animal.



and which is still more emphasised in the stylised figure of a bull which decorates the inside of a goblet from Mahasneh<sup>1</sup>. The question becomes a wider one if we admit, with Hilzheimer<sup>2</sup>, the presence of the Arnee Buffalo from Asia, which he recognises in the bulls of the great Hierakonpolis palette and the fragment E 11, 255 of the Louvre<sup>3</sup>, as also that of the Urus (*Bos primigenius*), based on the discovery in the Fayyûm pleistocene of a fragment of the frontal bone and the bony heel of a well-characterised Urus; Hilzheimer also finds this wild ox, which is abundantly represented by the Assyrian reliefs, as well as the Chaldaean intaglios, in the bulls of the hunting-scene of the funerary temple of Sahurê<sup>4</sup>. This animal, which appears not to have survived in Egypt after the Old Kingdom, is thought to have been replaced for the purposes of big-game hunting by domestic oxen restored to the wild state or rendered wild<sup>5</sup>. It is impossible not to recognise the rightness of that part of the theory which identifies the Urus or Aurochs of the Chaldaeo-Assyrian monuments with the bull without dewlaps, and of energetic and horselike appearance, in the Sahurê relief and the Beni Hasan paintings. If, in the hunting-scene of the funerary temple, the hinder horn of the ox pierced with an arrow be masked, the single-horned appearance of the Mesopotamian Urus is obtained; the illusion is complete. The finding on the banks of the Nile in the Old Kingdom of the wild Urus of the Hercynian Forest which is mentioned in Caesar's commentaries (*De Bello Gallico*, VI, 28) and which, after surviving in Poland and Lithuania, finally disappeared in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries<sup>6</sup>, is a fact worthy of attention, and one which has not been discussed up to the present<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> AYRTON and LOAT, *Predynastic Cemetery at El Mahasna*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>2</sup> In *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, p. 171.

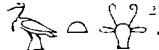
<sup>3</sup> Cf. HEUZÉY, *Revue Archéologique*, 1890, pp. 145 and 334, Pls. IV and V, and *Bulletin de Correspondance hellénique*, 1892, p. 307.

<sup>4</sup> *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, Pl. XVII and p. 174.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Griffith's remarks in *The Tomb of Ptahhetep*, p. 28.

<sup>6</sup> P. Gervais (*Histoire naturelle des mammifères*, vol. II, p. 176), distinguishes the Urus from the *Bos primigenius* and confuses it with the *Bonassus* or Bison of Aristotle. DUKST (*Notes sur quelques bovidés*), distinguishing it, on the contrary, from the European Bison, traces its history from antiquity to the seventeenth century. The distinction between the two oxen is confirmed by the two woodcuts of the *Commentarii rerum moscovitarum* of Sigismund de Herberstein (Bâle, 1556). See also R. LYDDEKER, *Wild Oxen, Sheep and Goats of all lands, living and extinct*, London, 1898, pp. 11—12.

<sup>7</sup> W. H. Ward is inclined to see the Urus only in the agricultural scenes (*The Seal Cylinders*, nos. 369, 371, 372, and a few other cases (*ibid.*, nos. 484, 1069, 1220), this animal having been domesticated at a very early period on the one hand, and on the other belonging neither to the Elamite fauna proper, nor to the Babylonian fauna. The *rimu* of the inscriptions, which Gilgamesh fights, was according to him the *Bison bonassus*, which came down from the mountains of Elam. Restricting ourselves to archaeological arguments alone, we may observe that the importance attached to the form of the horns would be justified only if it were possible to distinguish very clearly between those of the Urus or Aurochs and those of the Bison on these intaglios, which are engraved on a very small scale. The true characteristic, the most indisputable sign of the bison, is its mane, together with the tufts of hair which frame its face—in a lesser degree, of course, than in the American bison. These distinctive marks appear in nos. 182, 184, 186, 188, 190, 351, 358 etc. In the other cases we have almost always the Aurochs, an animal which has remained wild, in spite of domestication, in every part of Asia where it has lived. Thus it can be established that in Mesopotamia, as in Egypt, the phenomenon of reciprocal contamination of the two species took place, giving birth in the monuments to a hybrid ox, the "bisonised Urus," which spread westward into Cappadocian art, and to the north-east, through Assyria, up to Persia, where we find it even in the splendid two-headed capitals of the Achaemenid palaces. The fusion of the hybrid animal with a third element, the lion, is also to be noted; I shall deal with the reasons elsewhere.

But it is evident that the case is quite different with regard to the buffalo. Hilzheimer, and all the savants who have been tempted to recognise it in the bulls of the palettes, have completely lost sight of the very accurate representations of the Babylonian intaglios and the rock-graffiti of Northern Africa to which Durst<sup>1</sup> had already called attention. The horns of the *Bubalus* have a disposition and a volume which differ considerably from what we see in the two species of oxen in prehistoric Egypt. The way in which Egyptian drawing lays stress on characteristic features is as marked as usual in the two human heads having bulls' ears and horns which Naville has discussed in his study of the god . The buffalo would have had to be very unfamiliar to the engraver of the palettes for him to have been led to neglect the large and powerful way in which the base of the horns is implanted in the frontal bone of this bovid, so different from the other species, and at a short distance from the axis of the forehead<sup>2</sup>. We must therefore recognise that the *Bubalus* has not yet made its appearance on the Egyptian monuments. In the case under discussion we have to do with a *Bos*, and this conclusion is entirely in place here because it is exactly the same ox which occupies the third register of our ivory handle. It will now be the zoologists' business to determine its race. For ourselves, we can draw no other conclusion than the following:—At an epoch which ends with the beginning of the historic period, the low valley of the Nile possessed a race of oxen whose horns described an ellipse very nearly closed above, and probably in the plane of the frontal bone. This *Bos* is to be confused neither with the bulls with horns pointing forward<sup>4</sup> of the fragmentary Cairo palette, which I have termed that of the "Seven Castles," nor with the classic ruminants of the *matfabebs*, with widely-opened horns (macrocerous or brachycerous) which have provided Brehm, Schweinfurth,

<sup>1</sup> *Notes sur quelques bovidés*, p. 135, fig. 4. The author derives the various known tertiary types—the *B. palaeindicus*, FALCONER (pleistocene of the valley of Nerbudda), the *B. antiquissimus*, DUVERNOY (African pleistocene), the direct ancestor of the African buffaloes according to Rüttemeyer (= *B. capri* and *B. brachyceros*)—from a single primitive ancestor, the *Bubalus Sirolensis*, RÜTMEYER (of the sub-Himalayan miocene). Contrary to Pomel, who limits the geographical area of *B. antiquus* to Algeria, DURST, taking his stand on the rock-drawings which accord with the type of the present Arabe, and on the discovery of bones at Tûkh (Upper Egypt) and in the Wady Natrûn (Libyan desert), extends the dispersal of the buffalo, at the beginning of the quaternary epoch, from the foot of the Himalayas to Northern Africa. In the historic period it appears in the clearest manner on the Chaldaean cylinders of the third millennium before Christ. The most characteristic instances are on no. 26 (= 156), of W. H. Ward's *Seal Cylinders*, from the De Clercq collection (cf. HETZLEY, *Origines orientales de l'Art*, p. 164, and nos. 27, 161, 163 and 167 of the same work. No trace of it is to be found in the intaglios of later date, and it certainly seems to have disappeared almost completely from the Mesopotamian plains, despite the views which Hommel opposes to the current opinion, and which he bases on a text of the reign of Assurnasirpal, and despite the oxen of Arachosia, whose horns are described by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, II. 1. 22) with the very graphic epithet ἐπίγυπτοι. Arachosia is entirely outside the zone under consideration.—Another fine representation of the buffalo is found on a cylinder bearing the name *Is-re-ut*, published by V. SCHEIL, *Cylindres et légendes inédits*, in *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. XIII, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> ED. NAVILLE, *Le dieu Bout*, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLIII (1906), pp. 77—83.

<sup>3</sup> The opinion which I express here is reinforced by that of M. Boule, whom I have consulted. The antiquity of the Egyptian schist plaques in comparison with the Chaldaean intaglios does not justify the assumption of such a degree of anatomical inaccuracy. The zoologists, as well as the archaeologists, have been struck by the fidelity with which the direction of the horns is observed in even the most archaic figures of the ungulates—sheep, oxen, antelopes, goats—and have attributed to this feature the importance of an indisputable criterion in questions of identification.

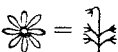

<sup>4</sup> It escapes no one that these are to be compared, and even identified, with the maneless oxen (*i.e.* Aurochs) of the Sumero-Akkadian cylinders.

Lortet and Gaillard with the type of *Bos africanus*. If it could be proved that it came from Asia with the conquering and civilising hordes, its symbolic rôle on the palettes which commemorate the exploits of the pre-Menite king would receive new light<sup>1</sup>.

The lion which ends the line is, by the fact of his position in a reduced space an animal to some extent sacrificed: but his very satisfactory state of preservation allows the eye to follow all the details of his head, which are rendered with much minuteness, and the development of the thick mane of an old African lion. It will be noticed that the engraver, in order to emphasise this character, has not given the outline of the ear as in the three *félidæ* already studied, but has merged it in the mane just above the beard-collar. The tail, instead of being pendent or undulating towards the ground, as is customary in the figure of the lion passant, is raised for purely decorative purposes. The same fact is noticeable in the last *jélis* of the register above. The presence of this maned lion is a confirmation of what has already been said of its maneless congeners, and dispels any sort of doubt in the minds of those who might be inclined to see full-grown lions in these beasts of the second register.

### THE FLAT SURFACE.



The boss is decorated with a six-petalled rosette, engraved in detail. Does this surface ornamentation, which is lacking on the boss of the Gebel el-Arak knife (the only boss which is preserved complete in the series of ivory handles) add a special significance to the object? Is it an emblem?


One's thoughts go back immediately to the rosettes engraved on the gold plating of the Gebel Tarif knife<sup>2</sup>. In that case the decorative intention is evident; according to the space or merely the caprice of the engraver, the flowers possess seven, six, five and four petals. It conforms with the rule of ornamentation of the primitive periods that the elements made use of are always taken from the extremely summary pictographic stock which preceded writing. Thus have come into existence those ideograms which in the course of time have become our emblems, and whose function it is to be at once writing and ornament. We are logically led to this hypothesis by a consideration of the graphic part played by the same flower on two stamped mace-heads of the Scorpion-king and of Narmer, and on the great Hierakonpolis palette<sup>3</sup>. The theory according to which we have here the first appearance of the liliaceous plant which is to symbolize Upper Egypt during the whole course of hieroglyphic writing still appears to me to be the most plausible. I continue to believe in the equation  with all its consequences. In the Hierakonpolite documents the sign has the more restricted sense of "King of the South," <sup>4</sup>. Perhaps

<sup>1</sup> To the examples already cited (Mahasneh bowl, great Hierakonpolis palette, Louvre fragment E 11, 255) is to be added the double bull of the Palette of the Hunt.

<sup>2</sup> Often reproduced. See especially J. DE MORGAN, *Recherches sur les Origines*, vol. I, p. 114 and fig. 115; vol. II, p. 266; QUIBELL, *Archæic objects*, 14265 (*Cat. Général du Musée du Caire*); CURELLY, *Stone Implements*, 64737 (same publication). I have previously called attention to the error which has caused this object to be catalogued twice over.

<sup>3</sup> HIERAKONPOLIS, Pl. XXVI B (mace-head of Narmer) and Pl. XXVI C (mace-head of the Scorpion-king).

<sup>4</sup> Is it mere coincidence that the sign  (*nsrt*), which still serves to write the royal title of the South, is a plant of similar aspect to  (*rsj*, *km*) which serves to designate the country? Cf. GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, fig. 109, and p. 29, and BORCHARDT, *Die Aegyptische Pflanzensauke*.


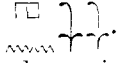

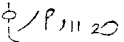
here, as in the Gebel Tarîf example, it is the less restricted sign of the clans of the South, opposed to the cluster of papyrus , which was the pictographic sign for the North. That the origin of these two old symbols goes back to prehistoric times is contested by no one.

Even apart from the boss, decorated with so appropriate a *motif*, there is a great contrast between this side and that already considered. The animal world is again seen, without any human being, but in very different conditions. There are no more lines of animals advancing with rhythmic step, but a desert scene, comparable to those of several palettes. At the top a dog, whose head is missing, pursues a wild animal of which only the hind-quarters are left. The dog is followed by an antelope (*Alcelaphus bubalus*), distinctly characterised by the lyriiform disposition of its horns. To right and left of the boss are two deer. We have some difficulty in identifying all the animals at the bottom without directly consulting the original. The first animal on the left, of which nothing remains but the outline of the upper part and the partly destroyed horn, is none the less easily recognised: it is the *Oryx leucoryx*. The animal which follows unfortunately has its head very much effaced, and its aspect varies with the lighting in the three photographs placed at my disposal. The slinness and suppleness of the body, the rounded hind-quarters to which a long tail (its end out of sight) clings with a serpentine movement, indicate one of the larger *felidae*, of which, consequently, the oryx is the quarry; but this requires confirmation. The third animal is lost in a dark cloud. So much as I can make out indicates that it faces right, contrary to all the animals already dealt with. This is also the direction of the better preserved animal which is fourth in the rank; its head and the outline of its back are lost, but what is left allows us to reconstruct a clawed animal (an unguiculate) with high, slight and sinewy paws, and rounded tail ending in a brush. It is thus one of the *felidae* and in all probability a hunting-leopard or a *cynolura*. The sharpest of the photographs enables one to see, or rather to half-see, the very problematical silhouette of the head, which seems to be turned back, through the granulated surface of the corroded ivory. This attitude with the turned-back head is one which has already been made use of by the palette engravers, with antelopes, goats etc., as well as with the *felidae* (compare the small Hierakonpolis palette). The last animal, fitted closely into the curve, appears to me to be a running dog with raised tail. The short, blunt muzzle recalls those of the two dogs on the border of the palette just cited.

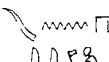


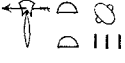
Having completed this description, I now return to the two deer, which are the most important features of the Carnarvon Ivory, and which are in themselves enough to give a quite special scientific value to this object, if it had no other titles to our interest, as will be seen from the second part of this memoir. Deer are not abundant in the *fauna* of ancient Egyptian plastic art. However, they can be traced from the prehistoric period into the middle of the great Theban epoch<sup>1</sup>. From that point onwards there is no trace of

<sup>1</sup> PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. III (Reliefs on Min Statues); LEGGE, *The Carved Stones*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXXI, 1909, Pl. XLV (Palette of the Hunt); *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Bulletin no. 7, p. 18 (handle of axe); BORCHARDT, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahure*, Pl. 17; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Ergänzungsband, Pl. XXIII (Gizeh, Grab 27); STEINDORFF, *Grab des Ti*, Pl. 128; BISSING, *Die Mastaba des Gemeni-kaï*, vol. I, Pl. XXV; CHAMPEOLLION, *Monuments*, Pl. 427 (= Pl. 383), and NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. II, Pl. IV (tomb no. 15, of Bæjt); BORCHARDT, *op. cit.*, p. 169, fig. 27 (fragment of relief from the tomb of Mentu-hir-hop-sef, Nineteenth Dynasty, Cairo Museum). Borchardt further calls attention, at the end of the bibliographical list, which I here borrow from him, to another representation in an unpublished *mastaba* at Sakḳareh.

them, either in Saïte art or later. They are most usually found in hunting scenes, like the wild ox. They are nowhere found as animals which are domesticated or raised in breeding-grounds after the manner of the gazelles and antelopes of the Memphite epoch. They play no part whatever as sacrificial animals<sup>1</sup>: they are neither divinised nor consecrated. No mummy of a deer has yet been found. Nor do they figure among the Typhonian animals, and it may be said that alike for good and evil the religious texts pass over them in silence. The hieroglyphic writing knows nothing of them, even as mere determinatives. If I add that the art has entirely neglected them in its decorative *motifs*, I shall have shown what a restricted place they held in the life of the ancient Egyptians.

The only name which designates them in the Pharaonic period, , *hnn*, came down to us in the first place only through tomb no. 15 at Beni Hasan, then through the *mastabeh* of Ti (Pl. 128) under the form . It persists in the New Kingdom in the Berlin Medical Papyrus with the generic determinative of the skin, <sup>2</sup>. Demotic writing knows it no longer, and substitutes for it the word , *yur*, a Semitic word, likewise preserved in a magico-medical formula<sup>3</sup>. The old name is *a fortiori* wholly forgotten by Coptic, which employs in the well-known passages of the Old Testament (Deut. xii. 15: Ps. xvii. 33) the various forms of the Semitic name *עורא*, T.M.; *עורא*, M.; *יעורא*, *יעורא*, *עיעורא*, *עיעורא*, T.<sup>4</sup> Thus after the end of the New Kingdom the Cervidae could have ranked only as exotic animals. Be it noted, lastly, that no matter what epoch we take, the Egyptian texts (restricted in half the cases to the mere legend of a relief) have given us only a generic name, while Assyrian and Hebrew distinguish as sharply as the classical languages between the true red-deer, *Cervus elephas typicus*, and the fallow-deer, *C. dama*<sup>5</sup>. Egyptian is so

<sup>1</sup> This does not apply to Egyptian deities when Hellenised. Pausanias (x, 32, 16), speaking of the great yearly festivals celebrated in the sanctuary of Isis at Neon in Phocis, mentions deer among the victims immolated for the goddess: *θύοισι δὲ καὶ βοῦς καὶ ἐλάφους οἱ εἰδαμονέστεροι*. Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *La Coupe phénicienne de Palestre*, in *Journal Asiatique*, April-June 1878, p. 504, note 2.

<sup>2</sup> BRUGSCH's edition, Pl. VI, l. 10; WRESZINSKI, *Der grosse Medizinische Papyrus*, *Pap. Berl.* 3038, Pl. VI, ll. 9 and 10 and Pl. XI, l. 12. The horn of a deer, , enters into the composition of a fumigation, , to expel the affection  from the body of the sufferer. Redaction of the Nineteenth Dynasty (period of the papyrus of a formula which may go back to the Middle Kingdom. In the second formula, the horn pounded with incense and another substance and mixed together with sweet beer, is employed against the affection , which "weakens all the members in summer and in winter."

<sup>3</sup> GRIFFITH and H. THOMPSON, *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leyden*, II, verso, x Leyden, verso, x, l. 4. Here it is not the horn but the skin of the deer (*δέρμα ἐλάφιν*) that is in question, as is shown, for the rest, by the repetition of the term in Greek (remedy against gout). It was this example which Brugsch took for his *Grammaire Démotique*, § 40.

<sup>4</sup> PEYRON, *Lec.* 33, to which may be added *النير* *nier* from a Copto-Arabic *seila*. See LORET, *Les Livres III et IV 'Animaux et Végétaux' de la Seila Magica de Schams ar-Rihsah*, ch. 12, No. 38, in *Annales du Service*, vol. I, p. 51.

<sup>5</sup> This is a question which has taken up a great deal of room in the researches regarding the identification of several families, sub-families and species of the *ungulata*. The point of departure is the *Hierozoicon* of BOCHART, systematically ignored by Otto Keller. For the question is not merely to determine the value of the representations which abound in the vast province of oriental and Graeco-Roman antiquities, and which allow us to construct the picture of a great part of the fauna of the Mediterranean basin, as far as the Black Sea and the western shore of the Persian Gulf; but it is also to fix its nomenclature.

destitute of any supplementary name for a second cervid that the Coptic, enumerating the six cloven-footed ruminants not prohibited by Deuteronomy, after  $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon\sigma\sigma\lambda$ , *cervus*, reproduces four names from the Septuagint Version and gives only two names drawn from the old Egyptian stock,  $\sigma\sigma\sigma$  and  $\omega\omega\omega$ , which are both applied indiscriminately to several animals, *caprea*, *dama*, *dorcus*, *bubalus*, *hyrax syriacus*, according to the lexicons and the commentators: and in any case none of the *scalae* makes use of the word  $\text{يامور}$  or  $\text{ياحمور}$ , so fully identified by el-Damiri with the *Cervus dama*<sup>1</sup>.

To return to the question of the home of the *Cervus* family, we must not omit to mention the fact that in spite of its presence in very ancient times, attested by the Nekâdeh monuments, no remains of palaeontologic age have yet been found in Egypt which would allow us to fix the date of its introduction into the Nile valley. But the discoveries made in Algeria and Tunisia have to a certain extent supplied this deficiency, and there is no doubt that deer have formed part of the *fauna* of northern Africa since the pliocene period<sup>2</sup>. Can the families, and even the species, now be determined? This question has

Now, as regards certain species common to Southern Europe, to Nearer Asia and to Northern Africa, it is impossible to neglect the counter-verification afforded by the Bible, by Semitic inscriptions and by Arabic literature. This is what emerges clearly from the *Hierozoicon*, where the only data lacking are—for good reasons—those of ancient Semitic epigraphy.

If *Cervus typicus* has occasioned no confusion (although HOMMEL, *Die Namen der Säugethiere bei den südsemitischen Völkern*, p. 280, note 1, claims the contrary) in ancient literature and in the Bible—for  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\phi\sigma$  is described at length by Aristotle, and corresponds in the LXX to the  $\text{לָיִל}$ <sup>7</sup> which belongs to the whole family of Semitic languages: Assyr. *ai-lu*, Arabic  $\text{ليل}$ , Syr.  $\text{ܠܝܠܐ}$ ,—that is not the case with the fallow-deer, *Cervus dama*.

A certain confusion arises from the comparison of writings which have preserved to us the memory of this animal, destined to live even in our modern languages only under a borrowed name; for the *dama*, or more exactly the *damma*, of the Romans was not a deer. The few references in Latin texts designate it by adding to the word *cervus* the Greek epithet *platyceros* (Pliny, *H. N.*, xi, 124), or call it *platon* (Apicius, see O. KELLER, *Thesaurus des classischen Alterthums*, 73). This name, preserved in the modern Greek  $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\omega\upsilon$ , is not found in Aristotle. It is under the name of  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\xi$  that the philosopher mentions an animal which, from the characters which it has in common with  $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\phi\sigma$ , can only be the fallow-deer. But  $\pi\rho\acute{o}\xi$  (in spite of Aristotle and the coinage of Proconnesus bearing the legend  $\text{HPO KON}$  above a crouching fallow-deer) does not appear with an equally clear sense in Aelian (*De Natura Animalium*, vii, 19 and 47). Further, one sees it varying in the texts with  $\delta\omicron\rho\acute{o}\xi$ , these two names having the same primary sense of wild-goat, *caprea*, a proof to be added to so many others that the fallow-deer did not belong to the indigenous Greek *fauna*. There is further confirmation in the LXX version, Deut. xiv. 4 and 5. There the Greek list of non-forbidden animals numbers eight species against ten of the Hebrew text, which latter is faithfully reproduced in the Vulgate. Now the uncertainty is centred in the word  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon$ , which the interpreters have equated sometimes with  $\text{יָמֹר}$  (Vulgate *bubalus*), sometimes with  $\text{דִּינִי}$  (Vulgate *pyrrargus*).  $\text{HPO}\xi$  seems to have been a word unknown to the translator. The same difficulty appears in I Kings v. 3, where  $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\alpha\rho\gamma\omicron\upsilon$  does not come under the reed of the interpreter, who leaves  $\text{יָמֹר}$  untranslated.

It is in the Arabic authors who have written on animals, and principally in el-Damiri, el-Gaswini and Ibn Suda, that Bochart finds the proof that this word, preserved in the forms  $\text{يامور}$ ,  $\text{ياحمور}$ , is applied to a cervid which can only be the fallow-deer. We might even add that the “single horn divided in several branches in the middle of the head” of Ibn Saïda,  $\text{قرن واحد يتشعب في وسط راسه}$ , applies remarkably well to the deer in Assurbanipal's hunting scenes.

<sup>1</sup> V. LORET, *loc. cit.*; cf. the *scala* of the Coptic convent of Abyssinia published by Brugsch, which gives the same Copto-Arabic equation, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. III (1865), pp. 47—52.

<sup>2</sup> LYDEKKER, *On a Cervine Jaw from Algeria*, in *Proceed. Zool. Soc.*, 1890, p. 602 and fig. 1; POMEL,

been studied with exactitude by Max Hilzheimer<sup>1</sup>, whose thesis may be resumed as follows:—The characteristics of *C. elaphus* are the following: short tail, short and usually invisible penis, bez-tine. Those of *C. dama* are, on the contrary: long tail, visible penis, no bez-tine. All the Egyptian representations of deer have been identified with the fallow-deer by R. Hartmann<sup>(2)</sup> and by Matschie for these reasons. If the horns are considered, it will be observed that those of *Dama dama*, the typical fallow-deer, terminate in strong "palms" which are lacking in all our representations. But there is one fallow-deer, the *C. dama Mesopotamicus*, BROOKE, whose horns are more like those of the red-deer, and Matschie adopts this one. The sole difficulty raised by this identification is that at present this variety, strictly confined to Luristân, is altogether absent from Mesopotamia and Syria. To explain its presence in Egypt it is sufficient to hark back to the pluvial epoch, *i.e.* to the time of the migration of Asiatic species into the African continent. The *C. dama Mesopotamicus* entered the low valley of the Nile at the same time as the Arnee or Indian Buffalo: this hypothesis rests upon the remains of deer of the pleistocene period found in Palestine. The existence of a fallow-deer of the same species as the *D. Mesopotamicus* is incontestable if one may trust the accuracy of certain representations, especially that of King Sahure<sup>3</sup>'s hunt<sup>2</sup>.

Such was the state of the question before the appearance of the Carnarvon Ivory. Not one of the ten representations of deer known hitherto corresponds with that of this ivory. It is true that, compared together, they do not display complete identity, but they possess as a common character horns of vague form, bristling with short and irregular tines, and further no brow-tine starting boldly from the bosset or crown with a pronounced curve forwards and upwards. Now it is just this that is the most noticeable character of the horns of our deer. Their parallel direction, of which the ten representations mentioned above afford but two examples, is here justified by the necessity of making the two brow-tines project in front of the brow. In the case of the deer of the Hunt of Assurbanipal, the Assyrian artist has not a little obscured the problem of the accurate identification of these animals by failing to do likewise. Further the beam is harmoniously curved back and only two tines branch off from it—the bez-tine and the trez-tine. A hunter would recognise in it a red-deer with its third horns, that is a four-year-old.

It is important not to forget that the fallow-deer, the most southerly of the group, is not the only African *cervus*: Northern Africa possesses another, the *Cervus elaphus barbarus*, or *C. barbarus*, of smaller size than our European red-deer; its characteristic will be found in Lydekker, *The Deer of all Lands*, 1898, and in Trouessart, *Croniques de la Société Zoologique de France*, vol. I, no. 10. This animal, remarkable for its small size and for having only the brow-tine, shares its characters with the *C. corsicanus* and the *C. Pseudaris*, and forms with them the group which stands nearest to the common ancestral stock, the small pliocene type assumed by M. Boule<sup>3</sup>. It has now disappeared from the greater part of Northern

*Carte Géologique de l'Algérie*, Paléontologie *Caméliens et Cervidés*, 1893, p. 44; BOULE, *Etude paléontologique et archéologique sur la station paléolithique du lac Kara: Algérie*, in *l'Anthropologie*, vol. XI (1900), p. 11; L. JOIEAUD, *Etude Géologique de la Chaîne Numidique et des Monts de Constantine*, 1912, p. 326 and note 1.

<sup>1</sup> *Giraffenkmal des K. Sahure*, Text, p. 168.

<sup>2</sup> Clearly confirmed by the comparison of this figure with that of *C. d. Mesopotamicus* in Lydekker's work. The disposition of the antlers agrees in the completest way.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Girafes de Grimaldi*, vol. I, 1910, p. 206. Note the *Arvis* deer engraved on an axe-handle from primitive Nubia, *Archaeological Survey of Nubia*, Bulletin no. 7, p. 18.

Africa, and exists, according to M. Joleaud, only in a narrow zone adjacent to the Algero-Tunisian frontier and in a district at the extremity of Tunisia (Matmala). It can hardly have been more common in classical antiquity, for Herodotus (IV, 192), Aristotle (*Hist. Animal.*, VIII, 28), Aelian (*De Nat. Anim.*, XVII, 10) and Pliny (VIII, 51) remark its absence from Libya; but there is abundant archaeological evidence to rebut the testimony of these authors: representations of deer-stalking in mosaics and in a mural painting, and effigies of this animal on coins<sup>1</sup>. One of these coins, from Hesperis, the Cyrenaic Berenice, as well as a painting in a sepulchral grotto in Cyrene, authorise the conjecture that the red-deer was still extant in the Roman period in a zone lying closer to Egypt than does the Atlas region.

The *Cervus barbarus* is thus proved by our ivory to have belonged to the *fauna* of the low valley of the Nile at the period represented by this object, and we need not despair—for vain hopes do not exist in Egyptology!—of seeing it reappear on other monuments.

The conclusions are easily drawn. At a time obviously very remote,—which we shall have to determine in the continuation of this memoir—Egypt was the *habitat*, the meeting-ground of two species of deer of very closely related type: on the one hand the small Mediterranean red-deer which has persisted as *C. barbarus* of Algeria and Tunisia and as *C. corsicanus*, a fact recognised for a long time past by naturalists; and on the other hand the *Cervus dama Mesopotamicus* of Brooke, with which we are made acquainted by a whole series of monuments which have been enumerated above, and which range from the Nakâdeh period<sup>2</sup> to the New Kingdom. To all appearances the former sub-family disappeared long before the other. With regard to this latter, the question of preservation by breeding in enclosures<sup>3</sup> arises immediately one considers the representations in the tombs of Snezemah, of Ti, and of Kagemni or Gemnikai, where the animal is led in the same manner as the domesticated antelopes that are assimilated to the other products of the dead man's domains<sup>4</sup>.

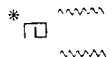
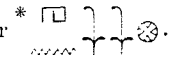
One fact is certain: no places named after deer exist in the geography of Ancient Egypt, a proof that for a long time past there had been no region which could be regarded as the *habitat* of the Cervidae.

<sup>1</sup> The references for all these sources are given in Joleaud's work above-mentioned, pp. 11, 12. He also adds the passage from the *Aeneid*, IV, 153 foll., to which he might have added I, 184 foll., if it be admitted that Vergil has not transferred to the African littoral cynegetical episodes taken from countries better known to him. More conclusive is the name of *Circa* to the north-west of Gafsa, in the zone still inhabited by deer. In agreement with this is the statement, not confirmed elsewhere, of Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, Birch's edition, vol. II, p. 95, that it was still seen in his time "in the vicinity of the Natron Lakes."

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps this other cervid is to be seen in the animal which is engraved on the other side of the boss, and whose horns, in spite of their parallel direction, are to be compared with those of the stags of the *maštābehs*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, *op. cit.*, pp. 182-8, and CLAUDE GAILLARD, *Les tatouements des Égyptiens de l'Ancien Empire à la recherche des animaux à domestiquer*, in *Revue d'Éthnographie et de Sociologie*, 1912.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Semitic toponymy 𐤓𐤍𐤔, GESENIUS, *Thesaurus*, p. 46, the Greek the whole series given by Pliny: *Elaphites insulae*, III, 152, V, 135; *Elaphonessa*, V, 137, = Ἐλαφώνησος, Steph. Byz.: *Elaphus Mons*, VIII, 225; *Elaphusa*, IV, 53, the Latin *Cervaria*, Mela, II, 5, 8, *Circa*, cited in footnote 1 of this page, the Germanic (*Hirschau*, *Hirschfeld* etc. None of the names of domains noted in the Memphite *maštābehs* has yet given us a form

\*  or \* .

(To be continued)



## NEW PAPYRI FROM OXYRHYNCHUS<sup>1</sup>

BY PROF. B. P. GRENFELL, D.Litt. F.B.A.

PROF. HUNT, who is now in London in the War Trade Intelligence Department, continues to be fully occupied with his military duties, Mr Johnson is still at the Clarendon Press, and Mr Lobel at the Admiralty Intelligence Department. I have therefore been working at papyri during the last year practically alone, except for two visits from Prof. Smyly, who is collaborating in the publication of Part III of the Tebtunis Papyri, containing Ptolemaic texts from mummy-cartonnage. Throughout last winter I was mainly engaged in deciphering a section of the collection which Prof. Smyly had unrolled, but not copied. A certain number of new documents of interest emerged, and many pieces were fitted on to texts previously deciphered. Most of this additional material was very illegible owing to plaster and glue, but ultimately could be deciphered after treatment with the 'pure' paraffin which is sold for medical purposes. This contains a slight amount of some acid, and forms much the best reagent for restoring the faded ink of papyrus-cartonnage. In all nearly 500 texts have to be published, over 200 with a commentary. Many of them are quite long, one case occurring in which the whole cartonnage of a mummy was composed of pieces of a single papyrus—a register of contracts in B.C. 223–2, extending to more than 30 columns. The printing of Part III of the Tebtunis Papyri for the University of California will begin as soon as Part XIII of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri is in type.

In connexion with the Tebtunis Papyri I devoted a short time last summer to examining the Ptolemaic section of the very large collection of ostraca recently presented by Prof. Sayce to the Bodleian Library. There are about 250 unpublished specimens of the Ptolemaic period, nearly all from Thebes, besides about 50 which were included in Prof. Wilcken's Corpus of Greek ostraca. Most of these ostraca consist, as usual, of tax-receipts, but the following specimen is of more general interest. It contains a rather neat Alexandrian epigram, supposed to be spoken by a lame Spartan soldier, and perhaps suggested by the character of Agesilaus. The writing is a large rude uncial of the late first century B.C.; the spelling, which is unusually atrocious, indicates a schoolboy's writing-exercise. Probably the epigram was familiar, and suitable for educational purposes on account of its patriotic moral. The text, as reconstructed in modern form with some assistance from Mr Lobel, is:

*Τοῦθ' ὁ Λακῶν ποτ' ἔλεξεν ὁ μὴ ποσὶν ἄρτια βαίνων,  
εἰς τὸν ὑπὲρ πάτρας στελλόμενος πόλεμον.*

<sup>1</sup> An address delivered at the General Meeting of the Exploration Fund, Nov. 21, 1917.

Σπάρτα κάμ' ἐδέδεκτο βοηθόν, ἀνίκα καυλῶ  
 ὥπλίσμην, καί περ γυῖα βαρυνόμενον.  
 ἵξομαι, οὐδ' ἄχρειον ἐφόλκιον ἵξομαι· αἰχμὰν  
 οὐ φεύγειν ὁ Λακῶν, ἀλλὰ μένειν ἔμαθον<sup>1</sup>.

This was once said by the Laconian who limped on his feet, as he was making ready for war on behalf of his country: "Sparta welcomed me too as a defender, when I armed myself with a spear, though weighed down in my limbs. I shall come, and come not as a useless appendage. A Laconian, I have learned not to shun but to abide the battle."

In 1898 Prof. Wilcken made in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* a useful classification of the non-literary Greek papyri then published, but his list has not been kept up to date, and the material having enormously increased in the last twenty years, I have nearly completed a new and somewhat more detailed classification of all Greek papyri from Egypt, both literary and non-literary, together with ostraca, inscriptions, &c., arranged according to subject and date. Primarily of course this is for my own use, but I hope to publish it after the war.

Of the theological texts in Part XIII of the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* the most important is a leaf of a vellum codex, containing part of Tobit xii in a recension which is not extant. It is one of the very earliest biblical fragments that have been found, belonging probably to the third century. There are two main Greek recensions of Tobit, one represented by the Codex Sinaiticus (S), the other by the Codex Vaticanus (B) and Codex Alexandrinus (A). The version of S is the fuller and more picturesque, but which of the two is the earlier has been disputed. Besides these two there is for chs. vi—xiii a third Greek edition, found in three much later MSS., and supported from ch. vii onwards by the Syriac version, which before that point agrees with BA. To this third recension, which occupies an intermediate position, being allied to S but less verbose, probably belongs a fragment of ch. ii published in Part VIII, 1076. The new fragment from ch. xii is on the whole much nearer to BA than to S or the third recension, here fortunately extant; but it presents a text distinctly superior to that of BA—a phenomenon which is to be explained by the priority of the new fragment in date, not as the result of a revision of the BA text. While the recension of S is perhaps the oldest of all, it seems to have had before the age of the Antonines, perhaps even as far back as the second or first century B.C., a rival in the shape of the text to which the new fragment belongs. This was largely superseded after A.D. 200 by the BA recension, which was based on it; but traces of the influence of the recension represented by the new fragment are discernible in the Old Latin version of Tobit, which was probably made before 300, and also in the third Greek recension, which was designed in the fourth or fifth century as a compromise between the conflicting versions of the Tobit story.

Of several early fragments of the New Testament, which are contemporary with or even older than the earliest MSS., the most interesting is a late third century piece of Acts xxvi

<sup>1</sup> The actual text of Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 930 is: <sup>1</sup>τοι θαλακων ποτε λεξοναμη ποσιν <sup>2</sup>αρτιαζαινων:ιστον υπερ πατραστε <sup>3</sup>λλομενον πυλινον σπαρταγαμ <sup>4</sup>εμεκτον ζωοθωωνανικαγ <sup>5</sup>αγλωσπιμεν και περγναζαρυν <sup>6</sup>ομερον:σπαρταγαμετεκτον <sup>7</sup>ζωων θρωστανικωωπλιμε <sup>8</sup>νκαι περγναζαρυνομερον:εξαμεν <sup>9</sup>ιδαχρηνε φολγαονιξαμεαχαμα-<sup>10</sup>ιν·ενφευγιναλαγωναλλωμενει <sup>11</sup>εμμακον <sup>12</sup>ηρουκα.πανεν. The second couplet is repeated by mistake. The meaning of l. 12 is obscure. Bodl. Gr. Inscr. 1205 is a fragment of another equally poor attempt to copy the same epigram, in a different but contemporary hand. <sup>1</sup>-Σ]παρτης <sup>2</sup>-]ελαξοναμη <sup>3</sup>-]αρτιαμωνειστ <sup>4</sup>-]αστελ-  
 λομεναι <sup>5</sup>-]παγαμετοξεξ <sup>6</sup>-]κακαλω (κα of καλω corrected). Line 1 does not correspond to l. 12 of the first copy, and seems to be a title.

in an abnormal text. In the sphere of the textual criticism of the New Testament the chief problems centre round the relation of the recension represented by the Codex Bezae (D) on the one hand to the text of the earliest codices, the Sinaiticus and Vaticanus, and on the other to the text upon which the Authorized Version was based. In Acts xxvi D, which differs more markedly in this book than elsewhere from the ordinary recensions, is defective, so that an additional value attaches to the papyrus, which agrees with some of the Old Latin MSS. allied to D. That MS. has generally been regarded as presenting the 'Western' text; but von Soden, the editor of the recently published Berlin edition of the New Testament, attributes it to the recension of Pamphilus of Caesarea—a theory which is probably untenable. Another hypothesis, which has been put forward by Dr Loewe, is that D is Egyptian in origin. The occurrence in Egypt of an early papyrus of Acts akin to D is in any case remarkable, but the theory of an Egyptian origin for that Graeco-Latin MS. has to encounter much *prima facie* improbability.

Among the other theological fragments is a considerable piece of the *Shepherd* of Hermas, a very popular early Christian work. The text, though not very good, naturally shows several improvements on that of the Mount Athos codex, the sole Greek authority for most of the *Shepherd*, which is nine centuries later than the papyrus. There are also pieces of several other early Christian treatises or homilies which do not seem to be extant. One of these contains a violent diatribe against the female sex. The author of this homily, addressed probably to ascetics, seems to have taken as his model ch. xi of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*, where most of the verses begin 'Through faith,' followed by various biblical examples. In the papyrus there is a long series of sentences of this character, 'Through a woman he (sc. the Evil one) blinded the most valiant Samson: through a woman he cut off the head of John the Baptist,' and so on.

In earlier Oxyrhynchus volumes we have published several valuable fragments of the lost poems of Pindar (Paeans, Partheneia, &c.), which down to the third century seem to have been read more widely than the extant epinician odes. The best papyrus in Part XIII from a literary point of view is a fragment of a roll containing his dithyrambs. These have been represented hitherto by a few quotations, two of which occur in the papyrus. The dithyramb is thought to have been originally a song to Dionysus, as the paean was a song to Apollo, but enlarged its scope in the time of Pindar's predecessors, Lasus and Simonides. The only complete specimens which are extant are five dithyrambs by Bacchylides. Our papyrus has parts of three dithyrambs, but two of these, one for the Argives apparently concerning Perseus, the other perhaps for the Corinthians, are too much broken to be intelligible. Of the third, which was for Pindar's own countrymen, the Thebans, and probably one of his most celebrated poems, the first 30 lines are well preserved. In it he draws a contrast between the old-fashioned and newer kinds of dithyramb in favour of the newer, which claims inspiration from the festival held in honour of Dionysus at Olympus. There follows a picturesque description of the celestial revels, and a characteristically grandiloquent reference to the poet himself, which leads to the subject of Thebes and the ancestry of Dionysus. The later part of the poem, which is lost, concerned the descent of Heracles to Hades in quest of Cerberus. Dionysus is more prominent in these dithyrambs than in those of Bacchylides, and two at any rate of the three odes were in triads, not in 'free' verse, the use of which has often been ascribed to Pindar, but is probably later.

The longest of the classical papyri in the new volume is from a roll containing several of the lost orations of Lysias. Of this there are about 150 fragments of varying sizes, most

of the larger pieces belonging to two speeches, of one of which about 150 lines are preserved with the title *πρὸς Ἰπποθέρσην ὑπὲρ θεραπαίνης*. All that was known of that speech previously was one or two words; but it must have been one of Lysias' more interesting orations, since it is concerned to a large extent with public affairs during and immediately after the administration of the Thirty tyrants who were set up in Athens after the capture of the city by the Spartans in B.C. 404. The suit turned on the ownership of some property bought by Hippotherses during the rule of the Thirty. The original owner, who was no other than the orator Lysias himself, regained or tried to regain possession of it after the restoration of the democracy in B.C. 403, but Hippotherses refused to give up the property without compensation, and prosecuted Lysias, the maidservant being apparently merely Lysias' agent. The speech throws some valuable light upon the terms of the amnesty arranged when the democracy was restored, one fragment quoting a section of the agreement about rights of ownership in connexion with sales. The concluding part, to which the longer pieces belong, consists of a comparison between Lysias' behaviour towards the State and his opponent's. The patriotism of Lysias, who, after losing much of his property through the action of the Thirty tyrants and going into exile, sacrificed the remainder in providing arms and mercenaries in support of the democrats, is recorded in a passage which must have been before Plutarch when writing his account of this part of Lysias' life in the *Lives of the Ten Orators*. Another speech, of which about 100 lines from the beginning are preserved, was directed against a certain Theomnestus, to whom the unnamed plaintiff in the suit had lent 30 minae in order to pay a debt of great urgency, but who now denied the loan. Two speeches of Lysias against a Theomnestus are extant, but this one was different, and its title is uncertain. Lysias is credited with no less than 425 speeches, of which the names of about 170 are known.

Another papyrus, found with the Lysias and containing several columns of a lost oration, is concerned with a *cause célèbre* of about B.C. 340. Among the earliest finds of literary papyri in the 19th century was the conclusion of a speech of Hyperides in defence of Lycophron, now in the British Museum. Lycophron was accused of entertaining revolutionary views on the subject of the marriage-tie, and in particular was charged with misconduct with the married sister of a famous athlete called Dioxippus. The prosecution was conducted by the celebrated orator Lycurgus, whose orations have all perished with one exception. In the Lycophron case Lycurgus composed two speeches, one in which he himself addressed the demos, the other for delivery in the law-courts by the chief plaintiff. It is to a second oration of Hyperides in answer to the second speech of Lycurgus that the papyrus probably belongs. This is shown by mentions of Lycophron as the defendant, Dioxippus, and Theomnestus, an accuser also mentioned in the extant oration, and secondly by the subject of the speech; for this, so far as preserved, has to do mainly with the responsibility for a breach in a wall which divided Lycophron's house from that of a lady, the explanation put forward by the prosecution being dismissed as frivolous.

More important than the Hyperides are some pieces of a lost historical work dealing with events in Greek history shortly after the Great Persian war. Out of about a dozen fragments which can be reconstructed, the longest of them containing about 20 lines, three belong to an elaborate description of the character of Themistocles, and closely correspond to Diodorus xi, 59; another describes the capture of Eion on the Strymon by Cimon in B.C. 471 in language borrowed with slight variations from Thucydides, the same event being also recorded by Diodorus in xi, 60. Another fragment refers to the naval victory of Cimon

off Cyprus in the same year, the verbal correspondence with Diodorus being again close, though some fresh details are provided and the number of the ships captured is given as 100, whereas Diodorus gives it as 'more than 100.' Three more pieces belong to an account of the battle of the Eurymedon in B.C. 466, again presenting many points of resemblance to Diodorus xi. 61; and two more refer to the plot of Artabanus in B.C. 465 to kill Xerxes, which resulted in the accession of Artaxerxes to the Persian throne, as related by Diodorus in xi. 69. The other fragments seem to be not connected with Diodorus, which renders the restoration of them much more difficult. The authorship of this historical work admits of little doubt. It is known that Diodorus' history was more or less based on that of Ephorus, and the period to which the papyrus refers falls outside the scope of Herodotus, Theopompus and Cratippus, and is only very briefly sketched by Thucydides, so that there is really no other historian than Ephorus whom Diodorus would be likely to follow as closely as he undoubtedly follows our author. The extant fragments of Ephorus which give his actual words are very few, but the style of the papyrus, which avoids hiatus, abounds in antitheses, and tends to be rather verbose, accords very well with the criticism of Isocrates that Ephorus required the spur. The strongest argument, however, in favour of the identification of our author with Ephorus is provided by the mention in the papyrus of the Persian general of the land-forces at the battle of the Eurymedon, Pherendates; for he is known from Plutarch to have been mentioned by name in Ephorus' narrative of that battle, and occurs in Diodorus xi. 60 in a passage obviously derived from our author. The discovery of some fragments of Ephorus at last is of considerable importance, principally because it enables us to realize, for the first time at all adequately, the debt of Diodorus to that celebrated historian, which is certainly much greater than has generally been supposed. Incidentally the new find will add fresh fuel to the discussion concerning the authorship of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*, in regard to which the view that Ephorus, not Theopompus or Cratippus, was the author has been so ably maintained by Mr E. M. Walker. The new evidence from style and relation to Diodorus is, I think, on the whole distinctly in favour of his theory: it also supports our attribution of P. Oxy. xi. 1365, a fragment concerning the history of Sicily, to Ephorus.

Some pieces (none of them very long) of a Socratic dialogue, not by Plato, which contain a discussion with Alcibiades chiefly concerning the character of Themistocles, prove to belong to the *Alcibiades* of Aeschines, the contemporary of Plato, not the orator. Aeschines, of whose lost dialogues Cicero amongst others had a high opinion, was not on good terms with Plato, and it is recorded of the latter philosopher that when Aeschines' pupils were reduced in number to one, Plato snatched away even that ewe lamb from his unsuccessful rival. Some of the fragments coincide with part of a long quotation from the *Alcibiades* in the works of the sophist Aristides; the new ones mostly refer to Themistocles' relations to his parents, his father, as is stated by Socrates, having disowned him. This story was also known to Plutarch, who however rejects it. The general outline of the dialogue seems to have been this: Socrates, knowing Themistocles to be the favourite hero of Alcibiades, led him on to make a panegyric of Themistocles, and then proceeded to show that after all Themistocles was not a very fine character. Aeschines was one of the most important followers of Socrates, and any new evidence concerning his lost dialogues, which obviously had much life in them, is welcome, especially in view of the current controversy, initiated by Prof. Burnet, concerning the historical character of the Platonic Socrates.

A papyrus of a novel character, of which there are considerable fragments, seems to

belong to a work somewhat resembling the *Προβλήματα* of Aristotle. That, however, was concerned with questions of natural science, while the papyrus deals with a number of miscellaneous questions concerning literary criticism or history, such as the phrase 'ruling by a spear' instead of a sceptre, which is explained with reference to the story of Caeneus, the legendary king of the Lapithae, who tried to make his subjects worship his spear as if it were a god. Other topics discussed are the number of judges at dramatic contests, the distinction between the various persons called Thucydides, the historian, the politician, and the Pharsalian, and the attribution of a certain poem (?) to Stesichorus or Lamprocles. The chief interest of the papyrus lies in its numerous quotations from works that have perished, including a long extract from Acusilaus, an Argive writer on mythology who lived in the sixth century B.C. The *Alcmaeon διὰ Κορίνθου* of Euripides, *Omphale* of Ion of Chios, *Bucchae* of Lysippus, and *Πλοῦτοι* of Cratinus are also cited, besides Polemon's treatise on the Athenian acropolis, the *Meno* of Plato, and Theophrastus' treatise *περὶ βασιλείας*.

Among the minor papyri in the section of new classical texts may be mentioned a little piece of a lost comedy, which owing to the occurrence of the proper names Thrasonides and Geta almost certainly belongs to the *Μισοῦμερος* of Menander, and a third century fragment of a philosophical work about *εἶδωλα*, in which the author refers to a commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, written by himself.

The fragments of extant classical authors include several of more than usual interest. In the sphere of poetry there is a fairly long papyrus containing parts of the 1st, 2nd, 6th and 7th Olympian odes of Pindar, this being the first manuscript of any of his extant odes to be discovered in Egypt. The papyrus, which belongs to the 5th or 6th century, shows that there has been comparatively little change in the text of Pindar since probably the 2nd century, owing to the exceptional care bestowed by grammarians on that difficult author. A fifth century papyrus containing portions of the 5th, 7th, and 15th Idylls of Theocritus is the first contribution from Egypt of much value for the text of that poet, which is often corrupt, the manuscripts being late and poor. The papyrus, as usual, stands apart from the existing families, and especially in Idyll xv (that concerning Gorgo and Praxinoë and the Adonis-festival) presents a number of new readings which are likely to be right, one of them verifying a conjecture of Reiske. Among prose authors Herodotus is represented by considerable portions of an early second century roll of Book iii, being longer than any Herodotean papyrus yet published. The older group of mediaeval MSS. is on the whole supported more than the younger, but the eclectic character of the papyrus text indicates that it is earlier than the division of the MSS. into families. In a few places modern suspicions as to the presence of interpolations in the mediaeval MSS. are confirmed by omissions in the papyrus, but in general the text is distinctly conservative. Another rather long and interesting papyrus, of the third century, contains part of the *Protagoras* of Plato, a dialogue not hitherto represented in papyri. This is remarkable for the number of alternative readings, mostly new, derived from a different recension, as in the fragments of the *Phaedrus* published in Part VII. The presence of similar alternative readings also distinguishes one of the four Thucydides fragments in the new volume: but the most valuable of the prose texts, as far as novelties are concerned, is a second century papyrus containing part of Aeschines' oration against Ctesiphon. The MSS. of Aeschines are very unsatisfactory, and the papyrus restores the right reading in a number of places, verifying several conjectures and eliminating several glosses which had crept into the text.

Part XIII will be confined to literary papyri, like Part XI: two sections, Contracts and

Private Accounts, for which there was not room in Part XII, are postponed to Part XIV: these include some rare specimens of first century B.C. papyri. The following is the translation of an agreement made in A.D. 342, which throws an interesting side-light both on the methods of apportioning public duties among the citizens of Oxyrhynchus and on the decline of paganism in the fourth century: 'Aurelius Apphous, son of Pathermouthius, of the illustrious and most illustrious city of Oxyrhynchus, to Aurelius Diogenes, son of Sarapion, overseer of the said city for the tribe which is now undertaking public offices, greeting. Whereas I and my son Thonius have been appointed to undertake a public office for a period of eight months in the coming year, and we requested you to assign to us a very light duty, that is to say the post of guard of the temple of Thoëris, you in the exercise of your clemency and confidence in us agreed to this; and we, as an equivalent return for this favour, acknowledge ourselves bound to perform the duties of guard of the said temple of Thoëris for a whole year instead of eight months, and have for your security issued the present bond, which shall be valid.' By another contract, written in A.D. 298, a professional athlete appoints a representative to go to Alexandria in search of a fugitive slave: 'Aurelius Sarapammon also called Didymus, citizen of Oxyrhynchus, . . . and Athens, victor in all the games within a cycle, of the rank of "excellency," president for life of a training-school, to Aurelius . . . from the said city of Oxyrhynchus, greeting. I appoint you by the present deed to journey to the most illustrious city of Alexandria and search for my slave called . . . , aged about 35 years, with whom you are acquainted. When you find him, you are to deliver him to me, and are to have the same powers as if I were acting myself to arrest, imprison, and flog him, and to bring an accusation before the proper authorities against any persons who harboured him, and to demand satisfaction.' The following is a contract of apprenticeship written about A.D. 180: 'Platonis also called Ophelia, daughter of Horion, from Oxyrhynchus, with her guardian who is her full brother, Plato, and Lucius son of Ision, his mother being Tisis, from the village of Aphrodisium in the Small Oasis, weaver, mutually acknowledge: Platonis also called Ophelia that she has apprenticed to Lucius her slave Thermuthion, who is under age, to learn the trade of weaving, for a period of four years dating from the 1st of the coming month, for which period she (Platonis) is to feed and clothe the girl and produce her to the instructor daily from sunrise to sunset in the performance of all the duties to be imposed upon her by Lucius appertaining to the aforesaid trade, her pay being for the first year at the rate of 8 drachmae a month, for the second year 12 dr., for the third 16 dr., and for the fourth 20 dr. a month, and that the girl is to be allowed annually 18 holidays on account of festivals, while, if there are any other days on which she is idle or ill, she shall remain with the instructor for an equal number of days at the end of the period, the tax upon the trade and imposts upon apprenticeship being chargeable to the instructor. Lucius on his part [consents to all these provisions and agrees to instruct the apprentice in the aforesaid trade within the four years as thoroughly as he knows it himself, and to pay the monthly wages, as above.]<sup>1</sup>

The editing of Part XIII is approaching the end, and the volume may be expected to appear in the autumn of 1918. It will therefore soon be necessary to make arrangements for Part XIV. Since we wish to keep, as far as practicable, to a chronological arrangement in the publication of non-literary documents, and in Part XII these mainly belong to the third and fourth centuries, in Part XIV they will mostly illustrate the fifth and sixth cen-

<sup>1</sup> Restored from the parallel contract P. Oxy. 725.

turies. This period has been rather neglected in the Oxyrhynchus series ever since Part I, which alone contains a considerable Byzantine section. But now, stirred by the example of Mr H. I. Bell, who in the last two volumes of the British Museum *Catalogue of Greek Papyri* has shown how much historical information is to be obtained from Byzantine papyri, we are anxious to produce another instalment from the vast store of 5th—7th century papyri from Oxyrhynchus. Part XIV will appear, I hope, in 1919.



With regard to the next instalment of new literary papyri, the publication of the first of the three large finds of classical texts in 1905, which began in Part V, will be completed by the Lysias and other papyri in Part XIII. Not very much more is to be expected from the second find, which began to be published in Part VIII: there remain from it (1) numerous fragments of several lyric texts, two probably of Pindar and two or three of Sappho, but all, I fear, too much broken to be of any real value; (2) a large quantity of still unsorted fragments, mostly small, from 50 or more literary papyri. Of one of these, a series of lives of famous literary characters, e.g. Thucydides, Aeschines and Demosthenes, there seems to be a fair amount, and in a few other cases the sifting of the fragments may, if combinations can be effected, lead to satisfactory results. Besides these there are available various literary fragments, not yet deciphered, from the papyri belonging to the 1904–5 season which I unrolled two years ago, including a poem in hexameters concerning the persea and other Nile trees, and a good-sized piece of Isocrates' oration *πρὸς Δημόνικον*. By the time that Part XIV will be completed, I hope that Prof. Hunt will have returned to Oxford and will join me in unrolling the third large find of literary papyri made in 1905. Concerning the precise nature and importance of that group of texts we are still very much in the dark, for the papyri in question were found at a great depth, where damp had begun to penetrate, and were not readily decipherable. But if the third find approaches the standard of the other two, which have produced most of the chief classical texts in Parts V—XIII, some interesting discoveries may be expected.



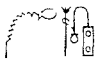
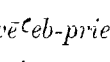

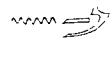
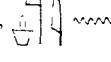
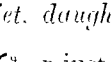
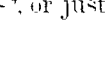
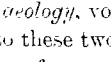
# THE FUNERARY PAPYRUS OF NESPEHER'AN

(*Pap. Skrine*, no. 2)


By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.LITT.

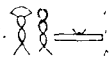

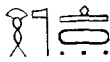
THE funerary papyrus of Nespeher'an ( var. ) which the authorities of the Bodleian Library have kindly permitted me to publish, belongs, like that of Enkhefenkhons<sup>1</sup>, to the small collection of Egyptian manuscripts presented to the Bodleian in March 1913<sup>2</sup> by the Rev. Vivian E. Skrine.


The papyrus, which is practically complete, is 2·44 m. long and 23·8 to 24 cm. wide. There is a blank margin of about 3·3 cm. at the top, 4·2 to 4·7 cm. at the bottom, and 11 cm. at the end. The margin at the beginning has been entirely broken off; however, a loose fragment with a clear-cut outer edge, that exactly joins on to the top corner, shows that it measured 1·8 to 2 cm. Unfortunately this fragment was not placed in position when the document was photographed. The roll has been cut into four pieces, each of which is mounted on a sheet of stiff white paper. There is no writing on the back.

Nespeher'an bears the titles  *wꜛeb-priest*, *scribe*,  *oblationer*<sup>3</sup> of the House of Amūn<sup>4</sup> (var.  *oblationer of all gods*<sup>5</sup>, or merely  *oblationer*<sup>6</sup>),  *god's father of Mēcet*<sup>7</sup> (var.  *god's father of Mēcet, daughter of Rē*<sup>8</sup>,  *beloved god's father of Mēcet, daughter of Rē*<sup>9</sup>, or just  *god's father*<sup>10</sup>).

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. IV, p. 122 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 122. In addition to these two papyri the collection comprises a large Demotic document with Greek on the top margin; three fragments of one roll that contain a considerable portion of *The Book of Breathings*; a largish fragment of papyrus, on which are a few Demotic words; four fragments, on which are the heads of Horus, Isis, and Nephthys, in colour; and three small fragments upon which is written in semi-hieroglyphic  "The Book of Him who is in the Tēi."

<sup>3</sup> Cf.  *wꜛh* *mor* "libationer" (GRIFFITH, *Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. III, p. 16). In our papyrus  *wꜛh*, in the compound , is often replaced by

 *whꜥ* e.g., §§ 6, 10, 14—18, 21—23; cf. JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderatekte*, p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> §§ 1, 4, 6, 8, 13.

<sup>5</sup> §§ 2, 3, 5, 7, 9—11, 15—18, 20—23.

<sup>6</sup> §§ 12, 14, 19.

<sup>7</sup> §§ 1—5, 14—18.

<sup>8</sup> §§ 7—13. In § 19 the title "god's father of Mēcet" is omitted altogether.

<sup>9</sup> §§ 6, 21—23.

<sup>10</sup> § 20.

The title "god's father of Mēcet<sup>1</sup>" suggests that there was at this period in Thebes an organised cult of the goddess Mēcet<sup>2</sup>. But perhaps, as occasionally seems to be the case<sup>3</sup>, the title *lt-ntr* is to be regarded as the equivalent of *hm-ntr*. That being so the title "god's father of Mēcet" would only indicate that Nespehercan exercised judicial as well as priestly functions<sup>4</sup>. Against this view, however, is the fact that Nespehercan is sometimes entitled "beloved god's father of Mēcet," and once "god's father" without further qualification.

The form of the name Nespehercan is characteristic of the XXIst—XXIIInd Dynasties<sup>5</sup>, and a priest of this name is the owner of one of the numerous XXIst—XXIIInd Dynasty coffins which were found near Dér el-Bahri in 1891 by the late Sir Gaston Maspero<sup>6</sup>.

The text, which is in the well-formed semi-hieroglyphic writing employed in the New Kingdom versions of the *Book of the Dead*, consists of twenty-three petitions to an equal number of divinities<sup>7</sup>, each petition being accompanied by a representation of the divinity to whom it is addressed. Eight of these twenty-three divinities, *i.e.* those belonging to §§ 2, 3, 7, 8, 10, 11, 15, and 23, occur among the representations of the 74 aspects of Rē<sup>8</sup>, which illustrate ch. 1 of the so-called *Litanie du Soleil* in the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses IV. But the addresses to these divinities in our papyrus bear no resemblance whatever to the corresponding addresses in the *Litanie*. Turn-Face, the divinity of § 6, is the celestial ferry-man of the *Pyramid Texts* and is also one of the forty-two Assessors<sup>9</sup>. The remaining fourteen divinities, though their exact counterparts apparently occur nowhere else, belong to that strange horde of demons and genii with whom popular imagination peopled the subterranean realms of the dead, and who appear in great numbers in the vignettes of the *Book of Him who is in the Tēi* and the *Book of Gates*. According to the last mentioned work the entrances to the various divisions of the underworld possessed each its guardian snake<sup>10</sup>. We also learn from chs. 144—147 of the *Book of the Dead* that, before he reached his final destination, the deceased had to pass a number of doors, each in charge of a fearsome keeper. Reminiscent possibly of these conceptions are the words "when he passeth by thee," which occur in the addresses to the great serpent (§ 1) and to the bubale-headed genius with a snake in his mouth (§ 9).

The illustrations, which are exceptionally well drawn, are, as Mr N. de G. Davies has pointed out to me, reminiscent at times of the figures in the two so-called Satirical Papyri, the one in the British, and the other in the Turin, Museum<sup>11</sup>. The attitude of the goat, § 8 in Pl. IV, is strikingly like that of the goat in the British Museum papyrus<sup>12</sup>; compare, too,

<sup>1</sup> See also LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire des Noms Propres*, p. 997, 69.

<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER's art. *Personification* (Egyptian), § 7, in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. IX, p. 790<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> See GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLVII (1910), p. 94.

<sup>4</sup> See ERMAN, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XVII (1879), p. 72.

<sup>5</sup> *E.g.* LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, 2267, 2276, 2299, 2300, 2304, 2371, 2544 (12, 21, 23, 43, 98, 117).

<sup>6</sup> LIEBLEIN, *op. cit.*, no. 2544; BAEDERER, *Egypt and the Sudan*, 1914 edition, p. 90. LIEBLEIN only gives two examples of this name, viz. no. 2469 and the example already quoted.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *Book of the Dead*, ch. 125 ["Confession"], where also, as frequently in our text, the words "who hast come from such and such a locality" immediately follow the name of the divinity.

<sup>8</sup> See E. NAVILLE, *La Litanie du Soleil*, Leipzig, 1875.

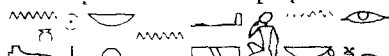
<sup>9</sup> See p. 28 with note 7.

<sup>10</sup> BUDGE, *The Egyptian Heaven and Hell*, ii, pp. 86 foll., 100 foll., etc.

<sup>11</sup> LEPSIUS, *Auswahl der wichtigsten Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterthums*, Pl. XXIII.

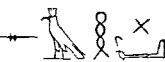
<sup>12</sup> LEPSIUS, *loc. cit.*, D.

the bubale- and donkey-headed divinities in Pls. IV. § 9 and V. § 17 with the goat-like animal and the donkeys of the Turin papyrus<sup>1</sup>. In the matter of fineness of technique the illustrations in our manuscript more closely resemble those of the Turin, than those of the British Museum, papyrus. For both text and illustrations black ink only has been employed.

Judging from such a grammatical construction as  in § 2, line 4 f. it is evident that the text must be a New Kingdom composition.

The mention of the "House of Amūn" in Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an's titles indicates that this roll, like that of Enkhefenkhons, came from the Theban necropolis.

At the beginning of the manuscript (Pl. III top) is depicted the *bai* of Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an, its head surmounted with a dab of scented ointment and a lotus bud; in front of it is a lighted lamp<sup>2</sup>. The *bai*, whose bird-body is furnished with human arms uplifted in the attitude of prayer (it is probably, therefore, supposed to be reciting the addresses to the divinities<sup>3</sup>), stands upon the top of a wooden shrine<sup>4</sup>, beside which is placed the emblem called *imy-wt*. The association of the *imy-wt* (which usually stands in front of Osiris) with a shrine, calls to mind Messrs Lythgoe and Mace's interesting discovery at Lisht during the season 1913-14. In a chamber in the thickness of the enclosure wall of the tomb of a certain Imhōtep was found, in addition to two wooden statuettes (the one representing a king of Upper, and the other a king of Lower Egypt), a wooden shrine containing an actual *imy-wt*, or rather a cleverly made model of one<sup>5</sup>. In our picture we are doubtless meant to think of the *imy-wt* as inside the closed shrine, the contents of which have been indicated by the artist in the usual pictographic manner. If the suggested explanation is correct, we have here a complete parallel to the discovery at Lisht.

§ 1 (Pl. III, top). ILLUSTRATION. The first divinity is an enormous snake whose prodigiously long body is coiled in the most fantastic manner imaginable. The nearest approach I can find to this monster is the picture of four great snakes, coiled one behind the other, in a scene in the tomb of Ramesses IV<sup>6</sup>. The divinity's name,  *Snh-hr*<sup>7</sup>, does not, so far as I can discover, occur elsewhere.

TEXT. "O *Snh-hr* within thy<sup>8</sup> chapel<sup>9</sup>, thou whose lair is a thousand cubits long within

<sup>1</sup> LEPSIUS, *loc. cit.*, A.


<sup>2</sup> See SETHE, *Zur Sage vom Sonnepaule*, p. 5, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> This is also indicated by the fact that the signs in the first petition (Pl. III) face the same way as the *bai*.


<sup>4</sup> Cf. WILKINSON, *The Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (1878 edition), vol. III, Pl. LXVI, register 3.

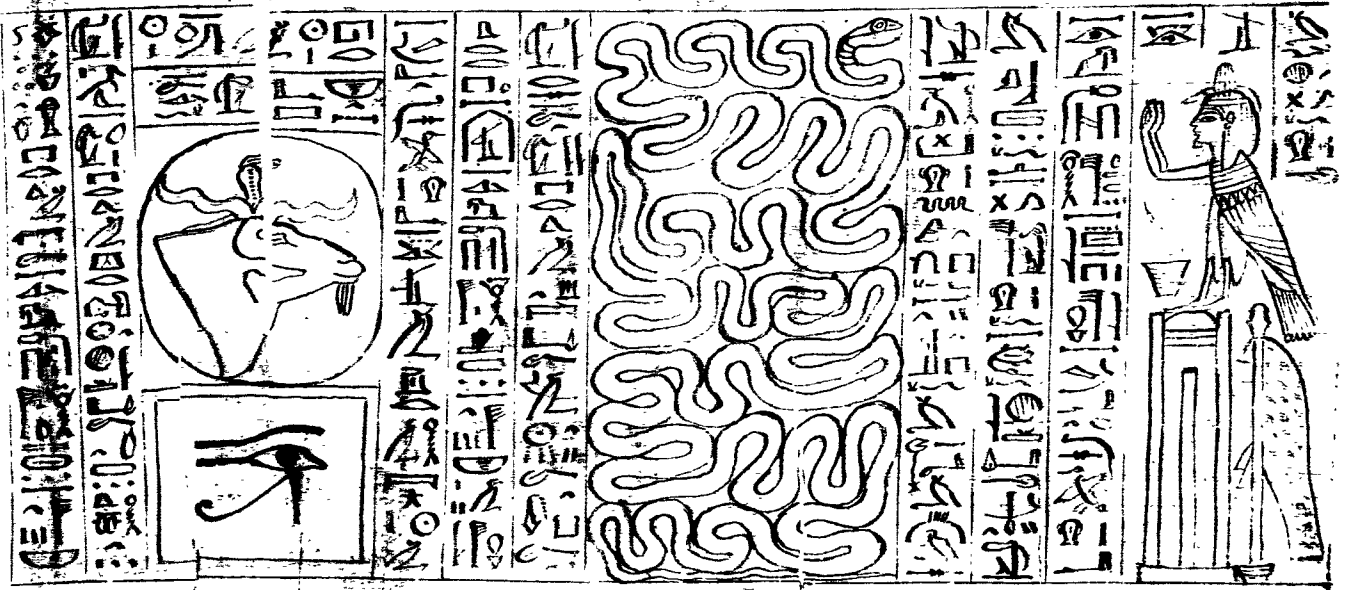
<sup>5</sup> A. M. LYTGOE, *Excavations at the South Pyramid of Lisht in 1914* (Supplement to the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, February 1915), p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. XXV; cf. also a representation of the Apophis-snake, *op. cit.*, Pl. XX.

<sup>7</sup> A snake-divinity with a somewhat similarly sounding name is  (LEGRAIN, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XV, p. 17; BERGMANN, *ib.*, vol. VI, p. 159), who also appears in some versions of ch. 125 of the *Book of the Dead* as the 5th Assessor (cf. BUDGE, *Book of the Dead* [Hieroglyphic Text], p. 515, line 12).

<sup>8</sup> Lit. "his," in accordance with the regular Egyptian usage in such cases.

<sup>9</sup> Reading  as *kr* cf. QUIBELL, *Excavations at Saqqara*, 1906-07, p. 26 [v]. But perhaps we should read *mlt* "abyss"!



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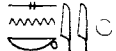
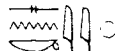
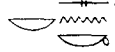


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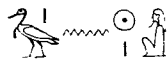



4





thy<sup>1</sup> coils, thou whom no god passes by for fear of thee<sup>1</sup>, grant justification<sup>2</sup> to the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amūn, god's father of Mēcet, Nespehercan, when he passes by thee."



§ 2 (Pl. III, top). ILLUSTRATION. A being called  Sty<sup>3</sup>, "Radiance," and represented in the form of a disk containing a ram's head with a uraeus between its horns. This being occurs in the tombs of Sethos I<sup>4</sup> and Ramesses IV<sup>5</sup>, where his name is written , and also in that of Ramesses IX<sup>6</sup>, where the name is written . It should be noted that in the tombs of Sethos I<sup>7</sup> and Ramesses IV<sup>8</sup> the name  the "Lord of Radiance" accompanies a mummiform divinity with a ram's head. Beneath the disk in our example is a rectangular frame enclosing a symbolic eye<sup>9</sup>.

TEXT<sup>10</sup>. "O Radiance, that hast come from heaven, grant thy light and illumine<sup>11</sup> the burial chamber (lit. cavern) of the tomb-chapel<sup>12</sup> of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mēcet, Nespehercan, in the night, in the day, and at any time he calls to thee."

§ 3 (Pl. III, top and bottom). ILLUSTRATION. The divinity, named  "Bai of Rēc," is represented as a *b3*-bird within a disk, beneath which is a rectangular frame containing a cat sitting on its haunches. This cat, like the one of § 23, Pl. VI, is distinctly leonine-looking. In writing "Bai of Rēc" the scribe by a slip of his pen has written  for , thus making the group of signs read "Bai of Geb." But the following parallels show clearly that , Rēc, is the correct reading<sup>13</sup>. In the tomb of Sethos I<sup>14</sup> there is a

<sup>1</sup> Lit. "his," in accordance with the regular Egyptian usage in such cases.

<sup>2</sup>  sic . For the loss of the final *c* in *m3c* see JUNKER, *Grammatik der Denderateste*, p. 14.

<sup>3</sup> The group  is derived from the hieratic form of ; see BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1335.

<sup>4</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sét I*, Part I, Pl. XV.

<sup>5</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. V.
























<sup>6</sup> GUILMANT, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, Pl. XIII.
























<sup>7</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sét I*, Part I, Pl. XX.

<sup>8</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. VII.

<sup>9</sup> Mr Griffith has suggested to me that possibly the frame in this and the other examples (Pls. III, §§ 3, 4; IV, §§ 8, 11; VI, § 23) depicts a box with a symbolic eye (cf. WILKINSON, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Pl. LXVI, 2nd register from the top, left end), cat, or label, as the case may be, painted on the side, and with the figure of a divinity (represented as above it in the picture) painted on the lid.


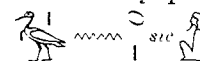

<sup>10</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. II, XXXIV, 9.

<sup>11</sup>  sic. For another example of the very rare verb *tk3* "illumine," see "May they grant ...that thou see the solar disk when he shines upon the mountains, that his light may illumine thy burial-chamber (                     ), and that he may be upon thy breast," *Pap. Skrine* no. 1, Text 1, line 8.


<sup>12</sup>  is probably to be read *syh*; cf.                      in § 11, and  in § 13. *Syh*, lit. "booth," "hall," seems here and also in § 10 to denote the super-structure of the tomb, i.e., the tomb-chapel, in contrast with *krr* "cavern," "burial-chamber."

<sup>13</sup> The only mention of the "Bai of Geb," so far as I know, is in ch. 17 of the *Book of the Dead* (ed. NAVILLE, line 89).

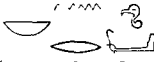
<sup>14</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sét I*, Part I, Pl. XV.

disk containing a ram-headed hawk, the whole figure being labelled  "Bai of Rē." There is also a disk (contents destroyed) in the tomb of Ramesses IV<sup>1</sup>, bearing the same appellation. In both instances this disk is immediately preceded by the one labelled *sty* "Brilliance," as is also the disk named  in our papyrus. The emendation  is further supported by the fact that this being is said to come from Kher<sup>c</sup>eha, a place in the near neighbourhood of Heliopolis and intimately connected with the sun-cult<sup>2</sup>. The combination of *b*-bird and disk, moreover, forms a sort of rebus for Bai of Rē, as does the combination of disk and ram-headed hawk in the above-quoted example from the tomb of Sethos I. Bai of Rē is one of the names of the *bnw*-bird<sup>3</sup>, that was supposed to dwell in the Heliopolitan sun-temple<sup>4</sup>, and that might well have some connection with Kher<sup>c</sup>eha.



TEXT. "O Bai of Rē, that hast come from Kher<sup>c</sup>eha, do thou grant bread, beer, flesh, fowl, incense, and ointment, which have come forth in thy presence, unto the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an, even from what remains over from thine offering table, that he may feed like the gods."

§ 4 (Pl. III. bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A lion- or panther-headed god, who is also furnished with a feline tail. He is named  Ntt-f-m-nkt, and stands upon an oblong frame containing the words "Ruler of the Living."

TEXT. "O Ntt-f-m-nkt, who hast issued from the Two Rights, thou shalt not have power over any limb of the Osiris, priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amūn, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an. {Thou} shalt not eat his flesh, thou shalt not devour his bones. He is the divine bai that hath come from Kher<sup>c</sup>eha."

§ 5 (Pl. III, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with a head like that of a griffon. His name is  Nb nrw "Lord of Strength."

TEXT. "O Lord of Strength, who hast come from the necropolis (t̄ dsr), do thou put the bai of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an, within thee. Cover him like the gods, without harm (sdb) to his body, without injury (t) to the wrapping of his mummy."

§ 6 (Pl. III, bottom, and Pl. IV, top). ILLUSTRATION. A crocodile-headed divinity with averted countenance, and named  Hr-f-n-h3-f. He must be the same being as  Hr-f-h3-f "Turn-Face," the celestial Ferryman of the *Pyramid Texts*<sup>5</sup>. This name is also given to the 27th Assessor in ch. 125 of the *Book of the Dead* (ed. Naville).

TEXT. "O Turn-Face, whose vision is taken away, the bai of the Osiris, the priest,

<sup>1</sup> LÉFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. V.

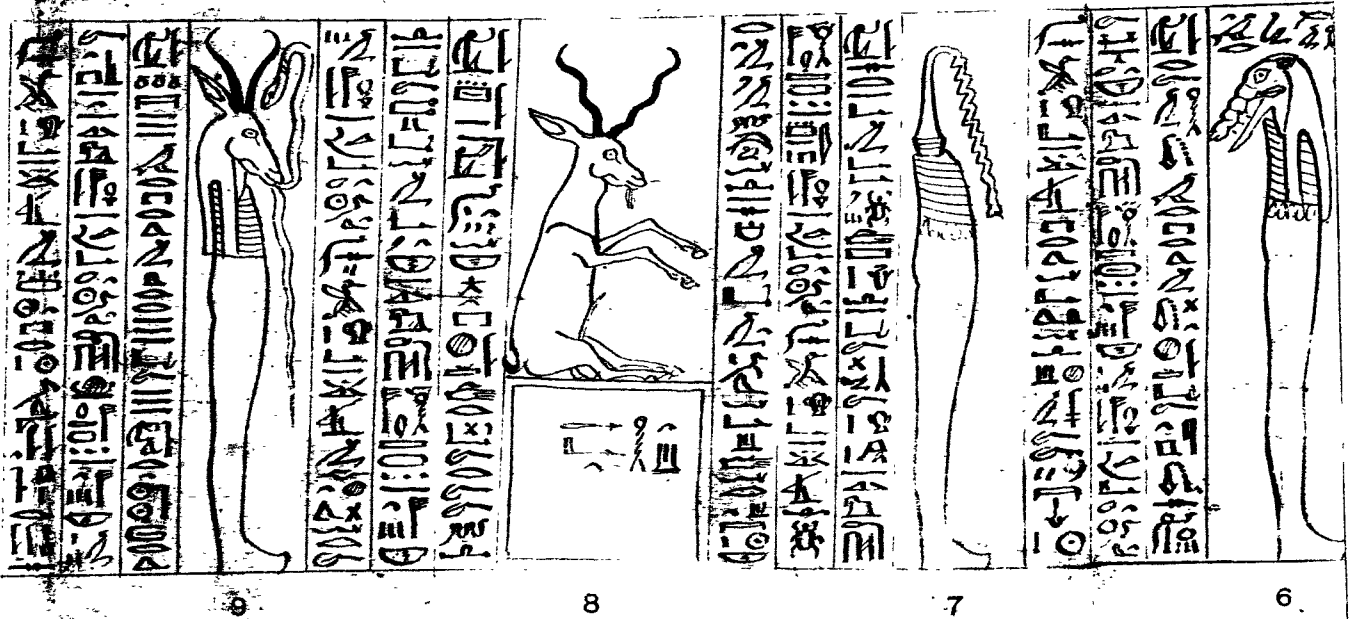
<sup>2</sup> See *Piankhi Stele*, lines 101 foll. *Book of the Dead* (ed. NAVILLE), ch. 29, line 1.

<sup>3</sup> ERMAN, *Handbook of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 23; GRAPOW, *Urkunden*, v, Germ. transl., p. 7, with note 2.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, Pls. II, XXXIV, 11.

<sup>5</sup> Reading *n'p' n'ng*.


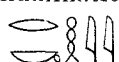
<sup>6</sup> SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, 383; see also ERMAN, *Handbook*, p. 94; LACAU, *Textes religieux*, vol. I, p. 112.












scribe, oblationer<sup>1</sup> of the House of Amūn, beloved god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, Nespehercan, shall not be taken from the Eddy (bbt) of the West or from any waters of the Field of Earu. He is Rēc, who hath come forth from the Celestial Cow<sup>2</sup>."

§ 7 (Pl. IV, top). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with a head in the form of a burning lamp. He is named  Rkhw wr "Great Heat," and the accompanying text suggests that he is here regarded as a personification of the ceremonial funerary illumination<sup>3</sup>. This divinity also occurs in the tomb of Sethos I<sup>4</sup>, where his name is written  Rkhy, and where he is depicted as mummiform with a human head surmounted by a burning wick or candle.

TEXT<sup>5</sup>. "O Great Heat, that hast come forth from Fire, do thou grant the kindling (of a light) and illumine every path<sup>6</sup> for the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, Nespehercan. May he come forth and go in, while darkness meets him not<sup>7</sup>."

§ 8 (Pl. IV, top). ILLUSTRATION. A he-goat seated on its haunches in a mock-human attitude<sup>8</sup>, and named  Sr "Ram" (sic). Beneath it is a rectangular frame in which are the words *tph(t) ʕt* "Great Cavern." In the tombs of Sethos I<sup>9</sup> and Ramesses IV<sup>10</sup> there is the representation of a ram-divinity in a somewhat similar, though utterly unlikeliike, attitude, and labelled in the one case  Sr ʕ "Great Ram," and in the other  Sr ʕ hprw "Ram, great in modes of being." Possibly, on the analogy of the latter inscription, the incomprehensible  of our text should be corrected to .

TEXT<sup>11</sup>. "O Ram (sic)<sup>12</sup>, great (?) in modes of being, red of heart, thou shalt not put thy evil upon the head of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amūn, god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, Nespehercan. The worm<sup>13</sup> (?) of his corpse shall not come into being. His bai shall not be driven back when it flies to heaven every day."

<sup>1</sup> See p. 24, note 3.


<sup>2</sup> *Mht-wrt* "Great Flood" (here written *mht-wrt*); see GRAPOW, *Urkunden*, v, 36 foll., and the German translation, p. 16, note 3.

<sup>3</sup> See DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhāt*, pp. 96 foll.

<sup>4</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sēti I*, Part I, Pl. XIX.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. IV, XXXVI, 40.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 97, and Pl. XXIII, upper register, line I of the text in front of the last figure on the right.

<sup>7</sup> Reading, at Dr Gardiner's suggestion, . For *hpr* used transitively see GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 16.


<sup>8</sup> See above, p. 25.

<sup>9</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sēti I*, Part I, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>10</sup> ID., *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. VI.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. III, XXXV, 26.

<sup>12</sup> *Sr* always, apparently, means "ram."

<sup>13</sup>  *sic*. So far as I can ascertain, the word occurs nowhere else.

§ 9 (Pl. IV, top). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with the head of a bubale (?), and named *Imn-dt-f*, "He-whose-body-is-hidden<sup>1</sup>." He holds in his mouth a live snake which looks as if it were about to bite his forehead.

TEXT. "O Thou whose Body is Hidden, lord of the Tēi, do thou repel the rkk-snake<sup>2</sup>. Thou shalt not suffer him to take hold of any member of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, Nespehercan, when he passeth by thee<sup>3</sup>."

§ 10 (Pl. IV, top and bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity named *Nwn wr* "Great Flood." He has a ram's head, the chin of which is adorned with a long tuft-beard: the horns are like those of an ox<sup>4</sup>. The same divinity occurs in the tomb of Sethos I, where he is named *Nwn*, without the attribute *wr*, and is depicted as standing, or immersed, in running water<sup>5</sup>. The fact that he is ram-headed, is called "Great Flood," and is said to come from the "cave" *hrr*, i.e. the subterranean source of the Nile at the First Cataract, later localised beneath the rocks of Bigeh<sup>6</sup>, suggests that he is a form of Khnum.

TEXT<sup>7</sup>. "O Great Flood, that hast issued from the Cave, give fresh water at the two seasons, and encompass the place of<sup>8</sup> the Osiris, the god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, priest, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan, in the Season of Inundation, the Season of Winter, the Feast of Thōth, and the Beginning of the Year unto its end<sup>9</sup>."

§ 11 (Pl. IV, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A divinity in the form of a captive, who is kneeling on one knee and has his arms bound behind his back. He does not, apparently, belong to any special race, but rather seems a composite figure,—his face, with its hairless upper lip, pointed beard, and scanty whiskers, being that of the ordinary south Palestinian desert-dweller, while his head-dress is that of a Hittite<sup>10</sup>. Beneath him is a rectangular frame containing the words *sh wr* "Great Hall." The divinity's name is *Nklw-mnt*. He occurs in the tomb of Sethos I<sup>11</sup>, where he is depicted in the same attitude, but fastened by the arms to a post; his name is there written

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the ox-headed mummiform divinity named "Hidden One," in LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sēti I*, Part I, Pl. XVI, and Id., *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. VI (tomb of Ramesses IV).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. a snake called LANZONE, *Dizionario di Mitologia egizia*, p. 487, and another called LACAU, *Textes religieux*, vol. I, p. 86, no. XXXVI; MASPERO, *Études de Mythologie*, vol. II, pp. 104-6, 108, 124; BUDGE, *Book of the Dead* [Hieroglyphic Text], Vocab., p. 197.

<sup>3</sup> *M-ht swš-f* ; this is for

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the horns of the divinity in § 14, Pl. V.

<sup>5</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sēti I*, Part I, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>6</sup> JUNKER, *Das Gotterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 37 foll.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. III, XXXV, 20.

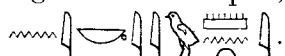
<sup>8</sup> *sw* : cf. § 19, line 2, Pl. V.

<sup>9</sup> Reading


<sup>10</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 166, and cf. Pl. 159 b.

<sup>11</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sēti I*, Part I, Pl. XV III.




*Nikyw-mnît*, as though it meant "the Vanquished One<sup>1</sup> of the Post" (*mnît*). He also occurs, together with the post, in the tomb of Ramesses IV<sup>2</sup>, where the name appears in the form



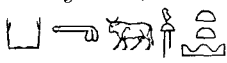
TEXT<sup>3</sup>. "O Nkîw-mnt, that hast come from the Well (*Îmht*<sup>4</sup>), give the Great Hall (*sh wr*) which is beneath thee unto the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, the daughter of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an. Cover him within thee like all gods<sup>5</sup>, that he may receive offering like them."

§ 12 (Pl. IV, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A goddess, named  *Scryt*, with two heads, the one of a lioness, the other of a crocodile,—the latter emerging from the back of the former. I can find no other example of the goddess or of her name.

TEXT. "O *Scryt*, that hast come from the West, give thy arms to embrace the face of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, the daughter of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an. Hide him in thy arms. Drive away pain from him. There shall no evil come to pass upon his mummy any day."

§ 13 (Pl. IV, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A ram-headed beetle, surmounted by the solar disk between two uraei. From either uraeus depend the signs , one below the other. Between the beetle's hind legs is the sign . This being is called  *Shm šfy* "Venerated Power."

TEXT. "O *Venerated Power*, that hast come down from heaven, a lord of strength against thine (lit. his) enemy, set thy hot breath as fire against the enemies of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of the House of Amūn, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, the daughter of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an. Smite the foes who come against him, and dispel evil from the entrance of his tomb-chapel<sup>6</sup>."

§ 14 (Pl. V, top). ILLUSTRATION. An ox-headed mummiform divinity named  *K3 Îmntt* "Bull of the West," and with the same shaped horns and the same kind of beard as the divinity described in § 10. "Bull of the West" is a not uncommon appellation of Osiris<sup>7</sup>.

TEXT. "O *Bull of the West*, that hast come from *Kher<sup>c</sup>eha*, is the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer, god's father of Mē<sup>c</sup>et, Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an, one of those gods who belong to the kindred of Osiris? He was with Horus on the day of Opening the Way."

§ 15 (Pl. V, top). ILLUSTRATION. An enclosure with parallel sides and rounded ends, containing a sacred eye. At the top is a hawk's head upside down, from which

<sup>1</sup> See EMBER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LI (1913), p. 115, 47.

<sup>2</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. VI.

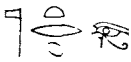
<sup>3</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. II, XXXIV, 8.

<sup>4</sup> See *Piankhi Stele*, line 101; BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 36 ff.; ID., *Wörterbuch*, Suppl., p. 70; see also *Pap. Skrine*, no. 1, Text IV, line 10. For a representation of the *Îmht*, see GUIEYSSÉ-LEFÉBURE, *Le Papyrus funéraire de Soutinès*, Paris 1877, Pl. XIX, and NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. I, Pl. CLXIX.

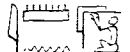
<sup>5</sup> *Piankhi Stele*, loc. cit., informs us that an offering was made by Piankhi to "Atum in *Kher<sup>c</sup>eha*, the Ennead in the House of the Ennead, the Well (*îmht*) and the gods who are in it."

<sup>6</sup> See above, p. 27, note 12.

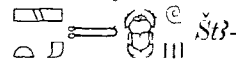
<sup>7</sup> *Book of the Dead* (ed. NAVILLE), ch. 1, line 3; ch. 182, lines 12, 17.

descend three rays represented by dotted lines<sup>1</sup>; the rays cross the eye and touch the bottom of the enclosure. The figure is named  *Ntrt* "Divine Eye." There is a similar figure, bearing the same appellation, in the tombs of Sethos I and Ramesses IV<sup>2</sup>.

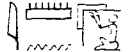
TEXT<sup>3</sup>. "*O Divine Eye, that art in heaven, Great One, mistress of the West, grant the Gracious Eye (ḳh(t)) in brightness, illumine the tomb of the Osiris, the god's father of Mēcet, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan, and overthrow his enemy in the Necropolis, in the night, in the day, and at any time.*"

§ 16 (Pl. V, top). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity named  *Imn*, "Hidden One<sup>4</sup>." He has a human head furnished with the usual exaggerated tuft-beard, and wears the crown of Upper Egypt tied with a fillet, the ends of which hang in two long streamers down his back.

TEXT. "*O Hidden One, that art in Mḳwn<sup>5</sup>, a 'coming forth unto the voice,' incense, unguent, linen thread, and cloth for thy mummy, pṣt-cakes for thy bai, the Tēi for thy corpse, (and) for the Osiris, the god's father of Mēcet, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan.*"

§ 17 (Pl. V, top and bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with an ass's head, who grasps a gecko-lizard with both hands<sup>6</sup>; he is named  *Šb-hprw* "Mysterious of Modes of Being<sup>7</sup>." The gecko is called *burāṣeh* or *burṣ* (برص: براصه) by the modern Egyptians, who think it can afflict people with leprosy (*baraṣ* برص) by spitting or puffing over them or over their food.

TEXT. "*O Mysterious of Modes of Being, that hast come forth from the Two Rights, suffer the bai of the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, god's father of Mēcet, Nespehercan, to ascend to heaven, to traverse the firmament, to fraternize with the stars of heaven.*"

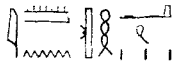
§ 18 (Pl. V, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A lion-headed mummiform divinity with a live snake in his mouth; the reptile's tail hangs down straight in front of him, but the upper part of its body is uplifted and coiled round above his head. The divinity, like that of § 16, is called  *Imn*, "Hidden One."

TEXT. "*O Hidden One, lord of the Tēi, do thou repel the rkk-snake<sup>8</sup> from the Osiris, the god's father of Mēcet, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan. Thou shalt not suffer him to take hold of his body in the Necropolis.*"

<sup>1</sup> In the tomb of Ramesses VI a hawk's head protrudes upside down from a disk and from it two rays, represented by small circles, descend upon a mummy (LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. II, Pl. 50).

<sup>2</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sêti I*, Part I, Pl. XVIII; ID., *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. VI.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Litanie*, Pls. III, XXXV, 24.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. a similar figure standing inside an oval and named  "Hidden of Body," LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sêti I*, Part I, Pl. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> *I.e.*, the mountain of the West.

<sup>6</sup> For other examples of divinities holding geckos, see NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. I, Pl. CCVIII.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, Pl. 79, line 2.

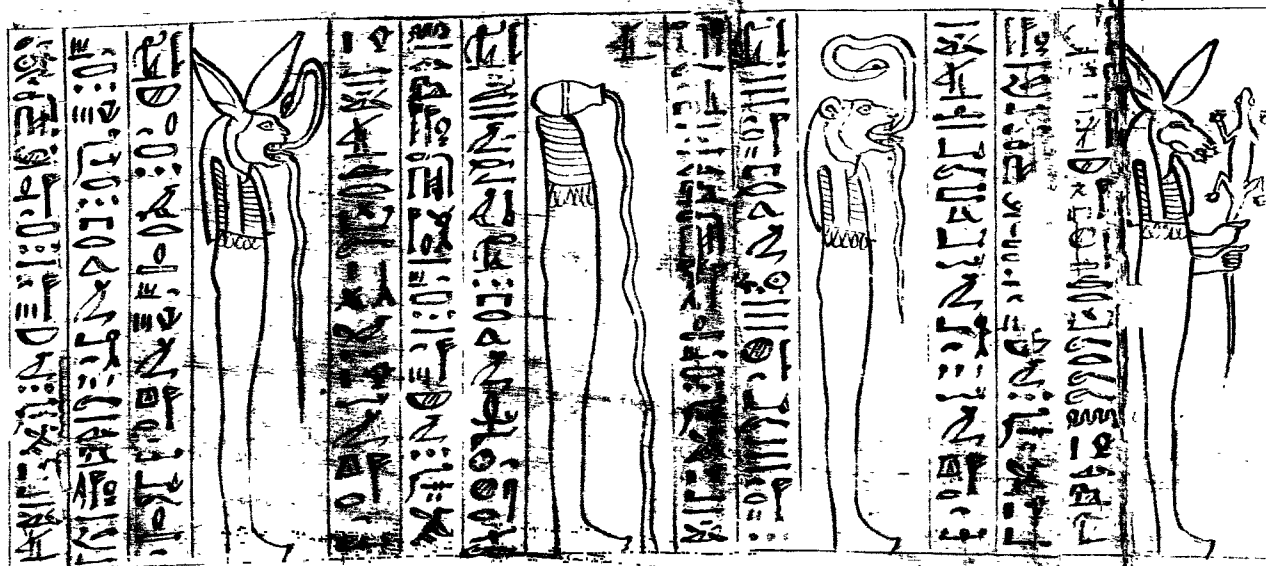
<sup>8</sup> See p. 30, footnote 2.



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
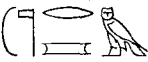
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



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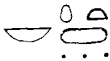


§ 19 (Pl. V, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity, whose head consists of a pot, from the mouth of which issues a stream of water. He is called  *Mw Ntry* "Divine Water," and seems to be a personification (cf. § 21) of the water required by the dead for their posthumous lustrations. Cf. the "Divine Pool in God's Town" () from which the deceased Pharaoh's ablution-vessels are filled<sup>1</sup>.

TEXT. "O Divine Water, that hast issued from the spittle(?)<sup>2</sup> of *Rē*, do thou grant divine water and do thou purify the place of<sup>3</sup> the Osiris, the priest, scribe, oblationer, *Nespehercan*."

§ 20 (Pl. V, bottom). ILLUSTRATION. A mummified divinity with the head of a hare. He holds in his mouth a live snake, which seems about to bite his forehead. His name is  *Wuntw-šd-hrw*. The latter part of the compound, *šd-hrw* (= "he who lets [his] voice resound"), is the name of the 23rd Assessor in ch. 125 of the *Book of the Dead*<sup>4</sup>. Is the fact that this divinity has a hare's head<sup>5</sup> in any way connected with the element *wuntw*?  the badge of the XVth nome of Upper Egypt, a hare on a perch with the sign for nome, is probably to be read *Wnt*, the capital town being  *Wnw*.  might possibly be a *nisbe*-form of *Wnt* (cf. *mšctw* for *mšcty*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. IV, p. 124, note 2) and mean "He of the Hare nome."

TEXT. "O *Wuntw-šd-hrw*, that hast come from the *štf-nome*<sup>6</sup>, overthrow *Apōphis* for the Osiris, the god's father, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, *Nespehercan*, and drive away evil from him in the Necropolis."


§ 21 (Pl. V, bottom, and Pl. VI). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with a head composed of a basket containing a bunch of onions and a loaf of bread. His name is  *Nb-b* "Lord of Bread," and he is clearly a personification of the food-offerings which enabled the dead to continue their existence,—indeed it is stated in the text that food-offerings emanate from his body.

Bread seasoned with raw onions still forms the staple food of the Egyptian peasant: hence onions are not out of place in the composition of a personification of bread.

We might perhaps compare with our divinity one figured in the tomb of Sethos I, a mummiform god bearing on his head a jar (of beer?) and a conical loaf of bread<sup>7</sup>.

TEXT. "O Lord of Bread, great of offerings in the Necropolis, grant offerings of food.

<sup>1</sup> *Pyr.* 1140 *a, b*; see also BLACKMAN, *Sacramental Ideas and Usages in Ancient Egypt*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, pp. 57—66, 86—91.

<sup>2</sup> Reading  as *tf* "spittle" see BRUNSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 1543 f.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 30, footnote 8.

<sup>4</sup> NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Tottenbuch*, vol. II, p. 300.

<sup>5</sup> See GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, pp. 16 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 17.


<sup>7</sup> See BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, p. 2, note 1; vol. II, p. 38, note 1. The northern *štf*-nome is adjacent to the Hare-nome.

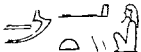
<sup>8</sup> Cf. the personification of incense and natron *Pyr.* 1251 *a—d* and of clothing, GARDINER, art. *Personification* (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. IX, p. 791<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sôti I*, Part IV, Pl. XXXIX.







which have issued from thy body<sup>1</sup>, unto the Osiris, the beloved god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan."

§ 22 (Pl. VI). ILLUSTRATION. A mummiform divinity with a snake's head, which is furnished with a long tuft-beard<sup>2</sup> and surmounted by an ostrich feather . He is called

 Mēcty "Righteous One."

TEXT. "O Righteous One, who hast come from Thinis<sup>3</sup>, grant justification unto the Osiris, the beloved god's father of Mēcet, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan, when he arrives at the Broad Hall of the Two Rights."

§ 23 (Pl. VI). ILLUSTRATION. A distinctly leonine-looking cat<sup>4</sup> seated on its haunches above a rectangular enclosure containing a symbolic eye. Above the cat are the signs  followed by a large . The cat is called  Myt nt hsbd "Cat of Lapis Lazuli," and is connected somehow or other with the ceremonies of mummification (see the text). There is a similar divinity with the name "Great Cat" in the tombs of Ramesses IX<sup>5</sup> and Sethos I<sup>6</sup>. A cat-headed mummiform divinity named  Mhwty also occurs in the tombs of Sethos I<sup>7</sup> and Ramesses IV<sup>8</sup>.

TEXT. "O Cat of Lapis Lazuli, great of forms, who prescribest ordinances (ts<t> nt<w>)<sup>9</sup>, mistress of the Good House<sup>10</sup>, grant the beauteous West in peace unto the Osiris, the beloved god's father of Mēcet, the daughter of Rēc, priest, scribe, oblationer of all gods, Nespehercan."

#### THE PURPOSE OF PAP. SKRINE, NO. 2.

By means of these twenty-three representations of divinities and the accompanying addresses Nespehercan was provided with all that was accounted essential for his posthumous welfare. The Egyptians, it should be remembered, maintained that divinities were immanent in the representations of them<sup>11</sup> and that the accompanying written formulae determined their actions. In accordance with this conception §§ 1 and 22 secure justification for Nespehercan<sup>12</sup>, §§ 9 and 18 protect him from venomous serpents<sup>13</sup>, §§ 4—6, 8, 11, 12, 13, 15, and 20 preserve his body from harm and corruption<sup>14</sup>, repel his enemies, drive away all evil from him, and render powerless the hostile divinities he will have to encounter<sup>15</sup>. By

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the statements in various religious texts about water (*Pyr.*, 788, 1360, 2007, 2031), incense (*Pyr.*, 116 a, 378; BLACKMAN, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. L [1912], pp. 69 foll.), natron (*Pyr.*, 26 c, d), and other commodities (e.g., *Pyr.*, 117 b, 1799 foll.); see also MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 57 foll.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. NAVILLE, *Das ägyptische Todtenbuch*, vol. I, Pls. XXIX, CLV.

<sup>3</sup> *Tow*; see BRUGSCH, *Dict. géogr.*, p. 951.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 27, § 3.

<sup>5</sup> GUILMANT, *Le Tombeau de Ramsès IX*, Pl. XLI.

<sup>6</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Le Tombeau de Sétî I*, Part I, Pl. XVI; NAVILLE, *Litanié*, Pl. V, 56.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> LEFÉBURE, *Les Hypogées royales de Thèbes*, vol. III, Pl. V.

<sup>9</sup> In view of what follows the "ordinances" must be the ceremonies performed during the various processes of mummification.

<sup>10</sup> A name for the embalmer's laboratory (GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 25, note on line 39; DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Amenemhêt*, p. 45, note 3).

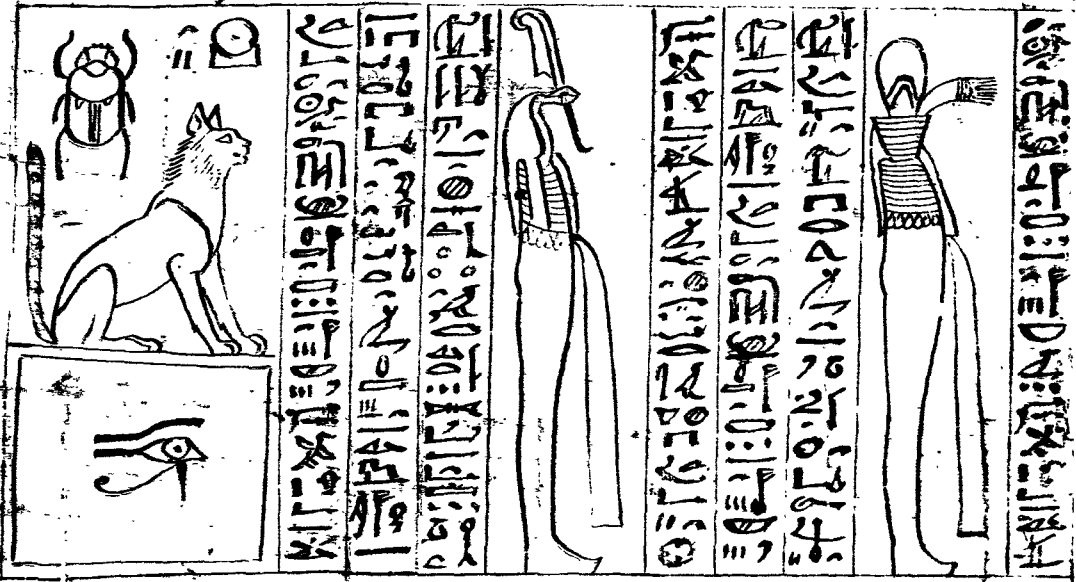
<sup>11</sup> JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, p. 6; see also MASPERO, *Mémoire sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, pp. 37 foll., 40 foll.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. *Book of the Dead*, ch. 125.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, ch. 45.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, chs. 33—35, 39.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, chs. 18 f., 31, 47, 50, 148 (rubric), 153.



THE SKRINF PAPYRUS No. 2



means of §§ 3, 11, 16, and 21, he is supplied with food, drink, and other offerings<sup>1</sup>, and by means of §§ 10 and 19 with water<sup>2</sup> for his refreshment and cleansing. The desire to dwell in perpetual light and to be free from all the perils of darkness is rather a marked feature of our papyrus. The fulfilment of this desire is attained through §§ 2, 7, and 15. The §§ 4 and 6 identify Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an with Rē<sup>c</sup> or with the *bai* of that god, while § 14 associates him with the companions of Horus on the day of Opening the Way<sup>3</sup>. The daily ascent of Nespeher<sup>c</sup>an's *bai* to heaven<sup>4</sup> is assured by § 8, and his peaceful entry into the West<sup>5</sup> by § 23.

This short composition, therefore, the copying out of which would entail comparatively small outlay, gave the man of moderate means the same advantages as those his wealthier neighbour derived from a lengthy and expensive *Book of the Dead*, or from texts and representations carved or painted on the walls of his tomb-chapel,—texts like those that describe the posthumous life of Nakhtmin and Paḥeri<sup>6</sup>, or the scenes depicting the preparation and presentation of food- and drink-offerings.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Book of the Dead*, chs. 53, 148.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, ch. 1, 42, 66, *et passim*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. LEPSIUS, *Todtenbuch*, Pl. I, line 20.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *op. cit.*, chs. 57—59, 62, 63 A.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. ERMAN, *Handbook*, p. 106 f.

<sup>6</sup> ERMAN, *loc. cit.*

## NEW RENDERINGS OF EGYPTIAN TEXTS

BY BATTISCOMBE GUNN AND ALAN H. GARDINER

### II. THE EXPULSION OF THE HYKSOS.

ONE of the most obscure and at the same time most interesting chapters in Egyptian history is that which recounts the domination of the country by the Hyksos, or "Shepherd Kings" as late tradition called them, and their subsequent expulsion by the native kings, when these, after about a century of oppression at the hands of the invading race, succeeded in throwing off the yoke and in re-establishing their sovereignty over the whole land. Little indeed is known of the time when the alien overlords were at the height of their power: its remains are scanty, and give hardly any information beyond a number of names; but of its sequel, the struggle from which Egypt emerged victorious, somewhat more is known. New light has been thrown upon the Hyksos by the researches and discoveries of the last few years, and the present moment seems a not unseasonable one to translate anew and annotate such native records as have anything to tell us of the events which marked the close of that troublous and critical time<sup>1</sup>.

Before giving these records, it will not be amiss to devote a page or so to summarizing the views at present held on the Hyksos and their relations with Egypt. It must be pointed out that these views are in great part hardly more than conjecture, owing to the paucity of the data upon which they rest, and that historians are at variance on many important points: hence much of what follows lies rather in the realm of the probable or possible than in that of the certain.

Towards the close of the eighteenth century<sup>2</sup> before our era Egypt had for long been

<sup>1</sup> We shall confine ourselves to such native writings as recount, or allude to, the sojourn of the Hyksos in Egypt and their expulsion therefrom, gladly leaving to others the criticism of the Greek sources and the study of the royal names of the period. The Manethonian tradition has been brilliantly treated by ED. MEYER, *Aegyptische Chronologie*, pp. 80 foll., but on this topic assured conclusions are unobtainable. The lesser monuments have been collected with the utmost diligence by R. WEILL, *Les Hyksos et la Restauration nationale* in *Journal Asiatique*, 1910-3, with further articles on the same subject, *ibid.*, 1917. M. Weill holds the entire story of the Hyksos to be a legendary construction, and the historical nucleus which he extracts is very different from that usually accepted; a very severe criticism is to be found in ED. MEYER, *Geschichte des Altertums*<sup>2</sup>, § 303, where most recent literature bearing on the question is quoted.

<sup>2</sup> The total of 511 years for the length of the Hyksos domination (JOSEPHUS, *Contra Apionem*, I, 84, as from Manetho) is now generally discredited. Ed. Meyer considers a century to be ample: HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 217, thinks this too extreme a view, and proposes 1800 B.C. as a possible date for the invasion. PEIRIE, *Historical Studies*, vol. II, pp. 13 foll., makes an elaborate but unsuccessful attempt to vindicate the figures of Manetho. The one early piece of native evidence for the

in a condition of anarchy and general disorganisation, brought about by the degradation of the strong and beneficent rule of the Middle Kingdom Pharaohs into a continuous series of dynastic struggles, faction striving with faction for the control of the country and king succeeding king almost annually. This period of weakness synchronised with an era of unrest and displacements in the adjacent Asiatic countries, whose populations were being pressed upon or even displaced by invaders coming possibly from more than one quarter. As the result of Egypt's distraught condition and of the upheavals abroad she was overrun, on her Asiatic frontier, by a horde of foreigners against whom she was powerless to defend herself. These foreigners are now generally thought to have been Semites, a view supported by the fact that such personal names of members of the Hyksos as Egyptian inscriptions and scarabs have preserved to us are for the most part West-Semitic<sup>1</sup>. Professor King has advanced the plausible theory that the Hyksos invasion was due to the diversion south-westwards of a wave of migrating nomads driven northwards out of Arabia by the increasing aridity of their country; the same cause has been a constant factor in the history of these parts, and has in successive ages brought about the semitization of Babylonia, the establishment of the Aramaean kingdom, and the political expansion of Islam<sup>2</sup>. With this hypothesis agrees the fact that the Egyptians themselves designated the Hyksos by the name *ʿAʿamu*, literally "users of the boomerang," a common name applied to the desert Arabs, if not necessarily confined to them<sup>3</sup>. Another view, however, is held by Eduard Meyer, who connects the emergence of the Hyksos with movements from the north, known to have taken place at about this period; the Mitanni race, coming from Asia Minor and speaking a language related to the Caucasian and Hittite idioms, had already founded a kingdom in northern Mesopotamia and Syria, and there were also movements in progress of Aryan peoples who eventually gained the ascendancy in the Mitanni kingdom and elsewhere in Syria. We have seen that the Hyksos themselves were probably Semites; hence we are unable to accept the view, from which Professor Meyer is not averse, that they may themselves have been of Mitanni or Aryan race<sup>4</sup>. But it must be admitted that the theory which would explain the invasion of Egypt as due to pressure from the north has no less to be said for it than the opposing view advocated by Professor King. Possibly both factors coincided.

Manetho, the Egyptian priest who wrote a history of his country in Greek in the reign of Ptolemy I, gives an account of this period that is too well known to need much

length of the Hyksos domination which we possess is the stele from Tanis carved in the reign of Ramesses II (first half of thirteenth century B.C.) and dated in year 400 of Seth Nubti; the most accessible reproduction is BUDGE, *History*, vol. III, p. 157. Seth Nubti is here doubtless the god, and the reference is very possibly to the renewal of his cult in Tanis during the Hyksos period, *i.e.* about 1670 B.C.; but this interpretation is not quite certain, and in any case proves but little. See ED. MEYER, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, pp. 65-7.

<sup>1</sup> See especially BURCHARDT, *Zur Rassenzugehörigkeit der Hyksos*, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. I (1912), pp. 6 foll.

<sup>2</sup> KING, *History of Babylon*, pp. 119 foll., 132.

<sup>3</sup> For the term *ʿAʿamu* as applied to the Hyksos see the Carnarvon Tablet and the Speos Artemidos inscription translated below; probably also the Salhier papyrus. The genuine Manetho knows nothing of their race but calls them τὸ γένος ἄσκητοι "obscure of birth" Jos., *op. cit.*, I, 75; neither the tradition that they were Arabs (*Ibid.*, I, 82, nor the statement that they were Phoenicians (the Epitome according to both Africanus and Eusebius) emanates from Manetho himself.

<sup>4</sup> *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 55, note 1; also *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, § 394.

discussion in this article. He there tells us that the invaders were called Hyksos, that is "Herdsman Kings"—popularly rendered in English "Shepherd Kings"—from *hyk*, a word for "king" in the sacred language, *i.e.* the language of the hieroglyphs, and from *sos*, meaning in the vulgar tongue "herdsman". The derivation is specious, for the two words do exist in Egyptian with the meanings which Manetho gives:  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆎} \\ \text{𓆏} \end{smallmatrix}$  *hkꜣ*, possibly to be vocalised *hyk*, signifies "ruler" or "chieftain" in early times, and the Coptic *shōs* "herdsman," which could only be rendered *sōs* in Greek writing, is probably derived from a hieroglyphic term  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆏} & \text{𓆐} & \text{𓆑} & \text{𓆒} \\ \text{𓆓} & \text{𓆔} & \text{𓆕} & \text{𓆖} & \text{𓆗} \end{smallmatrix}$  *ššw*, for the nomads of northern Arabia and the outskirts of Palestine<sup>1</sup>. However, it is generally believed to-day that this is a false "popular etymology," and that the origin of the word is to be seen in the Egyptian term  $\begin{smallmatrix} \text{𓆎} & \text{𓆏} & \text{𓆐} & \text{𓆑} & \text{𓆒} \\ \text{𓆓} & \text{𓆔} & \text{𓆕} & \text{𓆖} & \text{𓆗} \end{smallmatrix}$  *hkꜣw-hꜣswt* (perhaps pronounced something like *hok'u-shōse* in the New Kingdom), "rulers of foreign countries," which is occasionally found from the Sixth Dynasty to Ptolemaic times as a general term for foreign tribal chiefs, whether from the north of Egypt or from the south, but which during the Eighteenth Dynasty was used especially of the Asiatic races (and not merely their rulers) with whom Tuthmosis III and his son Amenophis II fought in Syria<sup>2</sup>. Manetho also tells us that they conquered the country "without a battle." This may be exaggeration, but we may at least guess that their success was easily obtained, a fact that has been explained as due to their superior archery, together with their use of chariots drawn by horses, previously unknown in Egypt<sup>3</sup>. With these advantages they might well have been able to harry the Egyptian forces without once meeting them in a pitched battle, the form of fighting to which the armies of the Pharaohs were most accustomed.

Whether they at once overran the whole of Egypt is doubtful—Manetho records only their capture of Memphis; but all our sources agree that they laid the entire country under tribute, making their headquarters at Avaris, a city which has not yet been located, but which probably lay on the fringe of the desert, near the caravan-route to Syria, perhaps at no great distance from Pelusium<sup>4</sup>. During their occupation of Egypt

<sup>1</sup> Ἐκαλείτο δὲ τὸ σίμπαν αἰτῶν ἔθνος Ὑκσῶς (ἄλλῃ Ὑκουσσῶς, *Hyksōs*, etc.), τοῦτο δὲ ἐστὶ βασιλείς ποιμένες· τὸ γὰρ Ὑκ καθ' ἱερὰν γλῶσσαν βασιλεία σημαίνει, τὸ δὲ Σῶς ποιμήν ἐστὶ καὶ ποιμένες κατὰ τὴν κοινὴν αἰδέκτορος· Jos., *op. cit.*, I, 82. Josephus goes on to quote a second derivation αἰχμάλωτοι ποιμένες "Captive Shepherds," which he prefers for specifically Jewish reasons; here the element Ὑκ is connected with an old Egyptian word *hkꜣ* "to capture."

<sup>2</sup> The derivation of the Coptic word *uhoꜥ* from Egyptian *ššw* goes back to Champollion, and may be regarded as the more certain since the word *Ḥm* (Ḥamu, see p. 37, note 3) has undergone practically the same change of meaning in Coptic *ḥmꜥ* *habalcus*, as MAX MULLER, *Studien zur vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, p. 6, note 1, points out. On the *ššw* see the same author's *Asien und Europa*, pp. 131 foll.

<sup>3</sup> See especially SITHE, *Neue Spuren der Hyksos* in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLVII, 1910, pp. 84 foll. The derivation of Hyksos here mentioned was first proposed by Griffith in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. 19, p. 297, and is accepted by most scholars, but not by ED. MEYER *op. cit.*, § 393 ad finem.

<sup>4</sup> MASPERO, *Histoire Ancienne*, vol. II, p. 51; PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, p. 70; HALL, *op. cit.*, p. 213.

<sup>5</sup> For the latest discussion of this question see GARDINER, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 99 foll. In the already much-quoted book of Josephus both pseudo-Manetho (I, 274) and Chairemon (I, 297, 304) introduce the name of Pelusium in a way that makes it clear that they identified that town with Avaris.

they did not altogether usurp the sovereignty of the country; a native Theban Dynasty continued to rule Upper Egypt, sometimes, it may be, as independent monarchs, but for the most part as tributary vassals of the Hyksos overlords.

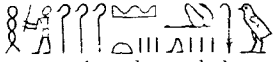
Of the triumph of the Hyksos, and of the earlier period of their domination, we have no contemporary records at all<sup>1</sup>. The inscribed objects of the time offer us hardly anything but the names and titles of Hyksos overlords and native vassals; of the former the most striking figure is that of the "Hyksos Khyan," for his name has been found not only from the northern Delta to Gebelén (south of Thebes), but also in Crete and on a sphinx from Baghdad. This fact, taken in conjunction with an inscription of one of the Hyksos kings Apophis, that "his father Seth, Lord of Avaris," had "set all foreign countries under his feet," has inclined some historians to believe that the Hyksos were for a short time masters of an empire of which Egypt was but one province, reaching from the Euphrates to the First Cataract of the Nile<sup>2</sup>.

Our knowledge, such as it is, of the later dealings of the Egyptian kings with the detested "rulers of foreign lands" may be rapidly summarised as follows. After a century or more of Hyksos domination, we are shown by a story in a Nineteenth Dynasty papyrus, doubtless containing more fiction than fact, the humiliation by Apophis, one of the foreign rulers, of the native vassal king Seknenrê, who is called "Prince of the Southern City (Thebes)." Not many years later we find King Kamōse defeating a Hyksos general named Teti somewhere north of Shmūn in Middle Egypt, and possibly (for the latter part of the narrative is lost) driving the oppressor out of Middle Egypt; see the sketch-map below, p. 56. For it is evident that the country was only gradually freed: not until the reign of Amosis, the founder of the Eighteenth Dynasty, was it that Avaris, the Hyksos stronghold, was taken and sacked, and the aliens finally expelled from Egypt. Even then they were far from being disposed of; Amosis himself pursued them to a fastness of theirs at Sharūhen, in southern Palestine, and later to the coastland of Zahi or Phoenicia farther north. The successors of Amosis, while busily engaged in setting the country in order, and in repairing the damage which had been wrought by the vandalism of the Asiatics; continued to wage war upon them: for after their expulsion they became the dominant members of the Syrian coalition against Egypt. The menace which they constituted was only removed by the crushing Asiatic victories of Tuthmosis III, clinched by those of his son Amenophis II; each of these monarchs styled himself "Smiter of the Hyksos who had attacked him<sup>3</sup>."

We will now turn to the texts upon which most of the statements in the preceding

<sup>1</sup> Mr Hall (*op. cit.*, p. 220) has recently put forward the interesting theory that the decree of king Nubkeprurê Antef discovered by Professor Petrie at Coptos may refer to seditious relations between the Coptite priesthood and the Hyksos enemy. The name of the guilty official there solemnly cursed and excommunicated is Teti, which was indeed a name of ill-omen in this period, see below p. 50, note 8.

<sup>2</sup> MEYER, *op. cit.*, p. 319; BREASTED, *History*, p. 218. Hall *op. cit.*, p. 318) rightly thinks that "we need not jump to so far-reaching a conclusion."—Graves of Hyksos date have recently been found by Dr Reisner at Kerma, in Dongola province, see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LII (1914), p. 35. These contained a few scarabs bearing the name of the Hyksos ruler which some read as Sheshi, though others, with more likelihood, interpret as Pepi, *i.e.* as a variant of the name Apophis, see WEILL, *Journal Asiatique*, 1911, pp. 31-2; 1917, p. 126.

<sup>3</sup> ; see the article by Sethe referred to above p. 38, note 3, where it is noted (p. 86, that the verb *hr* is used in royal epithets only of "smiting" peoples, not individual persons.



paragraph rest: these we shall take as far as possible in the order of the events or periods with which they deal.

First in this order is the well-known narrative of Apophis and Sekenenrē<sup>1</sup>. The youthful scribe Pentewere who lived some four hundred years later, and whose writing-exercises at some Theban temple-school fill the British Museum papyrus known as *Sallier I.* commenced the roll with this story, which he either copied or wrote from dictation for two columns and a third. He then broke off in the middle of a sentence—probably when he was released from his lesson—to resume later with an “Instruction in Letter-writing.” The tale seems, however, to have continued to haunt him, for he has repeated one passage out of it on the back of the papyrus. The text, which has been collated by one of us in the original, is very corrupt, and our rendering contains much guesswork for which it is impossible for us here to state our full reasons.

*Now it befell that the land of Egypt was in dire affliction (?)<sup>2</sup> and that there was no Sovereign (us) King of the time (?)<sup>3</sup>. And it happened that, behold, King Sekenenrē<sup>4</sup> was Ruler of the Southern City<sup>5</sup>. But dire affliction was in the ‘Aamu town (?)<sup>6</sup>, the Prince Apophis being in Avaris, and the entire land was tributary to him with their produce in full (?) as well as with all good things of Timūris<sup>6</sup>. Then King Apophis took Sētekh to himself as lord, and did not serve any god which was in the entire land except Sētekh. And he built a temple of fair and everlasting work by the side of [the palace of] Apophis, and he arose [every] day to make the daily sacrifice of [cattle] to Sētekh, and the officials of [His Majesty] bore garlands of flowers (?), exactly as it is done (in) the temple of Phru<sup>7</sup>-Harakhte. Now as to King Apophis, his desire was to bring up a matter of offence<sup>7</sup> (against) King Sekenenrē<sup>4</sup>, [the] Prince of the Southern City.*

*Now when many days were passed after this, King [Apophis] caused to be summoned [his]....., his chief.....*

At this point the text is interrupted by a lacuna which extends, save for a few isolated words, to the end of the first page of the papyrus. The loss amounts to rather more than half of the passage already translated, and would have obscured the purport of the tale very seriously but for the fact that a consultation between King Apophis and his councillors was clearly here narrated, the contents of which are repeated almost *verbatim* in the sequel. Sir Gaston Maspero was the first to divine, with his customary insight, the general trend

<sup>1</sup> To the very full bibliography given by MASPERO, *Les Contes populaires de l'Égypte ancienne*<sup>1</sup>, pp. 288–94, we have but little to add; a few references in GAUTHIER, *Lièvre des Rois*, vol. II, p. 143, and a discussion of the commencement WEILL, *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 299–304; also some remarks in MAX MÜLLER, *Studien zur Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, pp. 24–5; translation and comments in BREASTED, *History*, pp. 215–6, 223–4.

<sup>2</sup> Read *m ʔ ʔ dt*, emending *m* for *us* here and again at the end of the line! The word here and below translated “dire affliction” probably implies the notion of some malign influence of a supernatural kind, see GARDINER, *Admonitions of an Egyptian Sage*, p. 25. The old translation “the land of Egypt was to *cc*, in the hands of, the impure” appears to be indefensible; the word *ʔdt* or *ʔʔ* which we shall encounter below, p. 50, note 3, has certainly nothing to do with *ʔdt*.

<sup>3</sup> Emending (*m*) *usw* (*ʔm*) *hww* (*f*) with LEFÉBURE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXXI (1891), p. 116; here *hww* would be for *h3w*.

<sup>4</sup> *I.e.* Thebes.

<sup>5</sup> Restoring with the older scholars *ʔ ʔ dt m dm* *ʔm*, which, though open to serious difficulties, is more probable than Maspero's suggestion.

<sup>6</sup> A name of Egypt, here corruptly written.

<sup>7</sup> Read *ʔb f r ʔnt ʔ; mdt th ʔ*.

of the story, and the parallels quoted by him from other lands, together with the indications provided by the remaining fragments, enabled him to propose an ingenious and plausible restoration of the entire passage. Our own close examination of the fragments forces us to dissent from many of the details of his version<sup>1</sup>; but for our own suggestions we claim no more than that they seem to satisfy the scanty indications upon which such an attempt must perforce be based.

[.....and said unto them, "The desire of My Majesty is] to send [a messenger to the Southern City in order to bring] an accusation [against King Seknenrē." And his..... and his.....knew not how to answer him. Then he caused to be summoned his] scribes and wise men [concerning it. And they made answer to him and said, "O Sovereign, [our Lord.....There is] a hippopotamus pool [in the Southern City.....the] river [.....] and<sup>2</sup> they (the hippopotami) do not allow [sleep to come to us either by day or by] night, [but] noise [is in our ear. Let therefore] thy (!) [Majesty send] to<sup>3</sup> the Prince of [the Southern City.....King Seknenrē and let the messenger say to him: 'King] Apophis [...] commands (!)<sup>4</sup> [thee to cause to be abandoned the hippopotamus pool.'.....So shall Thy Majesty see who is](The second page begins here.) with him as helper<sup>5</sup>, (for) he (?) does not incline to any god which is in [the entire land] except Amen-rē, King of the Gods.'

[And] when many days were passed after this, King Apophis sent to the Prince of the Southern City concerning the accusation which his scribes and wise men had said to him. And the messenger of King Apophis reached the Prince of the Southern City; and they took him into the presence of the Prince of the Southern City. And One said to the messenger of King Apophis: "What is thy message (!) to the Southern City; how didst thou come to make this journey?" And the messenger said to him, "King Apophis sends to thee to say: 'Let cause to be abandoned<sup>6</sup> the hippopotamus pool which is in the flowing spring<sup>7</sup> of the City', for they do not allow sleep to come to me either by day or by night'; but noise is [in] his ear." And the Prince of the Southern City remained silent and wept (?) a long time, and he did not know how to return answer to the messenger of King Apophis. And the Prince of the Southern City said to him: "How (?) did thy lord hear of [the pool which is in (?)<sup>8</sup> the] flowing spring (?) of the Southern City?" And [the messenger (!) said to him: ".....the]

<sup>1</sup> Working upon the published facsimile and a photograph only, Sir Gaston Maspero does not seem to have realized that some of the fragments are seriously out of place. Also he allows for a lacuna of five and a half lines whereas the loss probably amounted only to three and a half.

<sup>2</sup> The following words down to "night" are a practically certain restoration; see 2, 6.

<sup>3</sup> Here there is trace of a rubric ending with *n*.

<sup>4</sup> There is a clear trace of the characteristic sign *wd* in the third line of the large fragment; if the thought of Apophis' addressing a command to Seknenrē be considered too harsh, it is open to us to understand the command as addressed to the messenger, or else to restore the word *wd* "to despatch."

<sup>5</sup> *Nby*, see BRUGSCH, *Worterb., Suppl.*, p. 664.

<sup>6</sup> *Imt tw r[w]tw hr*, lit. "let one cause that one remove from"; the expression is perhaps intentionally vague.

<sup>7</sup> The word *wba* occurs several times in the Dachei stele *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXI, pp. 12 foll.; as the name of artesian wells of the kind described by BEADNELL, *An Egyptian Oasis*, ch. ix foll. Its exact meaning in the present context is obscure.

<sup>8</sup> *Nwt* "the City" *par excellence*, i.e. Thebes, a use found elsewhere. Cf. *No* alternating with *No-Amon* in the Hebrew Prophets.

<sup>9</sup> The lacuna is not large enough to contain the entire phrase [*ḥn w, dby nty m ps*] *wbn* above 2, 5. Probably the Prince avoided any reference to the hippopotami.

matter concerning which he sent to thee (?)<sup>1</sup>." [And the Prince of the Southern City caused] the [messenger of King Apophis] to be tended [with] all good [things]<sup>2</sup>, meat, cakes..... [And the Prince of the Southern City said to him: "Return thou to King Apophis thy master (?).....and] whatsoever thou sayest to him, I will do it, [when thou (?) comest (?)]" .....[And the messenger of King] Apophis betook him to journey to the place where his lord was.

Then the Prince of the Southern City caused to be summoned his great officers, and likewise all the chief soldiers that he had, and he repeated to them the accusation concerning which King Apophis had sent to him. They were silent with one accord for a long time, and knew not aught to answer him whether good or bad. And King Apophis sent to.....

Here the tale breaks off and gives place to some model letters, a style of composition doubtless educationally more profitable, but to the modern reader considerably less interesting. The exact way in which Seknenrē<sup>3</sup> was extricated from his difficulties may well never be learnt, yet it cannot be doubted that Amen-rē<sup>4</sup> came to his aid, and that the story ended with the discomfiture of Apophis and his god. We can conclude this section of our article in no better manner than by quoting the admirable remarks which Sir Gaston Maspero has written on the subject in the Introduction to the last edition of his *Contes Populaires*<sup>5</sup>.

"The quarrel of Apôpi and of Sagnounriya seems to have been simply the local variant of a theme popular throughout the entire East. The kings of those times were wont to send one another problems to be solved on all sorts of matters, the condition being that they should pay one another a kind of tribute or fine according as they should answer well or ill the questions put to them. It is thus that Hiram of Tyre puzzled out by the help of a certain Abdemon the riddles which Solomon set him<sup>6</sup>. Without here examining the various stories which have been woven round this idea, I will cite one which makes what is left of the Egyptian narrative intelligible to us. Pharaoh Neectanebo dispatches an envoy to Lycerus, King of Babylon, and to his minister Aesop: 'I have in Egypt mares which conceive at the neighing of the horses that are near Babylon; what answer have you to that?' The Phrygian postponed his answer until the next day; and having returned home, he ordered some children to take a cat and lead it through the streets, beating it. The Egyptians, who worshipped this animal, were extremely scandalised at the way in which it was being treated; they snatched it from the hands of the children, and went to complain to the King. The Phrygian was caused to come into his presence. 'Do you not know,' said the King, 'that this animal is one of our gods? Why do you cause him to be treated in this way?' 'It is because of the offence that he has committed against Lycerus,' answered Aesop; 'for last night he strangled a cock of his which was extremely energetic and crowed at all times.' 'You are a liar,' replied the King; 'how would it be possible for this cat to make such a long journey in so little time?' 'And how is it possible,' replied Aesop, 'for your mares to hear our horses neighing from such a

<sup>1</sup> Before the lacuna there is a clear trace of a rubricized *wn[.ln]*, which makes it probable that the messenger replied and disclaimed knowledge of the source of Apophis' information. But the papyrus gives *ni* "to me" and not *nk* "to thee" as we have tentatively emended.

<sup>2</sup> Restore: [*wn ln pš wr n nirt rst hr edit*] *hry tr hrt n pš* [*wppty n nsw 'Ipp m hrt nb*] *njr*.

<sup>3</sup> *Les Contes Populaires de l'Égypte Ancienne*, 4th edition, pp. xxvi—xxvii.

<sup>4</sup> *Aelius Doss*, fr. 2, in MÜLLER-DIDOT, *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, vol. iv, p. 398; cf. *Menander of Ephesus*, fr. 1, *ibid.*, p. 446.

distance and to conceive by hearing them ?<sup>1</sup> A challenge sent by the king of the Negro Country to Pharaoh Usimares supplies the dramatic situation in the second Satni romance, but there we have to do with a sealed letter, the contents of which have to be divined, not with marvellous animals possessed by the two rivals<sup>2</sup>. In the *Quarrel* the hippopotami of the lake of Thebes which the King of the South is to drive away in order that the King of the North may sleep in peace are own cousins to the horses whose neighing carries as far as Babylon, or to the cat that achieves in a single night the journey to Assyria and back. I have no doubt that, after receiving the second message from Apôpi, Saqnounriya found in his council a sage as wise as Aesop the Phrygian, and one whose prudence brought him out of the test safe and sound. Did the romance go further and describe the war which broke out between the princes of the North and the South, and also the delivery of Egypt from the yoke of the Shepherds? The manuscript does not take us far enough for us to guess with what *dénouement* the author terminated."

There may indeed be a tiny kernel of truth in the story of the Sallier Papyrus, and the first impulse towards an organized resistance of the Hyksos power may have begun with a Theban ruler who bore the name of Seknenrê<sup>3</sup>. The mummy of a king of that name is now in the Cairo Museum and bears five terrible wounds in the head<sup>4</sup>; the theory that these were received in the course of a battle with the Hyksos<sup>5</sup> is certainly tempting, but belongs wholly to the realm of conjecture. It would be over-sceptical, however, to doubt that Seknenrê and Apophis were contemporaries, or that a feud existed between the two<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> " *The Life of Aesop the Phrygian*, translated by La Fontaine (*Fables de La Fontaine*, Lemerre's edition, vol. I, pp. 41-2, 45)."

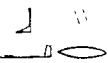
<sup>2</sup> See GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>3</sup> There is much to be said for the view propounded independently both by Weill (*Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 573-7) and by Burchardt (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. I (1912), pp. 120-1) that there was only one king of the name Seknenrê Ta'ca (varr. Ta'ca-fo, Ta'ca-ken), despite the explicit evidence of the *procès verbal* of the tomb robberies (Pap. Abbott) to the contrary. The existence of two closely-related kings with identical prenomina would indeed be a strange and unaccountable phenomenon.

<sup>4</sup> See ELLIOT-SMITH, *The Royal Mummies* (in *Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire*), pp. 1-3.

<sup>5</sup> BREASTED, *History*, p. 224.

<sup>6</sup> It is a fact of considerable significance that the enemy of Seknenrê should have borne the name Apophis, like the fourth king of the Manethonian tradition. Had the Hyksos domination lasted for 511 years, as Josephus supposes Manetho to have stated, it would be strange to find in the last third of that period—for Seknenrê belongs to the immediate predecessors of Amosis I—a Hyksos ruler bearing the same name as one in the first third. It is difficult to resist the impression that the real Manetho recorded no more than a single dynasty of Hyksos kings, comprising the six kings whose names are specified in all our sources though with impossibly long reigns. After reaching this conclusion, we found that it had been anticipated by Max Muller (*Studien zur Vorderasiatischen Geschichte*, pp. 16 foll.), many of whose remarks are both penetrating and judicious. Ed. Meyer does not share this view, and he gives a plausible enough explanation for the absence of any further Hyksos rulers in Eusebius and the Sothis Book (*Aegyptische Chronologie*, p. 84). On the other hand he takes far too kind a view of the evidence of Africanus, who makes the six Hyksos kings into the Fifteenth Dynasty instead of the Seventeenth, like Eusebius and the Sothis Book, and adds to them a Sixteenth Dynasty of 32 Shepherds reigning 518 years, and a Seventeenth Dynasty of 43 Shepherds and 43 Diospolites reigning 151 years. The manipulation of pseudo-Manethonian figures is a very hazardous game, but it seems difficult to separate the 518 years of Africanus' Dyn. XVI, on the one hand from the 518 years given by Josephus (*contra Apionem*, I, 230) as intervening between the first and second castings forth of the Hyksos, and on the other hand from the 511 years given, in a corrupt and dubious passage (*op. cit.*, I, 84), for the entire duration of the foreign domination.

A further point of historic interest that emerges from the Sallier Papyrus is Apophis attachment to the god Sētekh, which is amply corroborated by the Hyksos monuments that have survived to us. This god was probably the local deity of the region of Avaris and had been identified by the Hyksos invaders with some god of their own whom they brought with them. The name of the old Egyptian god, the enemy of Horus, may originally have been pronounced Sētesh or Sētech, a pronunciation which by the time of the New Kingdom had given place to Sēt or the like. The harder Sētekh had perhaps been the dialectal form in this remote corner of the Delta<sup>1</sup>, which through the influence of the Hyksos now came into vogue throughout the whole of Egypt. The writing Sutekh that is found in the works of the earlier Egyptologists is a slightly erroneous transcription, following the philological views of the time, from the hieroglyphic spelling usual under the Ramessides. The antithesis of Sētekh and Amen-rē<sup>2</sup> was thus due, as it would appear, to purely historical reasons, but by a strange coincidence it revived a very ancient antagonism between the legitimate Pharaonic power, in early times represented by Horus and Osiris, and the hostile, murderous divinity Sētesh. From the Eighteenth Dynasty onwards Sēt or Sētekh became the Egyptian stock-equivalent of any Asiatic enemy god<sup>3</sup>: the Semitic Baʿal  is written with his sign, and Sētekh is the translation of the Hittite god Teshub in the Treaty made by Ramesses II. That the divine name Sēt enters into the composition of certain Pharaonic names of the Nineteenth Dynasty like Sethos and Setnakht and was also popularly worshipped under Ramesses II may be accounted for by the fact that the northern capital of Per-Ra<sup>4</sup>messe was established at no great distance

There are two more or less plausible theories as to how the figure 518 was obtained. Max Müller (*op. cit.* p. 20) and Weill (*Journal Asiatique*, 1910, p. 255) regard it as due to the addition to the 259 years of the six Hyksos rulers of a similar period of contemporaneous Thebans ( $259 \times 2 = 518$ , and *cf.* Africanus' Dyn. XVII of 43 Shepherds and 43 Diospolites). Meyer, however, holds (*op. cit.*, p. 76) to the old view of Lepsius, who took it as arising from the 393 years (JOSEPHUS, *op. cit.*, §§ 103, 231) between the Exodus and the arrival of Danaus (= Harmais, in Argos *plus* the 59 years of Sethos and the 66 years of Rampses: § 231:  $393 + 59 + 66 = 518$ ), while the 393 years resulted from the addition of the 59 years of Sethos (who is thus reckoned twice) to the total reigns of the kings specified in §§ 94–102, namely 333 years ( $333 + 59 = 392$ ) and from the consideration that the Exodus took place in the year *before* Tethmosis ascended the throne  $392 + 1 = 393$ . Meyer's view has the advantage that it retains the explicit calculation handed down, at least in part, by Josephus; but he sees no relationship between the figure 518 and the 511 years earlier alluded to by Josephus. The latter figure may well have been obtained by the use of a list of kings agreeing with that of §§ 94–102, but omitting the odd months of their reigns, which together amount to exactly seven years ( $518 - 7 = 511$ ); it is noticeable that the reigns of Sethos and Rampses in § 231 have no odd months attached to them. Max Müller takes the shorter and easier course of emending *ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἑνδεκα* into *ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς πεντακοσίοις ἐν(νεακαὶ)δεκα*, 519 being approximately the 259 years, 10 months of the six Hyksos kings doubled as before. Emerging from these deep waters, we may at least conclude that Africanus' figure of 518 years is related to both the 511 years and the 518 years of Josephus, and that these figures are all equally worthless. The origin of Africanus' Dyn. XVII is utterly obscure, and here we have not even a basis for ingenious speculations.

<sup>1</sup> It is noticeable that Bohainic has preserved *š* where Saʿidic has often reduced original *š*=*h* to *g*.—For the various writings of the god's name see ROEDER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. I (1912), pp. 84–6, but the theory here put forward to account for them appears to be new.

<sup>2</sup> Roeder in ROSCHER, art. Set, E. I, c. can quote only a relief in the temple of Sahurē<sup>2</sup> to prove that Seth was the god of foreign countries as early as the Old Kingdom. But in that place the god is expressly named *Nbt*, "of Ombos," and Sethe, in his commentary, rightly takes him there to be merely the principal god of Upper Egypt; see BOEHARDT, *Geschichte des Königs Sahurē<sup>2</sup>*, text, p. 82.

from where Avaris once stood. The persecution of Sēt during the Saïte and later times, when his image appears to have been systematically excised from the monuments, was probably the result of a religious revival, when all old prejudices and hostilities were aroused by a wave of acute nationalism.

It is unlikely that the Hyksos power in Egypt was much, if at all, curtailed before the reign of Kamōse, who seems to have immediately followed the king or kings named Seknenrē<sup>1</sup>, and of whose dealings with the enemy we now have an account of the greatest importance. This is the historical text which fills the obverse of the writing-board known as the Carnarvon Tablet No. 1<sup>2</sup>, which was discovered during the Earl of Carnarvon's excavations at Thebes in 1908, and which is at most fifty years later than the events it deals with. The text, with transcription, translation and comments, has been made the subject of a fairly recent article in this *Journal*<sup>3</sup>, and this must be consulted for discussions of the more important philological and historical points. The translation which we subjoin is a revision of the one given in that article.

As so often happens, the text is incomplete. The writer of the tablet, who was an ignorant scribe, a careless copyist, and a poor penman, seems to have taken down only as much as would fill one side of the writing-board, and there to have left it. It seems likely that we have here a direct copy from a commemorative stela set up by Kamōse in one of the Theban temples<sup>4</sup>, and although it is preserved to us as a literary piece, there is no reason why we should not rely as much upon its statements as on those of any Egyptian historical narrative of the same *genre*.

*Year III, Horus "Manifest-on-his-Throne," Two Goddesses "Repeating-Monuments," Horus of Gold "Making-Content-the-Two-Lands," King of Upper and Lower Egypt [Wazkhe]per[rē], Son of Rē* Kamōse, given life like Rē for ever and ever<sup>5</sup>; beloved of Amentrē Lord of Karnak.

*The powerful King within Thebes, Kamōse, given life for ever, was beneficent King, and Rē [caused] him to be a veritable King, and handed over to him the power in very truth<sup>6</sup>. And His Majesty spoke in his palace to the council of grandees who were in his suite:—"To what end am I cognizant of it, this power of mine, when a chieftain is in Avaris, and another in Kush, and I sit in league with an Ā'am and a Negro, every man holding his slice of this Egypt? He who shares the land with me, I do not pass him(??)*

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 48.

<sup>2</sup> First published in *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, by the Earl of CARNARVON and HOWARD CARTER, London, 1912.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, pp. 95 ff.; GARDINER, *The Defeat of the Hyksos by Kamōse: The Carnarvon Tablet, No. 1*.

<sup>4</sup> To the parallel instituted in the article referred to in the last footnote (pp. 109-10) between this document and the Berlin parchment MS. containing an account of the founding of a temple at Heliopolis by Sesostri I, it may be added here that there is in the latter a textual error (*m hnt nb* for *m hnt k*), which could only have arisen from the mis-reading (or too slavish copying) of a hieroglyphic original; it is therefore certain that the scribe of the Berlin parchment made a direct copy from a temple stele. This fact has been pointed out by BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. I, p. 245 note.

<sup>5</sup> The words "like Rē for ever and ever" seem to have been erroneously misplaced in the text. For an analogous error compare *Sphinx stela*, ll. 3-4, and Erman's remarks thereon in his edition of that text; see perhaps also GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, vol. II, p. 369, XVI B.

<sup>6</sup> This probably means merely that Rē delegated to him his (Rē's) government of the earth, and not that he had already given him victory over his enemies at the point at which the story opens.

<sup>7</sup> *T* must here have demonstrative meaning, as *Kmt* is used without it in ll. 4 *bis*, 7, 8, 13. Cf. *B'n Kmt* l. 5, and *B' Kmt rst n dmī pn*, SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 4 the biography of Ahmōse translated below).

as far as Memphis, the water(?) of Egypt. See, he holds(?) Shmūn<sup>1</sup>, and no man rests, being wasted through servitude(?) of the Setyu. I will grapple with him and rip open his belly; my desire is to deliver Egypt and to smite(?) the Asiatics."

And the grandees<sup>2</sup> of his Council said:—"Behold, the Asiatics have [advanced?] as far as Cusae, they have pulled out(?) their tongues all together. We are at ease holding our (part of) Egypt. Elephantine is strong, and the midland(?) is with us as far as Cusae<sup>3</sup>. Men till for us the finest of their land; our cattle are in the papyrus marshes. Spelt is trodden out(?) for(?) our swine. Our cattle are not taken away.....on account of it. He holds the land of the Ā'amu, we hold Egypt. But [whoever??] comes to land and to oppose(?) us, then would we oppose him."

And they were displeasing to the heart of his Majesty. "As to this counsel of yours .....these Ā'amu who..... [Behold I will fight(?)] with the Ā'amu. Success will come. If.....with weeping, the entire land [shall acclaim me(?) the powerful ruler(?)] within Thebes, Kamōse the protector of Egypt."

I<sup>4</sup> sailed down as a champion to overthrow the Ā'amu by the command of Amūn, just of counsels, my army being valiant in front of me like a blast of fire, troops of Mazoi being in advance of(?)<sup>5</sup> our strongholds(?) in order to spy out the Setyu in order to destroy their positions, East and West bringing their fat, and my army abounding in supplies everywhere. I sent forth a powerful troop of Mezay while I spent the day.....to coop up(?).....Teti the son of Piopi within Nefrusi<sup>6</sup>. I was not going to allow(?) him to escape<sup>7</sup>. I turned back the Ā'amu who had encroached(?) upon Egypt and he acted(?) like one who.....the night of the Ā'amu. I spent the night in my boat, my heart being happy.

When day dawned I was on him as it were a hawk. When the time of perfuming the mouth<sup>8</sup> came I overthrew him, I destroyed his wall, I slew his folk, I caused his wife to go down to the river-bank. My army were like lions with their spoil, with slaves, herds, fat and honey, dividing up their possessions, their hearts being glad. The district of Nefr[usi?] was falling; it was no great thing for us(?) to confine its soul(?). The.....Per-shak was lacking when I reached it; their horses were fled within. The garrison(?).....

The Carnarvon Tablet, like the Sallier Papyrus, comes to an abrupt conclusion, leaving us in ignorance as to whether the Theban forces pushed on at once to Memphis, or whether

<sup>1</sup> Hermopolis, the capital of the Hare Nome, in Middle Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> The text has *wrw* "great men," not *srw* "officials," "grandees," as in l. 2. In these words hieratic clearly distinguishes signs that are apt to be confused in hieroglyphic, so that we may here have further evidence that the text was copied from a stele.

<sup>3</sup> The capital of the next nome south of the Hare Nome; the modern El-Kusiyeh.

<sup>4</sup> A close parallel to this abrupt transition from the third person to the first exists in the "Battle of Kadesh" text of Ramesses II. cf. BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. III, § 327. It is also not uncommon in the royal building inscriptions of the Eighteenth Dynasty; cf. *op. cit.*, vol. II, §§ 601, 804, 900.

<sup>5</sup> For the obscure *n hr* possibly compare *khṭ dmrw nty hrw-su* "other towns which are beyond" them, *Aust. I*, 22-3.

<sup>6</sup> A city a few miles north of Shmūn; between the latter and Kôm el-Aḥmar.

<sup>7</sup> Certainly a future form: here used in the past.

<sup>8</sup> *wr nṯ stḥ rḥ*, "the time of perfuming the mouth," apparently "breakfast time," compare *Ebers Papyrus*, pl. 50, 20a; *stḥ rḥ*, with food-determinative, "breakfast(?)," associated with *trḥ nṯ hrw* "even-tide," *Turin stḥ* 46 = PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, vol. I, pl. 83. We are indebted to M. Dévaud for these references.

the recovery of that city was deferred to some later season. Glancing back over its contents, we obtain a strong impression that Kamōse must have been the first Theban ruler to take the initiative against the foreign invaders. The victory of Sekenenrē over Apophis, which the Sallier Papyrus would, if complete, have related to us, was thus possibly rather of a moral than of a physical order; Kamōse may have been the earliest native ruler to seek a decision by force. The answer given to him by his counsellors is doubtless pure fiction, a mere literary artifice serving to throw into relief the king's noble determination and energy; yet their acquiescence in the alien domination may well depict the actual condition of affairs at the moment when Kamōse ascended the throne. It has often been recognized that the Hyksos occupation in the North must have had some counterpart in the South; this emerges clearly from the biography of Ahmōse to which we shall next turn, but so definite and categorical a statement of it as we find in the first words of Kamōse was hardly to be expected. A Nubian campaign was probably begun in the reign of Kamōse, for his cartouche is found together with that of Amosis I on a rock at Toshkeh, not far from the present Sudān frontier<sup>1</sup>. The Mezay who are named as having helped Kamōse against the Hyksos were not exactly Nubians, but rather people of the Bêja tribes which still roam the desert between the Nile and the Red Sea<sup>2</sup>. The last point to which we must draw attention is the interesting mention of the horses belonging to the Hyksos; thus the oft-repeated conjecture that they were introduced into Egypt by the invaders at last receives valuable confirmation.

Both Weill<sup>3</sup> and Gauthier<sup>4</sup> have doubted the identity of the Kamōse of the Carnarvon Tablet with the king whose coffin is in the Cairo Museum and whose weapons and jewels were found in association with the Queen Ahhotpe, the mother of Amosis I. It is difficult to share their opinion, based solely on the difference of the Horus-names. The prenomen of the Carnarvon Tablet is unfortunately damaged, but may well have read [Waz]kheper[rē] like that of the previously known king. In any case, when once it is recognized that the Tablet relates authentic history (or at least history as authentic as is customary in Egyptian official records), it becomes extremely hard to dissociate the ruler who first opposed the Hyksos from him who, to all appearance, was the immediate predecessor and perhaps the elder brother of Amosis I.

<sup>1</sup> See WEIGALL, *A Report on the Antiquities of Lower Nubia*, Pl. LXV.

<sup>2</sup> The Mezay (*Mûy*) are identified by SCHÄFER (*Die Äthiopische Königsinschrift des Berliner Museums; Regierungsbericht des Königs Nastesen*, pp. 41-2, 38) with the *Mdy* of the Nastesen Inscription and with a section of the Bêja peoples, who inhabit the desert district between the Nile and the Red Sea from Upper Egypt to the foot of the Ethiopian mountains. This view is cited with reserve by GRIFFITH (*Catalogue of the Demotic Papyri in the Rylands Library*, vol. III, p. 420); he suggests that the two words *Mûy* and Bêja are etymologically related, while Schäfer's identification is deduced from coincidence of geographical distribution. The Bêjas, who have been made the subject of an anthropological study by Professor Seligmann (*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, vol. 43, pp. 595 foll.), and whose most characteristic feature is their "fuzzy" hair, are undoubtedly represented in the reliefs of Middle Kingdom rock-tombs as herdsmen (see BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Part 2, p. 18, footnote; Part 1, p. 29, footnote). The Mezay are very often mentioned in the New Kingdom and onwards as soldiers or military police, and it is possible that in late times the term lost its racial significance, and became a word for "soldier," "guard," whether Bêja or not, as in the case of the French *suisse* with the meaning "beadle." The equation *Mûy*=Coptic *ματοῖ*, "soldier" is now definitely disproved, the latter word probably meaning originally "Mede" (see GRIFFITH, *op. cit.*, p. 319).

<sup>3</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 567-8.

<sup>4</sup> *Libre des Rois*, vol. II, p. 169.



The chronology of this period, as indeed also the sequence and the number of its kings, remains problematic and doubtful in the extreme. When Ahmōse of El Kāb took his father's place as a warrior in the first years of Amosis I, he was still a young unmarried lad; hence he can hardly have been born earlier than the fifteenth year before Amosis' accession. Of his father it is said that he served under king Seknenrē<sup>c</sup>; this may have been at the time of Ahmōse's birth, but on the other hand it may equally well have been twenty or thirty years earlier. Some scholars have wished to place an obscure and ephemeral king<sup>1</sup> variously named Sekhantnebrē<sup>c</sup>, Sekhetenrē<sup>c</sup> and Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup> between Kamōse and Amosis I: the probabilities are, however, that a king called Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup> reigned shortly before Seknenrē<sup>c</sup>, and that Seknenrē<sup>c</sup>, Kamōse and Amosis I succeeded one another in this order and without interruption.

Leaving to others the discussion of these dubious matters—M. Weill has dealt with them very elaborately and skilfully<sup>2</sup>—, we may now at length direct our attention to the biography which the naval officer Ahmōse inscribed on the walls of his rock tomb<sup>3</sup> in his native city of El-Kāb, some fifty miles south of Thebes<sup>4</sup>.

*The naval captain Ahmōse, son of the justified Abana<sup>5</sup>, he says:*

*I speak to you, all men, I cause you to know the favours which have accrued to me: how I have been rewarded with gold seven times in the sight of the entire land, and with men slaves and women slaves in like manner, and how I have been vested with very many lands. For the name of a valiant man (resides) in that which he has done; it will not be obscured in this land forever<sup>6</sup>.*

<sup>1</sup> For the king or kings here referred to see GAUTHIER, *op. cit.*, pp. 168–9, and WEILL, *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 565–571. If the description of the Clot-Bey altar in MASPERO, *Catalogue du Musée égyptien de Marseille*, pp. 3–5, is to be trusted, M. Gauthier is wrong in stating that the name Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup> there stands between Kamōse and Amosis I; on the contrary, it stands before both Seknenrē<sup>c</sup> and Kamōse. In any case, the position of Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup> on this late monument would be as little authoritative as is that of Sekhantnebrē<sup>c</sup> between Kamōse and Amosis I in the royal list from the tomb of Khabekhe (latest and best publication, *Ägyptische Inschriften aus den kon. Museen zu Berlin*, vol. II, pp. 190–2). In the Table of Karnak, which is just as little decisive as to order, a king Sekhetenrē<sup>c</sup> occurs between Seknenrē<sup>c</sup> and a king Userenrē<sup>c</sup> (SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 609). It is very probable that Sekhantnebrē<sup>c</sup>, Sekhetenrē<sup>c</sup> and Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup> are all deformations of the same royal name, and the preference must be given to the writing Senakhtenrē<sup>c</sup>, which follows the model of several names in close proximity to Seknenrē<sup>c</sup>, a model first departed from by Kamōse and Amosis I.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, pp. 559–79; 1917, pp. 134–43.

<sup>3</sup> For the disposition of the tomb and its inscriptions see LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, text, vol. IV, pp. 50–1.

<sup>4</sup> The latest and best edition of the text is SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 1–10; to this are appended the fragment of the list of lands given to Ahmōse by way of reward (*ibid.*, 10–11), and the catalogue of the slaves similarly given to him. The most recent translations are those of Breasted (*Ancient Records*, vol. II, §§ 1–16, 38–9, 78–82), and of Sethe (*Urkunden der 18. Dynastie, deutsch*, pp. 1–6). The biography has been very frequently studied, and the first seven lines of it formed the subject of one of Emanuel de Rougé's earliest and most important philological studies (*Mémoire sur l'Inscription du Tombeau d'Ahmès, Chef des Nautoniers*, Paris, 1851, reprinted in *Bibliothèque Égyptologique*, vol. XXII, pp. 1–202). For a full bibliography see MASPERO, *Histoire Ancienne*, vol. II, p. 82, note 1, supplemented by BREASTED, *op. cit.*, p. 3, note a. To the further indications here given add an edition of the text by V. LORET in *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, vol. III.

<sup>5</sup> Abana was the mother of Ahmōse, as is shown by an inscription accompanying the figures of his father and mother depicted on the back wall of the tomb, LEPSIUS, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

<sup>6</sup> As Spiegelberg has shown (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. 26, p. 41), these words were probably proverbial in the Eighteenth Dynasty; they occur again in a heading to a list of Syrian places conquered by Tuthmosis III. “*All the remote lands of the ends of Asua, which His Majesty brought away as living*

Thus he spoke:

I had my upbringing<sup>1</sup> in the town of Nekhab<sup>2</sup>, my father being a soldier of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the justified Seknevrē<sup>3</sup>, whose name was Baba, son of Reōnet. I took service as soldier<sup>4</sup> in his stead, in the ship of "The Wild Bull," in the time of the Lord of Both Lands, the justified Nebpehtirē<sup>4</sup>, when I was a youth, and had not taken a wife, but spent my nights in a hammock of net<sup>5</sup>.

Now when I had established a household<sup>6</sup>, I was taken upon the ship "Northern," because I was valiant; and I used to accompany the Sovereign upon foot in the course of his goings abroad in his chariot. And when they sat down before the town of Avaris, I displayed valour on foot in His Majesty's presence. Hereupon I was promoted to the "Manifestation in Memphis."

And when they proceeded to fight on the water in (the canal?) Pzedku of Avaris, I made a capture and brought away a hand, and it was reported to the King's Informant<sup>7</sup>, and the gold of valour was given to me.

Fighting was repeated in this place, and I proceeded to make a second capture there and brought away a hand. And the gold of valour was given to me over again.

And when they fought in the (part of) Egypt south of this town (i.e. Avaris), I brought away a male living prisoner. I went down into the water—(for) he was taken prisoner on the city side—and carried him over the water with me<sup>8</sup>. It was reported to the King's Informant, and thereupon, behold, I was rewarded with gold afresh.

Then they proceeded to spoil Avaris; and I brought away spoil thence: one man; three women; a total of four heads. And His Majesty gave them to me for slaves.

And they sat down before Sharūhen for three years<sup>9</sup>. And when His Majesty spoiled it I brought away spoil thence: two women, and a hand. And I was given the gold of valour. And lo, my<sup>10</sup> spoil was given to me for slaves.

prisoners, that he might make a great slaughter among them, and which had not been trodden by other kings except His Majesty; for the name of a valiant man resides in [what he has done], and will not be obscured in this land [forever]," SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 780, cf. further *ibid.*, 684 and *Pop. Petrograd* 1116A, recto, 107-8. The aphorism gives the reason why Ahmōse addresses posterity on the subject of his warlike exploits.

<sup>1</sup> *Ir-ni ḥprw-l*, hardly "I assumed my form," i.e. was reborn, as Schäfer (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LII (1914), p. 102), reviving an old idea of de Rouge's, has lately maintained, for the narrative is otherwise unmetaphorical even to the point of baldness. *Ḥprw* has more probably the sense of "up-bringing" implicit in the causative *shpr* "to bring up," "educate."

<sup>2</sup> I.e. the modern El-Kāb.

<sup>3</sup> *Wꜥw* "soldier," not "officer," see VON CALICE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LII (1914), pp. 116-8.

<sup>4</sup> I.e. king Amosis I.

<sup>5</sup> *Smt šnr*: the second word means "net," so that the entire expression is likely to mean a sailor's hammock rather than a garment worn by youths at night, as Breasted and Sethe think. For the determinative of *smt*, a word which appears to be otherwise unknown, cf. *ḥnkyt* "bed," *Sinuhe B*, 294, and elsewhere.

<sup>6</sup> The usual phrase for getting married and "settling down."

<sup>7</sup> The official whose regular duty it was to keep the Pharaoh informed of important events.

<sup>8</sup> The whole of this passage has been admirably elucidated by SCHAFER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LII (1914), pp. 100-2. Sethe, however, adheres to the old view that a combat south of El-Kāb is here referred to; this we cannot allow, as the parenthetic nature of such an episode in the present context would be almost intolerable.

<sup>9</sup> "Three years," not "six years," as Breasted and many scholars before him have thought; see SETHE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLII (1905), p. 136. Sharūhen is a South-Palestinian town in the tribe of Simeon, mentioned Josh. 19, 6.

<sup>10</sup> The order of the personal suffix and of the plural determinative has here apparently been inverted by mistake.

Now when His Majesty had slain the Mentyn<sup>1</sup> of Asia, he fared southwards to Khen-thenmūfer<sup>1</sup> to destroy the Nubian Beduins. And His Majesty proceeded to make a great slaughter among them. Then I brought away spoil thence: two living men and three hands. And I was rewarded with gold afresh. Lo, two female slaves were given to me. And His Majesty fared northwards, his heart being glad, in valour and victory<sup>2</sup>, having taken possession of the Southerners and Northerners.

Then there came 'A'ata<sup>3</sup> of the South, whose doom<sup>4</sup> his fate drew on, the gods of Upper Egypt taking hold on him. He was found by His Majesty in Tentta'ca<sup>5</sup>. And His Majesty brought him a living prisoner, and all his people as easy spoil. Then I brought two skirmishers (? or as captives from the ship of 'A'ata. And five heads were given to me, and a portion<sup>7</sup> of land, five arurae, in my city; and it was done likewise for the whole navy.

Then that wretch came, whose name was Teti'can<sup>8</sup>. He had collected the rebels to himself. And His Majesty slew him, his crew<sup>9</sup> being made non-existent. Then three heads and five arurae of land were given to me in my city.

And I conveyed by water the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the justified Zeserkerē<sup>10</sup>, when he was going southward to Kush to enlarge the frontiers of Egypt. And His Majesty smote down that Nubian Beduin in the midst of his army, he being brought away in a stranglehold<sup>11</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Hnt-hn-nfr*, a name of Nubia or a part of it, the extent of which has still to be determined.

<sup>2</sup> *Th f sw* is probably parenthetical, *m fnt m nht* being adverbial to *nct*, as often.

<sup>3</sup> *ḥḥ* or *ḥḥw*, being unaccompanied by the definite article in l. 21, is either a proper name or a designation of some similar kind. It clearly has nothing to do with *ḥḥt* in the Sallier Papyrus (see above p. 40, note 2), as used to be supposed. On the other hand it may be connected with a word *'te* found in a Demotic tale, see GRIFFITH, *Stories of the High Priests of Memphis*, p. 163, note on l. 29; an "*ate* of Kush" is there spoken of as having brought a sealed letter as a test whereby Egypt was to be humiliated (see above p. 43), and Mr Griffith judges from the determinative that the word "may mean 'foreigner' or 'negro,' unless it be an expression for sorcerer or an abusive term." <sup>4</sup> *Hsbw*, "reckoning" (?).

<sup>5</sup> Possibly name of a watering-station in the desert (Sethe). Breasted understands the name as *Tut-ḥ-ḥmw*, reading the sign for water at the end phonetically, not as a determinative. This is equally probable, as a compound word *ḥ-mw* "canal," or the like, is known.

<sup>6</sup> Breasted translates "archers," quoting a scene in the tomb of Haremheb at Thebes *Mémoires de la Mission française au Caire*, vol. v, Pl. III after p. 434; see also p. 420, "where it bears the determinative of shooting, and stands over a man with a bow with the title 'chief archer (*mygs*) of His Majesty.'" But more often the term has a determinative indicating agility or the like, see *Anast. II. 7. 4 = Sallier I. 7. 1; Anast. V. 10, 6 = Sallier I. 3, 8*; the determinative of the child given to it in *Brit. Mus. 138; Arignon, 1*; DAVIES, *El Amarna*, III, 12, may be due to confusion with this. A regiment (*sb*) of *m-g*, depicted without bows, DAVIES, *loc. cit.*; "captains" of *m-g* (*hry m-g*) in the place quoted by Breasted, and also *Louvre C 63; Arignon 1*. Among Nubian prisoners, *Brit. Mus. 138*; the word may well be Nubian.

<sup>7</sup> *Dnwr*, a word for "share" or "portion" derived from the verb *dn* "to divide" or "parcel out" (PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Papyrus de Turin*, Pl. 45, l. 5.; used specially of lands perhaps only here and *Sallier I. 7, 3 = Anast. II. 8, 2*, but *dyt* "register of lands" is common.

<sup>8</sup> Names compounded with Teti were very common about this time: the Carnarvon tablet has made us acquainted with one, and the Coptos decree (above p. 39, note 1) with another; see also NEWBERRY, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. xxxv (1913), p. 119, note 10.

<sup>9</sup> *Ist*, cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 663 for the determinative; the word is used of gangs of workmen, and crews of boats; here it may have had a contemptuous flavour.

<sup>10</sup> *Gwz*, determined with the head, is evidently a reduplicated form of *gwz* with the same determinative, e.g. LACAU, *Textes Religieux*, 26, 2; this again must be somehow connected with *gbr* "to be narrow" or "to make narrow," cf. Coptic Ⲭⲟⲟⲣ BRUGSCH, *Wörterb.*, 1508; *Suppl.*, 1293. It is less likely to mean here that the enemy was taken "by siege," as *Piankhi* 5, 9 might suggest, than that he was brought back to Egypt with a rope round his neck, i.e. half-strangled.

<sup>11</sup> I.e. Amenophis I.

nor was any missing, he who sought flight<sup>1</sup> being laid low<sup>2</sup> like those who had never been. Now I was in front of our army; I fought in very deed, and His Majesty saw my valour. I brought away two hands, which were offered to His Majesty. And when they proceeded to search for his folk and his cattle, I brought away a living prisoner, who was offered to His Majesty. I brought His Majesty in two days to Egypt from the well Hraw<sup>3</sup>. Then was I rewarded with gold. Then I brought away two female slaves as spoil, apart from those which I had offered to His Majesty. And they made me a Warrior of the Ruler<sup>4</sup>.

And I conveyed by water the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, the justified Akheperker<sup>5</sup>, when he was going southward to Khenthennāfer to abolish sedition throughout the lands, and to drive forth the influx of the desert region<sup>6</sup>. And I displayed valour in his presence on the bad waters, in forcing the ships over the cataract<sup>7</sup>. And I was thereupon made a Naval Captain.

And His Majesty [heard that].....<sup>8</sup>; and His Majesty became enraged thereat like a leopard; His Majesty shot, and his first arrow fastened in the neck of that wretch. And these [rebels] were.....<sup>9</sup> and confounded at his royal Uraeus. And there was made there an hour of execution<sup>9</sup>; their people were brought away as living prisoners. His Majesty fared northwards, with all foreign lands in his grasp, and that wretched Beduin of Nubia head downwards in front of His Majesty's falcon ship<sup>10</sup>. And they landed at Karnak.

After that (His Majesty) made an expedition to Retenu, that his ardour might be slaked throughout the foreign lands. His Majesty arrived at Naharagin<sup>11</sup>; His Majesty found that wretch while he was marshalling his forces. And His Majesty made a great slaughter among them. There was no counting of the living prisoners which His Majesty brought away from his victories. Now I was in front of our army, and His Majesty saw how valiant I was.

<sup>1</sup> *Wthc*, cf. *Urkunden*, IV, 21, 84, 139, 767.

<sup>2</sup> *Dy hr gs*, lit., "laid on the side," so too *Urkunden*, IV, 84; cf. *dy hr gsf* similarly used of Osiris, *Pyramid Texts*, 1033.

<sup>3</sup> *Hunt Hrw* Breasted and Sethe both render "from the upper well" or "watering-station." But the name of the locality is urgently needed, so that it is preferable to take the words as meaning "the wall (called) Upper" (*Hrw*).

<sup>4</sup> *Thsuty n Hk3*, evidently a military title, but we are unable to quote any other instance.

<sup>5</sup> I.e. king Tutlmaosis I.

<sup>6</sup> *Ch3st* is evidently a compound belonging to the series discussed by SPIEGELBERG, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. LI (1913), pp. 122 foll.

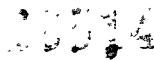
<sup>7</sup> For *mr bin* perhaps compare the phrase *mr bšw* in the inscription of Sirenpwet of Assuan, see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLV (1908), p. 128, note 1.—*P-s-g*, a "syllabically" written word, not known to us elsewhere with transitive force. (Cf. *Pap. Turin* 17, 2; *Anast.* IV, 14, 70, whence it is clear, as Max Muller saw [*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXVI (1888), 77], that the stem means "to exert effort." In the *Haremhab Decree*, ll. 15, 33, it is a plural noun "endeavours." An instance from Karnak quoted by BURCHARDT, *Fremdwörter*, is not accessible to us. Here the word clearly means "to strive to cope with" a recalcitrant object.—*Pn3yt*, "vortex" or the like, from *pn3* "to overturn"; only here '.

<sup>8</sup> Two spaces left blank by the sculptor who carved the inscription. For the general sense to be assumed in the first of the two see *Urkunden*, IV, 139.

<sup>9</sup> Perhaps literally: "it was made there into a moment of execution."

<sup>10</sup> "*Bik*, properly 'falcon,' designation of the ship of the king, which was identified with the falcon-headed god Horus" (SETHE). A similar treatment of the enemies, expressed in almost the same words, under Amenophis III, *Amada Stele*, l. 17.

<sup>11</sup> *Nhrn*, a common name in Egyptian for Mesopotamia, probably equivalent to the Hebrew dual נְהַרִים "the two rivers."



*I brought away a chariot and its horse, (with him) who was in it as a living prisoner. These were offered to His Majesty, and I was rewarded with gold afresh.*

*I am grown infirm, I have reached old age, and the favours shown me are like the first ..... I [rest] in the upland tomb which I myself made.*

It is typical of the Egyptian indifference to bald facts that the only contemporary record that we possess of the taking of Avaris, a historic event of capital importance, should be the biography of a naval officer on the walls of his tomb in a remote provincial town. Amosis I has left several public monuments of himself, and among them a large stele enumerating his offerings to the temple of Amen-rē<sup>c</sup> at Karnak; the first twenty lines of this are devoted to adulatory rhetorical epithets, and the sole reference to the king's epoch-making military achievements consists of the words:—“*He is a king whom Rē<sup>c</sup> has caused to rule, whom Amān has magnified; they give to him territories and lands (all) at one time, even that upon which Rē<sup>c</sup> shines. The desert-dwellers approach in a single humble procession, and stand at his gates. His awfulness is among the people of Khenthenūfer, and his roaring in the lands of the Fenkhu. The fear of His Majesty is in the midst of this land like Min in the year of his coming. They bring goodly tribute, and are laden with offerings for the king<sup>1</sup>.*” How different this from the dry annalistic style of the Babylonians! But if the empty frothiness of the one kind of writing is exasperating, how wearisome and sterile is the solemn matter-of-factness of the other!

None of the characteristic Egyptian failing will be found, however, in the narrative of Ahmōse, which was possibly dictated by himself. If so, we must picture him to ourselves as a plain-spoken old warrior, little given to flowers of speech or prolixity of diction. His father appears to have been but a common soldier, or rather marine, and the family history here revealed indicates how a new loyal well-to-do class arose around the Pharaohs of the early Eighteenth Dynasty. Nearly three hundred years later, under Ramesses II, we read of the legal disputes of a family whose fortunes sprang similarly from a gift of land made by Amosis I to one Neshi, a faithful “captain of ships<sup>2</sup>.”

At the beginning of his biography Ahmōse boasts of having been rewarded with “very many lands.” The nucleus of his fortune may well have been the small grant of land which Amosis I made to him, as to the rest of his navy, after his last campaign but one; the land given to Ahmōse on this occasion amounted to no more than 5 arourae, or about 3½ acres. Shortly afterwards he received another 5 arourae. Some much damaged lines continuing the narrative already translated prove that a later king conferred upon him sixty arourae more (about 41 acres<sup>3</sup>); if to this be added yet other grants, the mention of which is lost in the long lacuna, we may guess that his total estate, at death, may have been one hundred arourae, *i.e.* sixty-seven acres, at the utmost. Comparing this with the 150 arourae granted by Tuthmosis I to one of his officers, we must conclude that, even at the end of his career, Ahmōse did not possess the exalted rank that has sometimes been

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 17—18.

<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *Inscription of Mes*, p. 25. Breasted quotes another instance of a reward of lands (150 arourae, made to an “officer” *seny* by Tuthmosis I, namely *Berlin 14994 = Aegyptische Inschriften*, vol. II, p. 115. Under the Ptolemies land given to soldiers (called κληρουχική γῆ) carried with it the obligation of future service. The grants made by Amosis probably were analogous rather to the Ptolemaic ἐν δωρεᾷ γῆ, which was usually free both of taxes and of obligations to service.

<sup>3</sup> “..... in Beha. Again, there were given to me by King ..... 60 arourae in Heia<sup>c</sup>. Total, .... arourae.”

assigned to him. A man of humble origin, his bravery secured to him considerable wealth; but he was certainly not the High Admiral of the Egyptian fleets, as has sometimes been asserted, and he may possibly have had his peers even in his own native city.

The list of lands acquired by Ahmōse is followed by a list of the captured slaves that were given to him. This being of some interest, we append a full translation<sup>1</sup>:—

“LIST OF THE SLAVES, MALE AND FEMALE, OF THE SPOILS

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| ...1, the slave <i>Pmezay</i> ('the Bêja man');          | 10, the female slave <i>Ta'a</i> ;  |
| 2, the slave <i>Pay'ebōd</i> ('he of Abydos');           | 11, the female slave <i>Sedmofnai</i> (?) ('he [?] listens to me');           |
| 3, the slave <i>Senbenbof</i> ('his lord is hale');      | 12, the female slave <i>Ba'ket</i> (maid-servant');                           |
| 4, the slave <i>P.....</i> ;                             | 13, the female slave <i>Ka...isy</i> ('I...her');                             |
| 5, the slave <i>Kenphēk'a</i> ('the Ruler is brave');    | 14, the female slave <i>Ta'mothu</i> ;  |
| 6, the slave <i>Dhutsonbu</i> ('Thoth is hale');         | 15, the female slave <i>Wa'benta'sakhmet</i> ('pure is the land of Sakhmet'); |
| 7, the slave <i>Sebkmo'se</i> ('Suchos is born (?)');    | 16, the female slave <i>Isturam</i> ;   |
| 8, the slave <i>Ha'ry</i> (?);                           | 17, the female slave <i>Iotefnūfer</i> ('his father is good');                |
| 9, the slave <i>P'ca'am</i> ('the 'Ca'am' or 'Asiatic'); | 18, the female slave <i>Hadetku'sh</i> ('she who repels Kush');               |
|  | 19, the female slave <i>Amenehsosneb</i> ('Amūn confers health')."            |

Most of these names are pure Egyptian, and it must be concluded that some, at least, of the foreigners who passed into the household of Ahmōse there exchanged their names for others less outlandish. The only name that can with any certainty be regarded as Semitic is no. 16, which in all likelihood contains as an element the goddess Ishtar or Astarte<sup>2</sup>. The name Ta'mothu (no. 14) has been compared with such names as Amos in Hebrew, but it is found applied to an Egyptian lady of high rank<sup>3</sup> less than a full century later, so that no clear conclusion can be drawn from it.

We must return now to the campaigns in which Ahmōse took part, and which resulted in his receiving the "gold of valour" five times under Amosis I, and once again under each of the latter's two successors. The siege of Avaris, from the very manner in which it is related, must have been long protracted. Ahmōse was promoted once and rewarded twice before he performed his crowning feat of bravery in this campaign. Perhaps the Egyptians had been temporarily driven back, for they were now fighting in the district south of the town—south too, as it would appear, of an arm of the Nile or a canal (perhaps "Pzedku of Avaris" previously mentioned) lying between the town and themselves. Ahmōse seems to have left his companions and gone down into the water; then, capturing one of the Hyksos on the enemy shore, to have waded home with his prisoner upon his back. For this act he was rewarded with gold anew. The next event we hear

<sup>1</sup> The list is discussed by MAX MÜLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 9, and translated by SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, text, pp. 5—6. We deviate in some particulars from both versions.

<sup>2</sup> Burchardt takes the entire name as Ishtar-ummīr "Astarte is my mother"; this is daring but not improbable.

<sup>3</sup> See DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhēt*, p. 34.

of is the sacking of Avaris, when Ahmōse received one male and three female slaves as his share of the plunder. The memory of this great occurrence descended to the Greeks, for a chronicler named Ptolemy of Mendes was still able to relate that Amosis I "razed Avaris to the ground<sup>1</sup>."

Next followed the siege of Sharūhen, a town in the tribe of Simeon, south of Judah, to which we must suppose the Hyksos to have retreated; when at last, after three years siege, the place was taken, Ahmōse was present and participated in the spoils. Professor Sethe has found in the brief and much damaged preface to the Annals of Tuthmōsis III what he considers to be a reference to the sojourn of the Hyksos garrison in Sharūhen; to us it appears more likely that the passage alludes to the stationing of Egyptian troops in that town, until their position was endangered by an extensive Syrian "rebellion," when the Pharaoh felt called upon to intervene and defend them<sup>2</sup>.

The fall of Sharūhen did not bring the Palestinian campaign of Amosis I to a close, for another soldier named Ahmōse, also a native of El-Kāb, tells how he accompanied the king to Zahi or Phoenicia, where he carried off one living prisoner and one hand<sup>3</sup>. So far as *our* Ahmōse is concerned, we next hear of him in Nubia, where he performed fresh exploits and was suitably rewarded. His two further campaigns under Amosis I were both, apparently, on the soil of Egypt itself, where rebellions arose under the leadership, firstly, of a mysterious enemy, perhaps a Nubian, called 'A'ata, and secondly of one Teti'an, who, to judge by his name, may have been an Egyptian.

Our interest here being principally with the Hyksos, we need follow Ahmōse's career no further, or rather it will suffice to refer the reader to our translation of his biography. Ahmōse must have been quite sixty years of age when he fought his last battle in the first year of Tuthmōsis I; for Amosis I reigned for twenty-two years at least—Manetho says twenty-five<sup>4</sup>—and Amenophis I has left a monument of the twenty-first year of his reign.

<sup>1</sup> Ἀπίων...φησὶν ὅτι κατέσκαψε τὴν Αἶαριν Ἀμωσις, κατὰ τὸν Ἀργεῖον γινόμενος Ἰναχον, ὥς ἐν τοῖς χρόνοις ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Μενδῆσιος Πτολεμαῖος, TATIAN, *Or. ad Gr.*, 59. Josephus, drawing his account from philo-Judaic writers anxious to identify the Hyksos with the Jews of the Exodus, is unable to admit that the Egyptians took Avaris, and asserts that finally an arrangement was reached by which the Hyksos went forth two hundred and forty thousand in number and founded Jerusalem.

<sup>2</sup> The rendering given by SETHE, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLVII (1910), p. 84, runs as follows: "Year 22, fourth month of the winter season, day 25. [His Majesty passed the fortress of] Tharu in the first expedition of victory [in order to drive forth those who attacked the] frontiers of Egypt in valour [and victory, in might and triumph]. A [long] period of years lasted [when the Asiatics ruled in] brigandage, everyone serving before [their princes, who were in Avaris]. But it happened in other times that the garrison, which was there, was in the town of Sharūhen. They are now from Yrd to the ends of the earth, preparing to revolt against His Majesty."

We cannot accept the interpretation of the last two lines of the text, the only part where there are no lacunae. To us it seems impossible to take *ut* in "which was there" in the sense "which had been there" namely in Avaris, nor can we agree that *st* is here the pronoun, or that *st* *m* *Y-r-d*, etc. is its predicate, or that *st* *r* means "to begin to." We venture tentatively to propose the rendering: "But it happened in other times that the garrison which was there (i.e. in Palestine) was in Sharūhen, when (*st* = *ist*) from Yrd to the ends of the earth had fallen into rebellion against His Majesty." But the passage is extremely obscure—our object is mainly to protest against building any serious historical conclusions upon a conjectural restoration.

<sup>3</sup> *Urkunden*, iv. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Josephus *op. cit.*, 94 says that Tethmosis (he means Amosis) reigned for twenty-five years and four months after the taking of Avaris, which in any case was quite at the beginning of the reign.

It is not our intention to discuss in detail the well-known passage derived from Manetho through which Josephus strives to demonstrate the great antiquity of the Jews. The topic is of the highest interest as bearing, not merely upon a very obscure moment in Egyptian history, but also on the whole problem of the Exodus. But it is certainly not suited to uncritical treatment, and we prefer to confine ourselves to the native Egyptian evidence. Before our task is concluded, mention must be made of certain inscriptions of later date which contrast the havoc and anarchy of the Hyksos age with the order and activity of the Tuthmoside régime.

The earliest reference of the kind is found upon a stele commemorating the acts of piety performed by Tuthmosis I in the temple of Abydos. In his concluding address to the priesthood the Pharaoh says:—

*"I have made the frontiers of Timūris to (the limit of) what the sun surrounds, causing those to be powerful who were in terror, and casting evil forth from it; causing Egypt to be the Mistress, and every (other) land to be her slaves<sup>1</sup>."*

There can be but little doubt that the age of terror alluded to was the Hyksos period, more especially as the text goes on to speak of a time when Egypt got the upper hand, and every other land was subjected to it.

A much more definite reference occurs, however, as scholars have long known, in the dedicatory inscription carved by order of Queen Hatshepsut over the entrance of the rock-temple near Beni Hasan known as the Speos Artemidos<sup>2</sup>. Here, in a peroration addressed to mankind, Hatshepsut says:—

*"I have restored what was ruined, and have raised up what was neglected previously (?)<sup>3</sup>, (at the time) when A'amu were in the midst of Avaris of the Northland, and strangers in the midst of them overturned what had been made. They ruled without Rē<sup>4</sup>, no one (?) acting according to the divine command, down to My Majesty."*

We are here inevitably reminded of the beginning of Manetho's account of the Hyksos as quoted by Josephus<sup>4</sup>:—

"..... (whose) name was) Toutimaos (?). Under him it came to pass, I know not how, that God was adverse, and there came unexpectedly out of the Eastern parts men of obscure race and had the temerity to invade our country, and captured it by force easily and without a battle. And having got the rulers of it into their hands, they burned our cities in savage manner and sacked the temples of the gods....."

The disregard shown by the Hyksos for Egyptian religious feeling is also reflected, as we have seen, in the Sallier Papyrus.

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 102 and in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLVII (1910), pp. 73-4, where the bearing of this passage was pointed out for the first time.

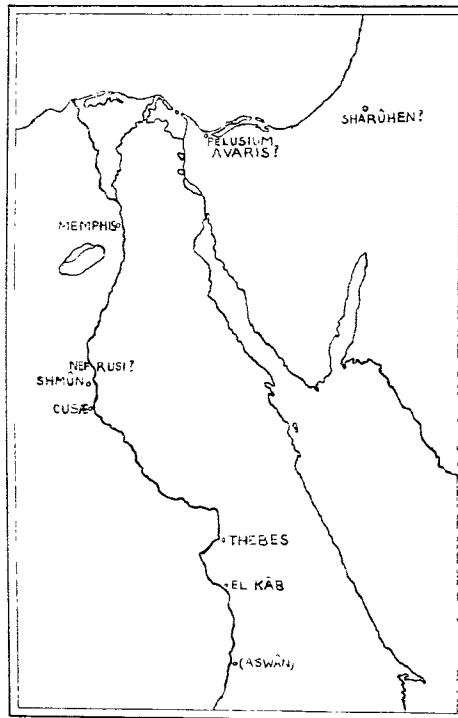
<sup>2</sup> SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 390; the most recent translations are BREASTED, *Ancient Records*, vol. II, § 303, and MAX MÜLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 7; the last-named scholar attaches an exaggerated importance to the words "strangers in the midst of them," as Breasted rightly points out.

<sup>3</sup> *Hb.* seems here to be an adverb, but is known to us nowhere else in this sense.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, 75. The Greek text now begins abruptly with the words *τουριμαος ονομα* (see ED. MEYER, *Ägyptische Chronologie*, p. 71, note 2, which the editors have daringly emended into *ἐγένετο βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν, Τιμαος ονομα*. It has recently been proposed from two sides (Isidore Lévy in WEILL, *Journal Asiatique*, 1910, p. 323, see too *op. cit.*, 1913, p. 551; also BURCHARDT-PIEPER, *Handbuch der ägyptischen Königsnamen*, vol. I, p. 53) to retain the MS. reading, and to identify the supposed *Τουριμαος* with a king *Ddwns* named on a few monuments of the intermediate period. The conjecture is to the last degree improbable, as the element *-ms* always appears in Greek in such forms as *-μωσις*, *-μασις*.



The disruption and unhappiness of the Hyksos period were followed in Egypt by an age of brilliant achievements and great prosperity. In this respect the history of the Eighteenth Dynasty has a most curious parallel in that of the scarcely less splendid times of the Twelfth Dynasty. The geographical isolation of Egypt, exposed as it is to but few external influences, renders it strangely open to the possibility of the recurrence of similar historical sequences; the conditions are almost experimental in their simplicity, and longer stretches of time come under our observation than almost anywhere else. In these two cases at any rate, the same order of events seems to have been repeated: an age of internal strife gives his opportunity to the foreigner; the activities let loose by the struggle against the invader are turned, with the coming of peace, into constructive and profitable channels.



Sketch-map to illustrate the  
Expulsion of the Hyksos.

## A CARVED SLATE PALETTE IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM

By WINIFRED M. CROMPTON

THE palette with which this article is concerned has not been published hitherto, but was referred to by Mr J. E. Quibell in *Hierakonpolis II*, p. 42, as a "palette lately sold in Cairo and decorated with three ostriches and a human figure in relief." It was presented to the Manchester Museum, in 1912, by Mr Jesse Haworth, to whom Mr Quibell wrote, in 1900, that it was important as "forming a link between the ordinary green slates and the great palette of Hierakonpolis<sup>1</sup>."

It is distinctly cruder in style and workmanship than any hitherto published, except the two from El-'Amrah<sup>2</sup> and Gerzeh<sup>3</sup> respectively, and these two fall into rather a different category, as not bearing either human or animal figures.

The Manchester palette (Museum no. 5476) has the form of a long double-bird, and measures 41 cm. in height, by a breadth of 16.3 cm. and a thickness of 1.4 cm. The entire palette is shown in Plate VII, top, and the carved portion at the bottom of the same plate. The design shows a man behind three ostriches. Though the trunk and limbs are decidedly human, the head can scarcely be so described, and the hands perhaps are doubtful. Professor Elliot Smith has called my attention to the cave drawings of the Aurignacian period from Altamira, where forms with somewhat similar heads appear<sup>4</sup>, but their trunks and lower limbs, at least, are monstrous, whilst those of our carving are clearly human. The head of the figure on the Manchester palette perhaps more nearly resembles that of the Cretan Minotaur, as seen on seal impressions<sup>5</sup>; but the arms differ from this, as they do not terminate in hoofs but rather in claws—or possibly it was intended to represent the hands as viewed from behind, with the fingers pointing forwards and somewhat downwards. On the whole, however, the head approximates most closely in shape to those of the ostriches which the figure is pursuing. Perhaps the reason why the man has the head of an ostrich is in order that he may draw close to the birds without startling them, in accordance with the method now employed by the Bushmen<sup>6</sup>. The Libyans, with whom the Predynastic Egyptians appear to have been connected, practised this mode of hunting, as is shown by the pre-

<sup>1</sup> This great palette and most of the other carved slates now known are figured in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXII (1900), pp. 125—139; vol. XXVI (1904), pp. 262—3; vol. XXVIII (1906), p. 87; vol. XXXI (1909), pp. 297 foll. For a further small fragment in the Louvre see CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, Fig. 185.

<sup>2</sup> Figured RANDALL-MACIVER, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. VIII, Fig. 2.

<sup>3</sup> Figured PETRIE, *The Labyrinth, Gerzeh and Mazghuneh*, Pl. VI, Fig. 7.

<sup>4</sup> SOLLAS, *Ancient Hunters*, ed. 1915, Fig. 179.

<sup>5</sup> See *Journ. Brit. Sch. Athens*, vol. VII, p. 18.

<sup>6</sup> SOLLAS, *op. cit.*, Fig. 194.

historic rock-glyphs of Teli-Sagha, in Fezan, where two archers, wearing the heads and skins of gazelles, stalk a buffalo<sup>1</sup>.

On the animal palette from Hierakonpolis, now in the Ashmolean Museum, is a man with a jackal's head and tail, playing a pipe; this figure has been called a jackal, but that it represents a man disguised seems evident from observation of the feet, which are distinctly human, the left foot showing the toes quite plainly<sup>2</sup>.

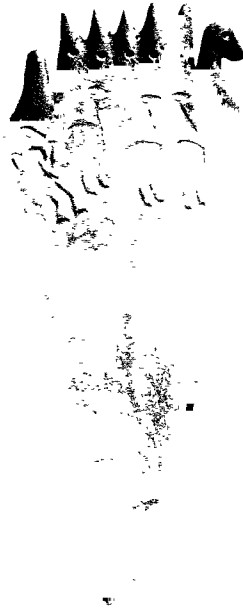
M. Bénédite, in an article recently published<sup>3</sup>, gives the following points as characteristic of the earliest class of carved slate with human and animal figures:—the plain squared form of the torso, the knees not projecting but with knee-caps outlined; rudimentary hands without opposing thumbs; the squared foot; the lozenge-shaped eye. Of these characteristics, the squared torso and foot are seen in the Manchester palette; the hands are almost like claws; the knees cannot be said to project, though the legs are bent, nor are the knee-caps outlined; the eyes are merely the round holes mentioned by Bénédite as the more ancient rendering that is found in the plain animal-shaped slates of Nekâdeh. The hands, knees and eyes, therefore, show a still earlier stage than the great hunting palette, or the animal palette of Hierakonpolis, which two are considered by M. Bénédite to be the oldest of the carved slates already published. The ostrich at the top of the animal slate of Hierakonpolis and the ibis in a similar position on the Louvre Giraffe palette are, I believe, the only other instances of the round eye on the carved slates.

The background of the Manchester palette is cut away, leaving the figures in relief, but of detail there is scarcely any. The exceptions are:—(1) The man is given a girdle, and in addition to the curved line which denotes the upper edge of this, are two slight incisions obviously representing folds in the material; the girdle is finished with a hanging knot, unless this object is the sheath often wrongly called the *karnata*; (2) the curves of the flesh of the man's neck are shown; (3) so is the division between the birds' bodies and necks. The direction of the tool-marks on the necks of the first and second ostrich shows an endeavour to give a rounded appearance. In the hindmost bird the marks go straight down the neck. This bird is altogether the least lifelike, and if the artist worked from left to right (the most convenient direction) it would be that which was first carved. The feet of the ostriches resemble those of the smaller birds on the obverse of the British Museum Giraffe and palm palette, though the very human looking feet of the latter birds are still more like those of our man! One interesting point in connection with the technique is that the idea of high and low relief has been grasped; the body of the ostrich is thrown up by the cutting down of the base of the neck till, at one edge, it is almost level with the background. Similarly, the top edge of the man's girdle is accentuated by lowering the relief of the portion of his body immediately above it, the same method being adopted at his neck. These are the only matters in which the workmanship is more than elementary. There is more variation in the relief of these necks than is found in the figures upon most of the later palettes. Upon that of Narmer, generally considered the latest, the differences of plane are extremely slight. On the Hierakonpolis "animal

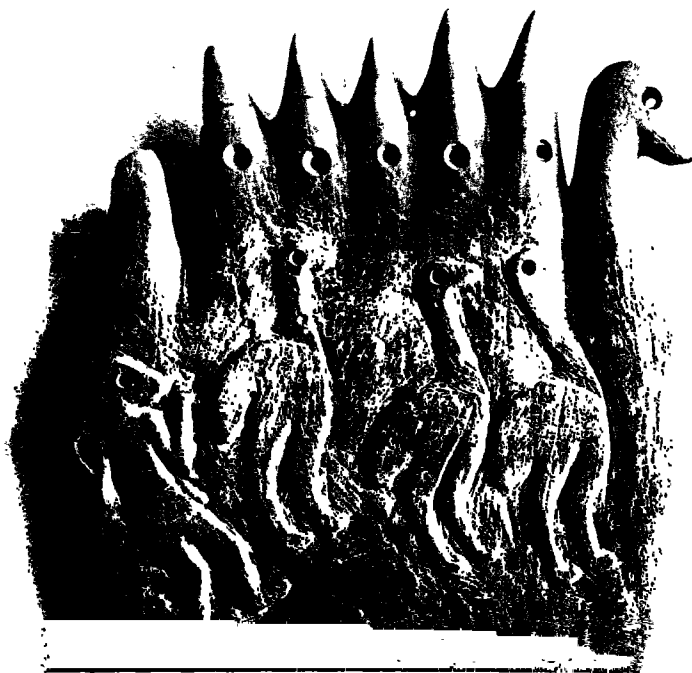
<sup>1</sup> BATES, *Eastern Libya*, p. 94, Fig. 6.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Crompton thus takes the same view as J. Pâris, who brings evidence to show that this figure represents a hunter dressed in a jackal skin, playing the flute as a lure to the desert animals, see *Revue Égyptologique*, vol. XII, pp. 1 foll.—Ed.

<sup>3</sup> *Monuments et Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, tom. XXII, fasc. 1, pp. 21 and 22; an abstract is given by PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, no. 1, p. 30. I follow, in the main, this compressed version.



The entire palette



Detail of the figured portion

CARVED SLATE PALETTE IN THE MANCHESTER MUSEUM



palette" the main figures of the design are in very much higher relief than the smaller and subsidiary figures, but the differences of plane in any one figure considered by itself are not great. I write from an examination of casts of the two Hierakonpolis palettes; as to the other carved slates, to judge from photographs in periodicals, though some show very great varieties of relief (in particular the bull palette of the Louvre and the procession of animals from Gizeh), yet the edge of the design is in every case kept sharply defined from the background and nearly always well above it; the complete merging into the background shown in our example scarcely occurs elsewhere.

It has been seen that our palette is most closely allied in workmanship to the earliest of the elaborately carved slates, but is decidedly cruder. In idea, too, it corresponds to the early Hierakonpolis animal palette, both having a human figure with a monstrous head. It is interesting to notice that it is allied to the very simply carved slates from El-'Amrah and Gerzeh by a point of technique, showing, like them, very distinct traces of tool marks, both on the carved and on the plain surfaces. These marks are, alike in all three cases, slight scratchings, often ending in a triangular point. The plates here given, and those in *The Labyrinth* and in *El Amrah* already cited, will explain the nature of these marks better than words. Rubbing with a pebble and water, in some cases with the addition of sand, will produce a perfectly smooth surface. In the more elaborately carved palettes, though careful inspection of the originals will reveal the tool-marks in a few places, yet these are so slight as to be invisible in the published photographs, whence it is obvious that such a final rubbing down has taken place. Equally obviously it has been omitted in the ruder slates from Gerzeh and El-'Amrah, as also in our ostrich slate, a fact which may perhaps be a sign that these three belong to an earlier period.

The Gerzeh slate, decorated with a rough cow's head, with stars<sup>1</sup> at the ends of the horns and ears, is the most rudely executed of all. The holes in it look much more as though they had been bored by hand with a flint than as though they had been made with a drill. There is a difference in the drilling of the holes in the Manchester slate, for the row of five above the ostriches and man has been much less neatly executed than in the case of the others, the holes not being clean cut, *i.e.* the drill has left the mark of an incomplete circle on the face of the slate, and has made circular ridges inside the holes in the process of boring. Possibly the reason of this difference is that these holes are deeper than the others, and after passing a certain depth such grooves would be produced if a triangular drill were used. Of the twenty slate palettes with drilled holes in the Manchester Museum, there is only one other in which they are not clean cut. All the holes on the palette, excepting the small one near the indentations, were doubtless filled in with rings of white shell or stone, as in the ivory comb figured *El Amrah*, Pl. X, Fig. 7.

The hole forming the eye of the unbroken bird supporter and also that which is just below the indentations, completely perforate the slate and are drilled from both sides. In the case of the supporter, this is probably because the outline of the head is as plain at the back as at the front, and therefore needed the eye. In the other case, the perforation was probably used for suspension, unless perchance a bag containing malachite and grinding pebble was hung from it. The indentations between these bird supporters are extremely regular and well carved, and their execution requires a skill and degree of practice by no means necessary for the rendering of the man and ostriches. These indentations are probably intended to represent the wing-feathers of the two birds; both in ancient and modern

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the design on the bowl figured *Hierakonpolis I*, Pl. XVIII, 21.

Egypt it is the custom to hold fowls by the wings, not by the legs as with us, and when two birds are held in one hand, which is placed where the wings join the bodies, a bunch of feathers will rise up more or less between the birds' heads, and might be conventionalized as in this example. Slates with these indentations are apparently rather rare—there is a good specimen at University College, London—at any rate very few are figured in the Egyptological publications<sup>1</sup>. To judge by analogy, this indented form, of which the Manchester palette is a fine illustration, degraded into the common form of long double-bird palette shown in PETRIE, *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. XLIX, 65. On this same Plate various stages of degradation may be observed; thus in no. 75 the indentations are deep and wide, in no. 69 they are mere notches, in no. 77 scratches only, and lastly, in no. 65, one sees the plain surface only. The carved Min palette *El Amrah*, Pl. VIII, 2, is extremely like this no. 65 in outline, and therefore one may suppose that the Manchester slate is earlier than that from *El-Amrah*. On the other hand, degraded and careful specimens of the same form of palette have several times been found together in undisturbed graves. The very grave (B. 62) which contained the *El-Amrah* carved slate had a double bird slate with two good indentations; this grave is attributed to sequence-date 60—63<sup>2</sup>. Petrie figures a specimen showing indentations and dated to sequence-date 77<sup>3</sup>, so that one must not lay too much stress on the argument from degradation.

It seems probable, then, that our palette is a link between the plain slates and those covered, or nearly covered, with carvings, in the sense that it is midway between them in *age*, and in any case it is very decidedly a connecting link as regards *use*. The Manchester slate is one on which a design is carved and which, nevertheless, has plenty of room for grinding malachite; from this it is an easy step to the almost purely decorative purpose of the elaborate palettes, which were probably designed for the toilette of the gods in the temples.

Professor Harold Dixon, F.R.S., of Manchester University, has very kindly examined the palette to see if any traces of malachite remain. He reports as follows: "I have treated the slate with hot dilute nitric acid. The solution contains iron, aluminium and silica, but I can detect no trace of copper. There is some sand and, I think, clay, sticking in the crevices,—whence the iron oxide, alumina and silica thrown down on neutralising the solution."

Considering the number of hands through which the slate has passed, it would have been strange if any copper could still be traced on it. The use of these slates for grinding malachite is already amply proved<sup>4</sup>.

The conclusions which we have reached are, then, briefly as follows:—

- (1) The palette is earlier in style than any other bearing carved animal figures.
- (2) In roughness of finish it is comparable with the two slates carved with symbols only, these two being generally considered earlier than those mentioned in (1).
- (3) It has a fairly elaborate design and yet plenty of space whereon to grind malachite.
- (4) Thus, both from the artistic and utilitarian point of view, it forms, as Quibell observes, a good link between the ordinary slates and those covered with carvings.
- (5) It is also probably the first Egyptian instance of the man with animal head so characteristic of later Egyptian art.

<sup>1</sup> The best is *El Amrah*, Pl. X, Fig. 9, assigned to sequence-date 56—64.

<sup>2</sup> *op. cit.*, Pl. VIII, 2, 3, and pp. 29 and 38.

<sup>3</sup> *Turkhan II*, Pl. XXII, 27 d.

<sup>4</sup> The evidence is summarised by PETRIE, *Ancient Egypt*, 1917, p. 31.

## THE JUBILEE OF AKHENATON

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A., F.S.A.

ACCORDING to the Greek version of the Rosetta Stone, the *Sed*-festival or "jubilee" was a *τριακονταετηρίς* marking a period of thirty years, and this is confirmed by the fact that its celebration is generally recorded in the thirtieth or thirty-first year of a king. But apart from the fact that the jubilee might be repeated at short intervals after the first occasion in the same reign, there are instances of its celebration before the thirtieth, in the fifteenth, twenty-third and other years. Kurt Sethe suggested that the period started from the proclamation of the future king as crown prince<sup>1</sup>, and Spiegelberg thought that the name "feast of *sed*" commemorated the assumption of the jackal's "tail" as an emblem of royalty on that occasion<sup>2</sup>. Against Sethe's theory Ed. Meyer has brought forward the fact that Tuthmosis II, whose mummy shows that he lived no more than twenty-five years, seems to have celebrated the jubilee twice<sup>3</sup>.

The ceremonies of the *Sed*-festival are illustrated in Professor Naville's memoir on *The Festival Hall* at Bubastis built by Osorkon II, and in Möller's publication of a coffin where the king in the festival is the deity Osiris himself<sup>4</sup>. They are also found in the sculptures of the Sun-temple at Abusir (Neuserre<sup>5</sup>), at Karnak (Tuthmosis III), and at Soleb (Amenophis III), but these as yet are incompletely published. Von Bissing, who has studied all these representations with Dr Kees, is of the opinion that the jubilee was "not any feast for the king, in honour of the king or for his Osirification" or deification in any form, as has been variously suggested; it was in reality "a festival of thanksgiving of the Horus-king to all the gods of the country" for length of years and victory<sup>6</sup>.

Isolated scenes from the jubilee ceremonies are figured in various places<sup>6</sup>. Miss Murray and Prof. Petrie<sup>7</sup> included Akhenaton in the list of kings who celebrated the festival, on the strength of a scene dated in his twelfth year in the tomb of Huya at Tell el-Amarna, in which the king is carried in a litter, wearing the red crown and holding crook and whip (which belong also to Osiris). But the copy published by Lepsius<sup>8</sup> on which they relied is now shown by Mr Davies' memoir on the tomb to be incomplete. In the injured scene

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *Untersuchungen*, vol. I, p. 10; *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXXVI (1898), p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, vol. IV, col. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Nachträge zur ägyptischen Chronologie*, p. 43; *Geschichte des Altertums*, 3rd ed., vol. I, Part II, p. 139. The evidence of Tuthmosis II's jubilee, discovered at Amada by Breasted, and published in his *Temples of Lower Nubia*, p. 51 (in *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Lang.*, Oct. 1906) is seen also in GAUTHIER, *Temple d'Amada*, pp. 130—145. G. ELLIOT SMITH, *The Royal Mummies* (1912), p. 45, raises the possible limit of his age at death to twenty-eight years and is altogether less positive as to his youthfulness than in the first report.

<sup>4</sup> *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXXIX (1901), Pls. 5, 6, with p. 71.

<sup>5</sup> *Die Reliefs vom Sonnenheiligtum des Rathures*, pp. 14, 15 (*Sitzb. kön. bayerischen Akad.*, 1914, Abh. 9).

<sup>6</sup> An example is shown in *Journal*, vol. IV, Pl. IV.

<sup>7</sup> MURRAY, *Osireion*, p. 32; PETRIE, *Researches in Sinai*, p. 178.

<sup>8</sup> *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 100, b.

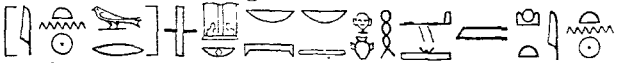






four feet and an embracing arm prove that the queen was in the palanquin with the king<sup>1</sup>. There seems to be no real reason to connect this scene with a jubilee; it is simply, just as the accompanying inscription explains, "the going forth of the king and queen upon the great golden litter to receive the tribute of Syria and Ethiopia, of the west and the east."

Akhenaton reigned only seventeen years, and appears to have died young like Tuthmosis II<sup>2</sup>. Nevertheless, amongst the examples of Egyptian art which Major Gayer Anderson has collected and lent for exhibition to the Ashmolean Museum, is one which seems to prove that he celebrated a jubilee. It is a small slab of limestone giving part of a series of ceremonial scenes (Plate VIII). The slab is injured and the details were much obscured by incrustations until, with the owner's kind permission, Mr Young cleaned it. Neither the material nor the workmanship is good; a depression near the middle has been anciently patched with plaster, a good deal of which above the hands of the principal figure has fallen away.

Two scenes or portions of scenes remain. On the right Akhenaton wears a short cloak, covering the arms, which seems to be reserved for certain ceremonies of the jubilee<sup>3</sup>. If in the other scene the cloak is the same it is at any rate worn quite differently.

The top of the scenes is lost. At the left-hand end the king stands before an altar piled with offerings; his hands are uplifted and present a vase of ointment to the Aton, whose rays ending in hands reach down to the offerings. The king wears a short tunic and the crown of Upper Egypt with a scarf or streamer attached to the middle of the back. The crown has a double outline in front, but this may be due to a correction. The titles of the Aton are on the right.

 "The great living Aton that is in the Sed-festival, Lord of heaven, Lord of earth, in the midst of 'Rejoicing' in Akhet-Aton."

Separated from this by the representation of what may be a stout pillar or wall, with a curious incision at the base, is the second scene. Here the king walks in the short festal cloak, which covers his shoulders and arms in characteristic fashion so that only the hands appear, close together in front of him holding the crook and whip<sup>4</sup>. His crown again has the scarf, which in this case appears to be attached to a peg inserted in the crown. The rays are upon the king, giving him  and  "life and length of days." Before the king's face are his two cartouches and a remnant of the title of the Aton. Behind him is an attendant figure in the usual submissive attitude, holding a footstool and a pair of sandals; this figure is entitled  "chief prophet of Nipkhuriya" (Akhenaton). In front of the king are two similar figures; the first is almost destroyed, the second, entitled  "chief lector," holds a roll of papyrus. Over the first are the cartouches of the

<sup>1</sup> *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. III, Pl. XIII; see p. 10 for the restoration of the complicated central group.

<sup>2</sup> See G. ELLIOT SMITH, l.c., p. 51, for a full description and discussion of the mummy of Amenophis IV.

<sup>3</sup> *Festive Hall*, Pls. X, XXIII and especially XXVI.

<sup>4</sup> The plaster patch suffered further injury in the cleaning. Mr Young took the precaution to have the slab photographed before cleaning and the accompanying sketch is made from a print.



LIMESTONE SLAB IN THE COLLECTION OF MAJOR GAYER ANDERSON



Aton "*in...in southern On*"; why they should be here is not evident, but the king was probably proceeding towards a shrine of Aton.

Not only does this slab acquaint us with the new fact of a jubilee in the reign of Akhenaton; it also introduces us to the unexpected title of "chief prophet" of that king—implying that Akhenaton was actually worshipped—and to the "chief lector." To meet with such personages in the reign of the heretic king is somewhat of a surprise, and we may well ask to what phase of the heresy they belong. It may also be questioned whether the slab belongs to Hermonthis or to Tell el-Amarna. Southern On usually means Hermonthis, but it might perhaps be a name for some monument in Akhetaton, which city is also named conspicuously in the inscription; or we might perhaps read "*Pillar of the King*" instead of "*southern On*."

The Aton which casts its rays on the altar is said to be in the *Huꜥy* (Rejoicing) in Akhetaton. The palace of Amenophis III on the west bank of Thebes is named "the House of Rejoicing" and contained a great festival hall for the celebration of the jubilee<sup>1</sup>. Two "Houses of Rejoicing" are named amongst the buildings designed by Akhenaton to adorn his new capital. In the fourth year of his reign, when he issued the proclamation establishing the city of Akhetaton, "the Horizon of the Sun," at the modern Tell el-Amarna, Akhenaton caused copies of it to be engraved on the eastern cliffs at the north and south limits of the site. Three of these have been found and Mr Davies has recovered from them about half of the very long and exceedingly important text<sup>2</sup>. Herein the king swears by the Aton to build all kinds of monuments in Akhetaton and binds himself not to remove elsewhere. Among other things he says "*I will make a House of Rejoicing for the Aton, my father, in the Island of 'Aton distinguished in Jubilees' in Akhetaton in this place; and I will make a House of Rejoicing...[for] the Aton, my father, in the Island of 'Aton distinguished in Jubilees' in Akhetaton in this place*" (ll. 15—16). The gap in the record deprives us of the reason why there should have been two buildings of almost identical name, purpose and situation; perhaps one was a palace, the other a jubilee hall, associated together as in his father's residence. Further on a very fragmentary passage (l. 40) seems to give "*the celebration (?) of a Jubilee.....the south (?) tablet of Akhetaton, that I may (?) celebrate the Jubilee....*"

Perhaps Akhenaton counted on the gift of long years of reign in return for his piety to 'Aton the Lord of Jubilees'; perhaps a jubilee hall was at that period considered a necessary part of a royal residence; perhaps the young and fanatical king in his anger against the Theban priesthood was determined that nothing should be omitted to render his new capital at once independent of the city which had been the chief residence of so many famous kings but had so grievously rebelled against his doctrine. In any case the "Rejoicing" of Major Gayer Anderson's slab must be identical with the "House of Rejoicing" of Akhenaton's great proclamation, and the name is borrowed from the Theban residence of Amenophis III.

<sup>1</sup> See WINLOCK, *Excavations at the Palace of Amenhotep III in The Egyptian Expedition*, 1916—1917, of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Published and translated in *Rock Tombs of El Amarna*, vol. v, Pls. XXIX—XXXII, pp. 28—31.



## NOTES AND NEWS

DURING the suspension of its activities rendered necessary by the war the Egypt Exploration Fund is collecting its forces for a resumption of its field-work on a far more extensive scale. In laying our plans for the future we have to bear in mind that Egypt is now a Protectorate within the Empire, and that the archaeological labours which were hitherto imposed upon us merely by our regard for Science generally have now assumed an entirely new aspect: it is due to the reputation of our country as a leader in the work of Civilisation that no effort on our part shall be wanting to make the most, both by excavation and by studious research, of the wonderful relics of antiquity which now fall within our trusteeship. For the fulfilment of this purpose large funds will be needed, and the Egypt Exploration Fund has recently issued a finely printed and illustrated account of its work in the past, together with an appeal for support by our President, Field Marshal Lord Grenfell. All Subscribers and Members of the Fund are requested to use their best efforts to aid the Committee in the task which they have undertaken and are determined to carry through, by interesting their friends and so widening the Membership of the Fund. Copies of the summary and of the appeal will be sent, on application, to any of our readers who may desire to help in their distribution.

The lease of the Fund's offices at 37, Great Russell Street having come to an end, temporary premises have been taken at 13 Tavistock Square, W. 1; all communications should henceforth be addressed to the Secretary there.

After some months in Ireland, Mr T. E. Pect has returned to Salonika. The war has now also absorbed another former worker of the Egypt Exploration Fund in the person of Mr Norman de Garis Davies, who recently left for the East in connection with the French Red Cross. Professor Hunt too, as we understand, is temporarily out of England.

In spite of the continuance of the war, archaeological work in Egypt continues. M. Lacau, the Director of the *Service des Antiquités*, has returned to his official post, and M. Baraize, the successor of M. Legrain, is established at Karnak. M. Foucart and M. Gauthier have opened some more inscribed tombs at Kurnet Murrai (Thebes).

For the Americans, Dr Reisner has continued his extremely important work in the Sudân, and has again achieved very valuable results in spite of ill-health. A report of recent operations that he has been good enough to send us will be found below. Mr Lansing, during the earlier part of the winter, made some progress with his investigation of the palace of Amenophis III in the Malkata, a little way S. of Medînet Habû (W. Thebes); in February he recommenced the work of the Metropolitan Museum at

Lisht, where he is clearing the southern pyramid. The Philadelphia expedition, under Mr Fisher, has finished its excavations at Denderah and returned to Memphis, where the previous discoveries have been of the highest interest.

These are described in a recent number of the *Philadelphian Museum Journal* (vol. VIII, no. 4, December 1917); we have seldom read a more luminous or instructive account of any field-work. The site chosen was in the near neighbourhood of the colossi of Ramesses II, familiar to tourists riding from the railway station of Bedrashên to Sakḳāreh, and had been much dug over by natives from the surrounding villages. Fortunately their depredations had not extended below the Ptolemaic level, and at a depth of from 16 to 18 feet were found a number of imposing state-apartments belonging to the Memphite palace of Meneptah (1225–15 B.C.). Only the eastern portion has as yet been exhumed, but this appears to have been the principal wing. A small Entrance Hall led to a vast Hypostyle Hall, 175 feet long and 80 feet broad, surrounded by a colonnade of thirty-four columns; a particularly interesting feature was a loggia or balcony at the southern end. From the Hypostyle Hall one passed, through a stately Vestibule, into the Audience Chamber itself. The magnificence of the decorations of this may be judged from Mr Fisher's account of one of the six columns by which the ceiling was supported:—"The base was a single block of limestone with a horizontal band of inscription inlaid in pale greenish-blue faience. The lower part of the shaft had a row of sepals in relief springing from a broad band of gold. The alternate divisions of the sepals were coloured blue and gold, the gold leaf being laid on over a deep red colour. Between the tips of these sepals were large open lotus flowers inlaid in faience. The relief band on the shaft had the usual figures of the king in gold on a blue ground. From the capital to this panel and then down to the bottom were again the four vertical lines of inscription inlaid in faience. The fragments of capitals found in this hall showed that they were like those in the rest of the building, *i.e.* of the open papyrus type." The sculptured and painted dais on which stood the Pharaoh's throne was found almost intact. Mr Fisher concludes his description of the room as follows:—"The Throne Room, as one would have seen it from the vestibule, must have presented a most splendid appearance. The faint light that came from the slotted windows high up in the walls subdued the brightness of the colouring and gilding and gave an effect of magnificence and of mystery. It was one of the most elaborately decorated and striking halls of which we have any record in Egyptian art."

Behind the Throne Room or Audience Chamber (Egyptian name *ḥnwty*) was a series of rooms which undoubtedly served as the Pharaoh's night-quarters; we shall be interested to learn whether subsequent investigation confirms Mr Fisher's present view that they were merely the private retiring-rooms of the king on state occasions, not being extensive enough to have served as his usual residential suite. At all events, they comprised a hall out of which opened a bath-room and other domestic offices; the sleeping apartment was long and narrow, with a floor of painted stucco; at its inner end may still be seen the deep alcove, raised above the floor and approached by a ramp, in which stood the couch of the king.

Enough has been said in this brief notice to stir the imagination and excite the interest of the most matter-of-fact archaeologist. Mr Fisher's further researches and final publication will be awaited with the utmost impatience.

Professor G. Reisner has sent to us the following valuable account of his latest excavations in the Sudan:

On the approaching conclusion of its work at Nûri, the Harvard-Boston expedition took occasion this winter to examine the pyramids of Tangassi, Zûma and Kurru.

(1) TANGASSI. The mounds which are shown in Lepsius' plan were identified by the relative situation, and a cut was made in one of them. These mounds are not ruined pyramids but circular grave-tumuli composed of earth held in place by an outer layer of small rough stones. This fact was first reported to me by Mr J. W. Crowfoot, Director of Education, in 1916. These tumuli are of the general type of the late grave-tumuli of Gamai excavated in 1915-16 by Mr Oric Bates of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University. The date of the Tangassi tumuli is, I believe, very late Meroitic at the earliest.

(2) ZÛMA. The mounds shown in Lepsius' plan were examined in the same way as the Tangassi mounds and proved to be grave-tumuli of exactly the same character.

(3) KURRU. The pyramids shown on Lepsius' plan are for the most part really pyramids (see LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Pt. I, Pl. 122). Some of the small pyramids shown in the second and third rows behind the two larger pyramids are, however, later grave-tumuli. The square enclosure to the magnetic west (local "east") is a comparatively modern cattle-*zarîbeh* used in times of raids and resembles other similar enclosures in this district. The smaller of the two larger pyramids on the "west" (river side) is separated from the largest pyramid by a ravine. This smaller pyramid, named by me Kurru II, was completely excavated. The pyramid itself had been completely carried away except for a few courses of the core structure that were protected by a modern "sheikh." The four foundation deposits were found intact and, together with a remnant of the enclosing wall, gave the approximate dimensions of the pyramid. The underground tomb was of the usual stairway type with two chambers. The chambers had been most thoroughly cleared out by plunderers and nothing was found except intrusive fragments. The general type of masonry and tomb dates the pyramid to the *D*-group at Nûri (Malewiyabaman to Nastasan). The foundation deposits would place the pyramid to the time between Amannerinutarik and Harsiotef.

The larger pyramid (Kurru I) was partially excavated (the chapel, the two "northern" corners, and the thieves' hole in the stairway). The type of pyramid (masonry, enclosure, and chapel) was that characteristic of the pyramids of Harsiotef-Nastasan at Nûri. The reliefs were distinctly of the same date, but no name was preserved. On the floor of the chapel against the "northern" wall stood a large oval basin, with straight sides, of ordinary red-brown pottery such as was found in the pyramids of the later *D*-group at Nûri (in particular that of Nastasan and Bathyry, queen of Harsiotef). Under the "northern" corners, the foundation deposits with bronze and iron models, pottery, uninscribed tablets, etc., were found and are to be dated either just before or just after Harsiotef—I believe just after him. The thieves' debris in their shaft in the stairway was cleared out in the hopes of finding the name either on stones thrown down from the chapel or on shawabtis. No shawabtis were found. This again is in accordance with our experience in the Nûri pyramids of the period Harsiotef-Nastasan, when the shawabtis were of a very poor quality, practically soluble in water. The chapel was covered up again and the thieves' hole refilled.

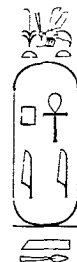
Thus the two chief pyramids, the only two which may be assumed to be kings' tombs, belong with certainty to a period near that of Harsiotef. The small pyramids behind are



probably queens' tombs of the same date and, contrary to Lepsius' plan, are only five or six in number.

About 200 metres away to the "S.S.E." across a wâdy, we accidentally came upon a stairway shaft, which was also excavated. The pyramid had completely disappeared. The underground tomb had two chambers, of the type of the earlier queens' pyramids at Nûri. A large number (over 300) of small shawabtis were found: these were of the type used in the earlier tombs at Nûri (Tanutaman to Senkamanseken). A few fragments were also found in the thieves' debris of the stairway which were inscribed:— These were also of the early type of shawabti, in no case later than Senkamanseken. A few similar fragments had been found in the surface debris about pyramid Kurru I.

It was quite clear that we had here a tomb of a period entirely different from that of Kurru I and II, and equally clear that the Piankhy fragments could by no possibility have come from either of those two pyramids. The group of shawabtis from Nûri group *D* (Malewiyabaman to Nastasan) is now well known to me, as well as the shawabtis of all previous groups, and I can state quite positively that these Piankhy fragments cannot have been later than Senkamanseken. The scattering of these shawabtis over the Kurru site is entirely in accordance with the scattering of those of Tirhaqa and Senkamanseken over the Nûri site, and the probability is that the tomb of this Piankhy is at Kurru on the "south" of the wâdy. Just as there was no trace of the queen's pyramid, the excavation of which has been mentioned, so there was no trace of any other queens' pyramids in its vicinity. That does not, however, exclude the possibility that other small pyramids may be found near by. An examination of the ground in front of this revealed the remains of a mass of masonry about 100 metres to the "west," near the village. This was denuded to the ground, but seemed to me to be the remains of a large pyramid of about 30 metres square. I believe this to be the pyramid of the Piankhy of the shawabtis, and that he comes between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken. This Piankhy is presumably Piankhy II. I may say in passing that I am now inclined to admit only two kings of the name Piankhy in addition to Piankh-alara, and I hope soon to review the evidence for the various kings so named. Now Atlanarsa, whose tomb was not found at Nûri, falls also in this period between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken. It is only reasonable to conclude, therefore, that his pyramid was also at Kurru in this earlier and denuded "southern" cemetery.



So far as is visible all the tombs of the kings of Ethiopia (excepting those at Meroe) are now located. The number of kings from Tirhaqa to Nastasan is twenty-four. A reasonable estimate of the length of the period covered by their reigns would bring the end down to about the time of Ergamenes, the contemporary of Ptolemy II. The use of Egypto-Ptolemaic workmen by Ergamenes at Dakkeh and by Azakhraman at Debôd prevents a comparison with the Egypto-Ethiopian work of Nastasan at Nûri and Barkal, and I refrain for the moment from further conclusions.

On the temple-site of Denderah the *sebbôhîn* have been busy, and have made more than one find of exceptional interest. A *ku*-house or chapel of limestone dedicated by one of the early kings of the Eleventh Dynasty named Menthotpe has just been published by M. Daressy in the *Annales du Service*. Even more recently a considerable portion of the temple treasure of late Ptolemaic times has come to light, and it is a satisfaction to record

that the whole of the find has passed into the keeping of the Cairo Museum. There were fragments of a naos about three feet high, made of silver plates and covered with goldwork. Some statuettes, twelve inches high, of "queens or goddesses" (so our informant, but surely they must be images of Hathor) have a certain charm, as they belong to the better work of the period; they are apparently of solid silver incrustated with gold. There are also some silver figures of "Harpocrates" (perhaps *'Ihy*, the son of Hathor?) imposing in size but otherwise lacking in artistic merit. Among numbers of other objects there are several great winged scarabs about 20 inches from tip to tip; these are of lapis lazuli, with wings of silver inlaid with coloured glaze or stones. Whatever deficiencies in the way of beauty there may be in this find will undoubtedly prove to be remedied by its archaeological importance.

Mr H. I. Bell contributes the following :—

The accompanying personal notes on German papyrologists have been gleaned from the German daily press of the last year or so. Wilcken, as is no doubt pretty generally known already, has left Munich, after a short stay, for Berlin, and his place at Munich has been taken by Otto, the author of the well-known work on Egyptian cults and priesthoods, previously at Breslau; while to Breslau Kornemann has been appointed. F. Zucker has gone to Tübingen as Extraordinarius. C. H. Becker has left Bonn for Berlin. Finally, it may be noted that Wilamowitz-Möllendorf has become a member of the Prussian Herrenhaus as representative of the University of Berlin.

## COMMUNICATIONS

*Under this heading we propose from time to time to print more technical articles of interest mainly to scholars.*—ED.

### DOCUMENTS OF APOKERYXIS IN BYZANTINE EGYPT

By H. IDRIS BELL, M.A.

IN reviewing the third volume of Jean Maspero's catalogue of the Cairo Byzantine papyri (*Journ. Eg. Arch.*, vol. IV, pp. 288—292) I remarked on Pap. 67353 verso, a document of ἀποκήρυξις: "That it is an actual document is important, as it tends to confirm Cuq's view, against Maspero and Lewald, that 67097 verso (D) was also an actual document, not a mere exercise in declamation."

Since these words were written Cuq has published in the *Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions* (1917, pp. 354—369) an article on the papyrus in question, in which he shows how the new document reinforces the conclusions drawn by him from the old, and incidentally points out that the κατὰ τὸν θεῖον νόμον of ll. 32—33 confirms his inference as to a (lost) *novella* on the subject of ἀποκήρυξις; an inference which had by some critics been challenged on the ground that in 67097 the reference was to νόμοι in the plural.

After the publication of the new papyrus and of Prof. Cuq's article there can no longer be any doubt on the main question as to the actual existence in Byzantine Egypt, recognized by law and probably regularized by a *novella*, of the institution of ἀποκήρυξις; and with that the doubts raised as to the nature of 67097 fall to the ground. Cuq adds to his article an extremely interesting section illustrating the continued existence of ἀποκήρυξις in Greece to-day. The primary object of this note is merely to call attention to his article, which might escape the attention of some who are interested in the subject; but since the document in 67097 is undoubtedly written in a more flowery and rhetorical style than the more recently published one, thus affording some apparent support to those who regard it as merely an exercise in declamation, it will perhaps serve a useful purpose to adduce certain considerations which, to my mind, remove any doubts founded on the alleged peculiarity of its style.

Two considerations urged against the documentary character of 67097 are the fact that it has no dating clause, as a document should have, but instead the heading δῆγμα ἀποκηρύξεως, and the omission of personal names. As regards the expression δῆγμα ἀποκηρύξεως, Cuq in his original article *Un Nouveau Document sur l'Apokryxis* in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, vol. XXXIX (see p. 224), gives a sufficient explanation, and Lewald, who regards his theory as to the document with considerable doubt (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung*, xxxiv, pp. 441—445), admits the plausibility of his suggestion. The omission of the dating clause and the names is explained by the fact, admitted on any hypothesis, that the composition is only a rough draft. It was indeed usual, even in drafts, to insert the dating clause, but it was not an invariable practice. Cuq now refers to P. Cair. Masp. III 67310, which is a draft and has neither names nor dating clause, whereas the completed document (P. Lond. v 1711) has of course both; cf. too the draft of a petition in P. Cair. Masp. III 67279, which is headed merely Φλ[αυίω Τριαδί]ω Μαριανῶ Μηχαηλίω, the remaining names and the titles of the Dux being omitted; or again P. Lond. v 1674, 1676, where the name of the Dux is not given at all.

Coming now to the actual style of the document, we have of course to consider not merely single phrases but the total effect. Here Lewald is conscious of a rhetorical tone which at first seems inconsistent with the documentary character of the composition; and presumably, since he regarded the piece as a literary exercise, Maspero, with an intimate knowledge of the documentary style of Dioscorus, agreed with

him. For myself I can only say, also on the basis of a fairly intimate acquaintance with Dioscorus's work, that I can see no compelling reason to regard the composition, even had we only the first part of it without the conclusion (which mentions the village of Aphrodito), as anything but a legal document, of a special kind, no doubt, but not essentially different from several other documents we possess.

But let us come to details. The passage which seems to have occasioned the strongest suspicions is the opening address, which reads: τοῖς ἐν τῷ βίῳ σεμνῷ τῶν ἀκι[β]δῆλων γάμων ἡγ[ησα]μένοις τ]ὰ χρηστά ἐφευρεῖν ὁμοίωμένα, κ(αὶ) τῆς αὐτῶν σωφροσύνης καὶ ὑποταγῆς ἐν ἅπασιν ἀπολαύεσθαι. Such an opening is unusual; but then the document is of an unusual type. It is intended for public exhibition (l. 76, πρὸς εἴδην πάντων, l. 82, προτεθῆναι δὲ μάλιστα ταύτην ἐν τῇ δημοσίᾳ ἀγορᾷ κ(αὶ) ῥύμῃ, μελετουμένην παρὰ πάντων κτλ.; cf. 67353, 36, εἰς εἴδην πάντων); and it is therefore natural that it should begin with an address to the public for whom it is intended and that that address should attempt from the outset to win their sympathy. The rather "high-falutin'" style may in part be influenced by that of petitions, of which Dioscorus wrote many; cf. the well-known petition of the Bishop of Syene (P. Leid. Z = Wilcken, *Chrest.* 6):—τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης καὶ παντὸς ἀν[θ]ρώπου ἐθν[ους] καὶ γένους [δ]εσπόταις κτλ.

But closer analogies can be found to the idea expressed in these words. They strongly recall the sentence which frequently begins documents of divorce; e.g. P. Lond. v 1713 = P. Flor. i 93 (a document drawn up by Dioscorus), πρῶην συνήφθμεν ἀλλήλοις πρὸς γάμου καὶ βίου κοινωνίαν ἐπὶ χρησταῖς ἐλπίσι καὶ τέκνων γνησίων ἀγαθῇ σπορᾷ οἰόμενοι μέν) τὸ ἀλλήλων ἐκτελεῖσαι εἰρηκὸν σεμνὸν συνοικέσιον κτλ.; P. Lond. v 1712, ἐπὶ χρ(η)σταῖς ἐλπίσιν καὶ τέκνων σποραῖς; P. Cair. Masp. i 67121, [οἰόμενος] τῶν βίων (sic) μου [εἰρη]μ[ε]ν[ε]ς ἐκτελεῖσαι; so too P. Cair. Masp. ii 67153, 67155, iii 67311. It may be noted too that the word σεμνός seems to be specially used in notarial documents in connexion with marriage (and virginity); cf., besides P. Lond. 1713, quoted above, P. Cair. Masp. ii 67153, 10, iii 67311, 14, σεμνὸν συνοικέσιον; P. Lond. v 1711 (a marriage contract concluded after consummation of the marriage and drawn up in the office of Dioscorus), 17 f., τὴν σὴν σεμνὴν καὶ ἀσφαλῆ παρθενίαν εὐρὼν διηκόμενα.

It is perhaps not quite irrelevant in this connexion to refer to the apparent custom of prefixing to the body of a marriage contract some general reflection on marriage. I have at least conjectured (and the conjecture still seems to me very probable) that a reflection of this kind is to be found in ll. 4—5 of the mutilated P. Lond. v 1710; and a similar conjecture is strongly suggested for P. Lond. v 1711, 4.

Coming now to the body of the document, we find, in single words or phrases, constant reminiscences of notarial documents. Thus the at first sight un-notarial ταῦτα δὲ φημι finds a certain parallel in the equally personal tone of φημι δὴ τῇ πεφλεγμένην ποδυλαγίᾳ of P. Lond. v 1676, 16 (a petition, from the office of Dioscorus); and θάλλω is a common word, e.g. P. Lond. v 1674, 100; 1727, 11; 1729, 16; P. Mon. 8, 3. For ἐξ ἰδίων καμάτων κ(αὶ) ἰδρώτων (l. 31 f.) see e.g. P. Lond. v 1727, 32 f. (Syene), ἀπὸ ἰδρώτων (καὶ) καμάτων, for κατὰ τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον τῆς συνεχοῦς με με[τ]ριότητος, e.g. P. Lond. v 1730, 13 (Syene), τὴν συνεχομένην μοι ἀσθένειαν and 1711, 28 f., κατὰ τὸν δυνατὸν τρόπον τῆς ἐμῆς μετριότητος; and so on.

Still closer, as is natural, are the analogies with 67353, undoubtedly an actual deed. Here we get the expressions ἕως ὀνόμ[α]τος καὶ μόνου, οἰόμενοι εὐρεῖν ἡμᾶς κτλ., γηρόκομος, ὑποτακτικός, ἀντίπαλος, all of which, or their equivalent, occur in 67097. Rhetorical touches like ὡς οἱ μυθολόγοι (l. 43) are by no means uncommon in the more flowery notarial style, particularly in petitions; cf. P. Cair. Masp. i 67002, ii. 24, πλέον β[αρ]βάρων, iii. 3, ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν βαρβαρωθέντων τόπων, i. 18, ἐξ ἴσου τοῦ Μαδιαν ἔθνους εἰωθότος τότε τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γενήματα ἀφαρπάξαι. In fact, in so far as our document is more literary and rhetorical in style than the majority of notarial documents, this is amply accounted for by its special character. It is in the nature of an appeal to the sympathy and approval of the public; and as such belongs to the class of documents represented by petitions, where the aim is to win the favour of the person addressed, settlements of disputes, where the claims of the contending parties are put as tellingly as possible, wills and donations *inter vivos*, where it is desirable to justify the dispositions made, and the like. If it is compared with the Aphrodito petitions (P. Cair. Masp. i 67002 ff., P. Lond. v 1674—1678), the ἀντιρηρητικοὶ λιβελλοὶ of Horapollon (P. Cair. Masp. iii 67295), the arbitration in P. Lond. v 1708, the donation in P. Lond. v 1729, or the Cairo wills (e.g. P. Cair. Masp. ii 67151), its style will appear far less singular than it has by some been supposed.

If on the one hand the rhetorical tone of the document is easily to be accounted for by its nature, on the other it contains phrases and methods of expression which obviously suggest a notarial deed rather than a literary composition. For example, after the recital of the *causa abdicationis*, come the words (ll. 52—54) ὁθεν εἰς ταύτην ἤκω...ἐγγράφως τὴν νόμιμον ἀποταγὴν κ(αὶ) ἀποκήρυξιν. This is the regular

notarial formula in deeds which begin with a recital of the considerations which have led to the transaction which they record; *e.g.*, to take but one instance out of many (and this drawn, to show the universality of the formula, from Syene, not from Aphrodito or Antinoopolis) in P. Mon. 8 ("Schenkung auf den Todesfall"), *ὅθεν εἰς ταύτην ἐλήλυθα τὴν ὁμολογίαν τύπους ἔχουσα (sic) τῆς παραχωρήσεως*. In the following declaration there are constant occurrences of common notarial phrases, such as the oath formula, the phrase *ἐπὶ πάσης ἀρχῆς* κτλ., etc.

Of course, the phrasology of 67353 is, for obvious reasons, closer to that of 67097 than is the case with documents of other types; and since 67353, being an actual deed, removes all doubts as to the likelihood of the continued existence, in common use, of the institution of *ἀποκήρυξις*, the above discussion may be thought a work of supererogation; but it seemed worth while to point out the many and close parallels, *mutatis mutandis*, between the style of 67097 and that of ordinary notarial contracts. The notarial style of the 6th and 7th centuries is in fact honeycombed with rhetorical flourishes and literary or semi-literary words and phrases; and it would be of some interest to study the documents of those centuries from this point of view.

## NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

*Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, illustrated by the Egyptian collection in University College, London.  
By Prof. W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE. London: School of Archaeology in Egypt, Constable and Quaritch, 1917. Pp. viii + 46 + lviii. 74 plates (59 half-tone; 15 line).

Professor Petrie's annual volume for 1915 is a most useful monograph on Scarabs and Cylinders with royal and personal names, illustrated by examples from the University College collection. The photographs, chiefly by Mr Nash, are excellent. Line drawings of types and of scarabs from other collections are also provided. The idea of giving the latter by means of drawings, so that they can at once be distinguished from those of the University College collection, is a very good one. With this book and the British Museum catalogue of royal scarabs we have now comprehensive publications of the most important portions of the two chief collections of scarabs in the world. Not even the Cairo collection (published by Prof. Newberry) can approach either of them in number and variety of specimens. It is curious that scarabs should have interested British archaeologists almost to the exclusion of their *confrères* of other nations, but the fact remains that practically the whole of the literature of scarabs is in English. Dr Birch wrote the first catalogue of scarabs; Mr Loftie's little book, published thirty-five years ago, was the first to draw attention to the artistic interest of the scarab. Dr Budge has published several catalogues of private collections; Mr Griffith and Mr Fraser have also published collections. Prof. Newberry has published the Cairo collection and given us a work of great value, especially as regards the scarabs of the Middle Kingdom; the present writer has catalogued the royal scarabs of the British Museum, and now Prof. Petrie has supplemented his earlier work on "Historical Scarabs" (perhaps rather a misnomer in some ways) by the important book under review. The name of no foreign archaeologist occurs to me as having written anything important on the subject.

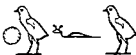
Whereas Prof. Newberry had dealt solely with the aspect of the scarab as a seal, Prof. Petrie emphasizes its religious aspect from the beginning. He rightly points out that owing to the religious side of the amulet having become obscured by its use as a seal under the Middle Kingdom, the heart-scarab was invented as a purely "religious" scarab. When it had once become used as a seal, and its base had become engraved with inscriptions or designs, even when, as under the XVIIIth Dynasty and later, it was made of faience, and could usually not be used as a seal at all, the ordinary scarab, worn for luck, always retained the character of a seal, and was constantly mounted as a ring-bezel. It is impossible to treat its two aspects separately.

For his classification of the varieties of scarabs, Prof. Petrie goes to the genera and species of the animal itself, and classifies according to the apparent imitation by the scarab-makers of the actual beetles *Scarabaeus*, *Catharsius*, *Copris*, *Gymnopleurus*, *Hypselogenia*, etc. Such a classification is very useful, though it may be doubted whether it can be carried through completely. The Egyptian is likely very often to have combined or confused the characteristics of different species, and probably as often as not gives us merely a general impression of a beetle. Certain main types, usually characteristic of different periods, are however readily distinguishable, and Prof. Petrie's line drawings, studied in conjunction with those of the British Museum catalogue, give a very good idea of them. We see the characteristic



elongated form with striated legs of the XIIth Dynasty, the oval-based type with hunched-up hinder end of the early XVIIIth Dynasty, the common naturalistic type of the mid and late XVIIIth Dynasty, the XXVIth Dynasty form with its bulbous abdomen, the various elaborate types of the XIIth and XIXth Dynasties, and so on, with all the different crosses and "contaminations" between them.



With the designs on scarabs or with inscriptions other than those giving royal and personal names Prof. Petrie does not deal in this volume. His record of royal names is rendered very complete by his valuable list on p. 34 ff., which gives the numbers of the scarabs of each king in each collection, side by side. This list shews at a glance the rarity or commonness of any kingly scarabs and also gives an idea of the importance of the two London collections relatively to those elsewhere. The autographed list of private names is also very useful.






Prof. Petrie, as was to be expected, defends with energy his well-known thesis as to the antiquity of scarabs. Most of us believe that the inscribed seal-scarab began at earliest under the VIth Dynasty, and that all the royal scarabs of apparent earlier date are in reality inventions of later periods, whether archaistic in style or no. Prof. Petrie however still considers many scarabs of the IVth Dynasty to be contemporary. It can only be said that while one is ready to concede royal scarabs of the VIIIth—XIth Dynasty without reservation, and of the VIth with some hesitation, those of any earlier period still seem unproven and improbable. However fine a "IVth Dynasty" scarab may seem to be, however slug-

like the  in its name, the greater probability of Saite archaism cannot be ignored. That most of them are Saite is surely indubitable. The possibility of a Saite date for the scarab of Hetepher-s (Pl. IX) does not seem to me to be by any means excluded. The Unas scarabs are regarded by Prof. Petrie as contemporary. To me they appear to be mostly, not Saite, but of the XIXth—XXIInd Dynasty period; some are exactly like scarabs of the Bubastites. Why scarabs of Unas should have been made then I do not know unless, as I have suggested (*British Museum Catalogue*, p. xii, n. 4), the name of Unas was confused with that of the god Unnefer, perhaps in some connexion with the veneration of the early royal tombs (including that of "Osiris") at Abydos under the XIXth—XXIInd Dynasty.

Coming to the XIth Dynasty, I, for one, cannot possibly accept the British Museum scarab No. 24103 (*Catalogue*, No. 2592) as of Neb-hapet-Ra Mentuhetep, as Prof. Petrie does. The name to my eyes reads

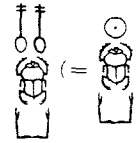
certainly  . not  . The two small excrescences at the side of the lower bulb of the third sign


seem to me to make the reading  certain. And the design, with its  feathers, seems to me to be later than the Middle Kingdom. Then, a little later in his book, Prof. Petrie objects to my statement (*British Museum Catalogue*, p. xiii) that no contemporary scarabs of Amenemhat I are known. It would be rash to maintain that an archaeological statement four years old is insusceptible of correction. But let us look at his six illustrations of supposed scarabs of this king at the top of Plate XII. One of them (No. 6) Prof. Petrie admits is late. And of the others, is it possible to regard the inscriptions of 2, 3 and 4 as of the XIIth Dynasty? No. 4 to me is typically XVIIIth Dynasty, and, judging from the photograph,

I cannot see that it is the name of Amenemhat at all. The supposed  might be , and the  has the contamination with  which could hardly occur on a XIIth Dynasty scarab, I think. The style of inscription must be considered as well as the type of scarab. Then No. 1 looks like a piece of Saite archaism; the spelling in the order of pronunciation of the signs and the use of the form  without determinative certainly point in this direction. This leaves us with No. 5 only as a possible candidate for the honour of contemporaneity. The type of its back (Prof. Petrie's M 46) might certainly be of the XIIth Dynasty. But is it necessarily to be ascribed to Amenemhat I? The name is plain Amenemhat, not Sehotepabra. If No. 1 Sehotepabra were undoubtedly XIIth Dynasty it would provide a better argument. It may be, but 2 to 6 surely are not. And it is at least remarkable that with Senusert I begins the series of royal scarabs of the type characteristic of the XIIth Dynasty, whether with the plain name or with the spiral scrolls and accompanying lucky signs, connecting directly with those of the VIIth—Xth Dynasties. A glance at Plate XII will shew what is meant at once. Why have we no Sehotepabra Amenemhat scarabs of the Senusert type, if they ever existed? I do not accuse any of the

Senuserts on this plate as being later in date with the exception of Nos. 19, 20, and 21 which, as Prof. Petrie

says, are probably of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Now, why has the fancifully written name



Senusert I) been placed (it is true with the  on one side, but that hardly matters) on scarabs which Prof. Petrie believes to be about fifteen hundred years later than Senusert I, but which I believe to be about three hundred years later.' Yet the style of their backs indicates their date conclusively: they cannot be of Senusert's time.

Prof. Petrie's scarabs of the Intermediate and Hyksos periods are important. He continues to place Neb-kheper-Ra Antef before the XIIth Dynasty, and adduces arguments for his view. But it is hardly fair to say, as he does (p. 14), that one reason for Neb-kheper-Ra being placed later is the fact that the Koptos inscription talks of "an enemy of Antef being received at Koptos." The ferocity of the references to this enemy is much greater than that of the IXth—Xth Dynasty references to civil war, the name Siamon which occurs in it can hardly be referred to the period before the XIIth Dynasty, and, finally, the inscription is cut on a door-jamb of Senusert I. Does Prof. Petrie consider that Antef's stone was re-used by Senusert? On his theory it must have been. The explanation given in *Koptos*, p. 10, seems very far-fetched. Antef's scarabs certainly have the appearance of being later than the XIIth Dynasty (Pl. XI). But the scarabs of the XIIIth—XVIIth Dynasties need a great deal of study yet. Points of difference can hardly be avoided on this subject. And it is only by discussion that we shall arrive at the facts. No dogmatism is possible in archaeology. One can only state one's impression at the time of writing, and a few years can make a considerable difference in the apparent force of certain evidence. The Yegeb-Baal scarabs published by Prof. Petrie are very interesting, and when taken in connexion with those of Yegeb-El, already published, Anthi, and other Hyksos kings, sufficiently prove the Semitic nationality of some, at least, of the invaders.




Space fails us to mention more than a few of the rarer scarabs here published by Prof. Petrie. There is the scarab of Teruru (Pl. X) of the VIIth Dynasty, if it belong to the king of that name; the roundel of Khentikhati (Pl. XI); the scarab of Neb-kheper-Ra Apepi (Pl. XXII); the scarab of Thothmes III with the bull's head design (Pl. XXVIII, 74); to name only a few. The whole collection at University College gives the impression of being an extremely well chosen one, in which the finer scarabs of the earlier period are perhaps better represented than those of the later.

Prof. Petrie notes that the name of Akh-en-Aten does not appear on any scarab except on his own funerary heart-scarab. His throne-name, Nefer-kheperu-Ra is common enough. Whether this was "for a certain sacred reason" connected with Aten-worship, or whether most of the scarabs bearing the hated Aten-name were purposely destroyed, is uncertain. It may be noted, however, that on a British Museum scarab (*Catalogue*, No. 1951), Nefer-kheperu-Ra is *Sehetep Aten-Ra*.




The statement (p. 28) that the scroll border finally vanishes after Rameses II's reign is perhaps too definite, as scarabs with such borders exist which look like archaistic work of the XXVth Dynasty (imitating XIIth).

Prof. Petrie says (p. 8) that the material "usually termed 'green basalt' is really a metamorphic volcanic mud, much like slate in composition, but not in fracture," and "as there is no recognised name for it," he calls it "durite." If this is so, and the name has the sanction of the mineralogists, it might be admitted. But in view of the fact that it was chiefly used for the manufacture of heart-scarabs, why not call it 'scarabite,' or better, 'kheprite,' instead of 'durite,' which has no associations?

Prof. Petrie's publication of the early cylinders is of great value, though his translations of their legends often seem open to question, and in many cases had perhaps better not have been attempted. Prof. Reisner has already done valuable work on the early cylinders.

While entirely sympathizing with the desire of the editor of the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* that all contributors should adopt a particular system of transliteration of Egyptian names, I have thought it best to use in this review name-forms generally resembling those used by Prof. Petrie, saving that I do not adopt his latest modification in transliterating  by *o*. It seems to me pointless to write "maot" and "kho," as he does in this book, when the well-known forms "maât," "khâ," give us all we want, if we do not attempt to reproduce  by a symbol.  was not *e*, nor *a*, nor was it *o*, but any one of these



vowel-sounds may have accompanied it at different times and places and in different contexts, so to speak. And as the vowel-sound is uncertain, why not be content with the common transliteration? And in the name which he spells "Amenemhot," Prof. Petrie appears to be under a double misapprehension: not only is it unsuitable, as I have stated, to render  by *o* in any case, but, further, the sound represented by *o* does not occur in the name at all, it being now well-known that the hieroglyphic sign representing the forepart of a lion reads , not .

These matters are, however, comparatively unimportant. Prof. Petrie has given us a most interesting and useful book, which will be of the greatest value to all students of the scarab and its congeners. And it is to be hoped that it will be followed, when the times permit, by a sequel dealing with the scarabs bearing inscriptions without names and those having upon them pictorial or decorative designs merely. Those with religious inscriptions form a very interesting study by themselves, as the late Mrs Alice Grenfell has shewn in her two articles in the *Recueil de Travaux* (vol. xxx, p. 105 ff.; vol. xxxii, p. 113 ff.). And those with decorative designs are of the highest interest to lovers of the "small art" of Egypt.

H. R. HALL.



Plate IX



BAS-RELIEF IN BLUE FAIENCE  
IN THE POSSESSION OF THE EARL OF CARNARVON

## BAS-RELIEF FIGURE OF A KING OF THE PTOLEMAIC PERIOD IN BLUE FAIENCE

By CHARLES RICKETTS

AMONG the many minor works of the Egyptians none are so familiar as the amulets, scarabs and other small objects in blue faience. The charm of their colour, ranging through the entire gamut of blue, has been their passport to popularity. Fashion even has named materials "bleu Egyptien," and has put imitation Hathor heads and scarabs on modern dresses. These delicate trinkets seem to have grown in volume and variety in the Eighteenth Dynasty; in Saitic and Ptolemaic times they became increasingly common. Even in the Eighteenth Dynasty they had been used as articles of exportation and are found, together with their foreign imitations, on Cretan, Greek and other Mediterranean sites.

The high degree of skill, the daintiness and delicacy of these things, prove the existence of a craft long since secure of its means; they are, in fact, but the small change or currency of an art whose scope, for the adornment of life, can be realised in the survival of larger works, tile, vase, statuette, etc., yielded to us from the excavation of tombs and from the sites of royal palaces. The most important monument of glazed decoration in relief, not only in point of date but of its kind, belongs to the Thinite epoch; it is now in Berlin, and was a chamber in the step-pyramid of Zoser at Saqqâreh. This is an astonishing and daring piece of decorative art and may illustrate what was possible in the way of faience mural decoration even in the earliest times. Chance finds of tiles and enamelled bricks have come from later sites, several specimens of the greatest fancy and artistic resource having been found, notably at Tell el-Amarna and at Medînet Habû.

That the free use of faience, both flat and in relief, was adopted in the incrustation of furniture in imitation of the more costly use of precious materials—lapis, marble, and even glass—is certain; but it became an art in itself of infinite capacity, as is shown by the famous blue casket of Amenophis III at Cairo.

To the Eighteenth Dynasty belongs, in fact, a singular series of experiments in glazing, mottling and moulding of surfaces and a more variegated sense of colour; the experimental efforts in art which crystallise round the romantic reign of Akhenaton had their confirmation in glazed portrait-statuettes of a new character, such as the one of the Heretic King at Cairo, and in countless exquisite objects of glazed sculpture, if I may so call it—amulets, toilet spoons and the like. The truly monumental use of faience by the Egyptians is illustrated mainly by the chamber of King Zoser and by that singular symbolic pillar, standard or token in rich blue earthenware in the Victoria and Albert Museum. To the Eighteenth Dynasty belongs, or would seem to belong, the evolution of the small glazed objects of art in the round or in relief, whose possibilities ranged from flower- and bud-like



beads to the portrait-statnette. In its larger aspect, as an adjunct to architecture, the Egyptians anticipated the famous enamelled walls of the Assyrians, the Persians and, within our era, the glazed architectural decoration of the Chinese and Arabs. But even to-day the smaller Egyptian trinkets remain unique of their kind.

Though allied to the art of the amulet maker, in technique at least, the quite lovely and exceptional fragment of a king in the act of adoration, from the collection of Lord Carnarvon (Plate IX), probably formed part of the inlay once encrusting the flat sides of some superb piece of furniture, casket, chest, or portable naos of the Ptolemaic epoch. The smooth glazed edges point to the finish required to make it fit other pieces; it has probably long since been detached from the surface it decorated, yet, even now, it is possible that microscopic examination might show grains of adhering substances, invisible crumbs of wood, nay possibly scintillae of gilding, which once belonged to the surrounding surfaces. It measures  $105 \times 55$  mm., and is of pale blue colour, excepting the headgear and waistband, which are ultramarine with the lesser details in pale blue. Despite its scale the character of the modelling shows that suavity of the Ptolemaic and later bas-reliefs which is seen at Kôm Ombo and Denderah. The expression *le sourire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* has sometimes been applied to this last phase of Egyptian art, and is commonly ascribed to the touch of Greece upon the craftsmen of Egypt. To the present writer the influence of Greece seems negligible. Over-fusion of surface, and over-sweetness, had characterized many Saitic works when as yet a thing to come in the early art of Greece; *le sourire du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle* flits about the still more naturalistic and even gay work of the Egyptian craftsmen of the Eighteenth Dynasty. It is only in a certain roundness, and in the balance or pattern of the detail, that we can date the later phase and separate it from earlier work where a similar daintiness and grace had been aimed at. The realism of this fragment retains a national accent; an almost negroid gaiety plays about the sensual nose and lips. The over-fluid surface of the body is in no sense Greek, the anatomy is clothed with flesh of a different and quite African pulp and grain; and the temper of the artist has endowed it with a sly and sleek sense of beauty astonishing in a thing of its size, destined only to form part in the decoration of some object of daily or ritual use. It is of quite exceptional value as showing the exquisite finish of which Egyptian art is capable in accessory things, an impression not seldom obscured by the showy cartonnage and cheap funereal rubbish with which the art of Egypt is too often confused.





painted ceiling with a line of inscription down the middle from south to north. The walls on all four sides were originally covered with plaster and painted with scenes and inscriptions; but the door jambs in the west wall have been inscribed with vertical lines of incised signs, painted green, and the east wall has been re-decorated with two painted scenes and 105 vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs, painted green. The sides of the doorway from Room 1 to Room 2 and the door-jamb in the west wall of Room 1 bear incised inscriptions. Room 1 itself has a painted roof and the walls have been re-decorated, as in Room 2. At the ends of the north and south walls are some lines of incised inscription.

I think it is evident that the tomb was hollowed out under the personal oversight of Hepzefa on a most elaborate plan. The whole was plastered, and the scenes and inscriptions painted preliminary to cutting, as usual. The cutting of the figures and inscriptions was finished, though the painting was not so, as far as the doorway of the Inner Sanctuary (Room 7); and there the work stopped for some years. The fading of the painted scenes is easily explicable if the painting was only preliminary to cutting; finished paintings in protected rooms of this sort do not fade so easily. Of course, unfinished tombs are so common in Egypt, as well as partial alterations of the decoration, that they hardly call for a special explanation; but extensive alterations and re-decorations such as occur in the tomb of Hepzefa are quite unusual. Furthermore, the character of the sixty-five lines containing the contracts is unique in a tomb inscription. It may be noted that the epithet  ("true of voice") is applied to Hepzefa only in the inscriptions of the alterations. Now, the use of this term in tomb- and coffin-inscriptions of the Middle Empire<sup>1</sup> is not uniform, it being sometimes used and sometimes omitted in the same tomb or on the same coffin. This fluctuation is probably to be explained, partly at least, by the fact that many of these inscriptions were prepared while the man was alive, and yet were intended for his benefit when dead. Now the original contracts must have been prepared while Hepzefa was alive, and not being funerary texts, they could hardly have contained the phrase . The most plausible explanation of the use of this term in the copies or summaries of the contracts on the walls of the tomb is that these copies were inscribed after the death of Hepzefa. When we add to this the fact that Hepzefa died at Kerma, and was there buried in the tumulus K III, it seems probable that Hepzefa was sent to the Sudân at a time when he had carried the preparation of his tomb only as far as the cutting of the inscriptions and scenes of the inner sanctuary. Before leaving, he made his arrangements with his *ka*-priest, and entered into these contracts with the officials named therein. I assume that, before his death, he sent a letter to his *ka*-priest which, among other directions, contained the instructions given in lines 269-272: "*The hereditary prince, the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, he says to his ka-priest: See, all these things for which I have contracted with these wa**cb**-priests are under thy oversight; for it is the ka-priest of a man who causes his property and his offerings to flourish. See, I have brought to your knowledge these things which I have given to these wa**cb**-priests in return for those things which they have given to me. Guard lest any of them be lost (revoked). Thou shalt speak concerning the things of mine which I have given to them, and thou shalt cause thy son and heir to hear them, he who shall act for me as ka-priest. See, I have endowed thee with land, with people (serfs),*

<sup>1</sup> See the E. E. F. publications of Beni Hasan and el-Bersheh; and LACAT, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, No. 28,088, etc.



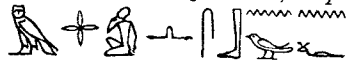
with cattle, with gardens, and with everything, like any exalted man of Siût, in order that thou mayest carry out my service with a willing heart and mayest stand over all my affairs which I have given into thy hand. See, they are before thee in writing. These things shall belong to thy one son whom thou wishest to act as my ka-priest from among thy children, as consumer (of the revenues) without doing damage (to the estate as a whole)<sup>1</sup>, without permitting that he divide it among his children, according to these instructions which I have given thee."<sup>2</sup> Apparently the contracts, or copies, were sent along with the letter, but they may have been left in charge of the ka-priest in Siût when Hepzefa went to the Sudân. It is probable that the agreements with the ka-priest contained some instructions about finishing the tomb: however that may be, it must have been the ka-priest who carried out the alterations noted by Mr Griffith. The contracts are, in fact, all for the benefit of the ka-priest, securing to him services and supplies to be used in the exercise of his office, adding to his importance and increasing his perquisites. The omission of those contracts which defined the duties and the obligations of the ka-priest was due, no doubt, to the ka-priest himself and was intentional. About one-third of the later and substituted inscriptions is taken up with the contracts and their introduction, and the rest forms a glorification (including extracts from the Pyramid Texts, lines 380—392) of the man upon whose greatness the prestige of the ka-priest depended.

The ten contracts have been translated and discussed by Prof. Erman<sup>3</sup>, as well as by Prof. Breasted<sup>4</sup>. For convenience sake, I give the translation in my own wording, with a few departures from the earlier versions. I have to thank Dr Gardiner for a series of notes which I have used in the translation.

#### Contract I (ll. 273—276).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the hour-priests of the temple of Wepwat, lord of Siût,*

- (1) *for the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each individual wa<sup>c</sup>b-priest for his statue which is in the temple of Anubis, Lord of Rekreret,*  
(c) *on the first intercalary day, when Wepwat, Lord of Siût, proceeds to this temple.*
- (2) *That which he gave to them in return was his share of the bull offered to Wepwat, Lord of Siût, in this temple when he proceeds thither,*  
(d) *as his meat-offering which is due to the nomarch.*
- (3) *And he spoke to them saying: See, I have given to you this meat-offering which is due to me in the temple, in order to endow(?) this white bread which ye are to give to me.*  
(d) *Then they gave to him a portion of the bull for his statue in charge of his ka-priest out of what he had given to them of this meat-offering.*
- (4) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

<sup>1</sup> Mr Gunn quotes the same legal term from an Old Kingdom letter found at Elephantine, *Pap. Berlin 9010 = Hieratische Papyrus*, vol. v, Pl. I: "while Sebkhotpe was  an eater who does not do mischief," i.e. probably a consumer of revenues who does not touch, or detract from, their source.—ED.

<sup>2</sup> Dr Gardiner restores the end of the line *rdita-i [sd]m k.*

<sup>3</sup> *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. xx (1882), pp. 159 ff.; *Life in Ancient Egypt*, pp. 145 ff.

<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Records*, vol. i, pp. 258—271.

**Contract II** (ll. 277—282).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the hour-priests of the temple of Wepwat, Lord of Siût,*

- (1) *For the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each one of them for his statue in charge of his ka-priest,*  
 (c) *on the first day of the first month of the first season, New Year's day, when the house is given to its lord after the lighting of the lamp (torch?) in the temple,*  
*and for their going forth after his ka-priest at his glorification until they reach the northern corner of the temple as they do when they glorify their own honoured dead on the day of the lighting of the lamp (torch?).*
- (2) *That which he gave to them in return was one hekaet of northern barley for every field of the endowment (pr-dt),*  
 (d) *from the first-fruits of the harvest of the nomarch's estate, just as (or, 'in the measure which') every common man of Siût gives of the first-fruits of his harvest,*  
 (d) *for he was the first to cause every one of his peasants to give it to this temple from the first-fruits of his field.*
- (3) *And he said: See, ye know that as for anything which an exalted man or a common man gives to a temple of the first-fruits of his harvest, the revocation of it is not pleasant to him, nor does any nomarch in his time diminish the contract of another nomarch (made) with the waꜥb-priests of their time.*  
*Furthermore, this barley shall belong to the hour-priests of the temple individually, to each waꜥb-priest who shall give to me this roll of white bread. They shall not divide it (the barley) among those of the same month because they are to give this white bread individually.*
- (4) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

**Contract III** (ll. 283—289).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the staff of officials of the temple (of Wepwat),*

- (1) *for the gift to him of bread and beer,*  
 (c) *on the 18th of the first month of the first season, the day of the waꜥg-festival:*  
*List of what [they are to give to him?]:*

<i>LIST OF THE SAME:</i>	<i>ꜥBY-JARS OF BEER.</i>	<i>ROLLS OF ꜥFN-BREAD.</i>	<i>ROLLS OF WHITE BREAD.</i>
<i>Chief priest</i>	4	400	10
<i>Announcer</i>	2	200	5
<i>Master of mysteries</i>	2	200	5
<i>Wardrobe-keeper (šndwty)</i>	2	200	5
<i>Store-keeper</i>	2	200	5
<i>Master of the wide-hall</i>	2	200	5
<i>Overseer of the sanctuary</i>	2	200	5
<i>Scribe of the temple</i>	2	200	5
<i>Scribe of the altar</i>	2	200	5
<i>Lector-priest</i>	2	200	5
(Totals, not in text	22	2200	55)

- (2) *That which he gave to them in return was 22 days of the temple,*  
     (d) *from his property of the house of his father (his paternal inheritance), not from the nomarch's estate,*  
     *four days to the chief priest and two days to each one of the others.*
- (3) *And he said to them: See, a temple day is 1/360th of a year. Ye shall divide all the daily rations which enter this temple consisting of bread, beer, and meat; for a temple day is reckoned at 1/360th of the bread, beer, and everything which enters this temple, for each one of these temple days which I have given to you.*  
     (d) *See, it is my personal property from my paternal estate, not from the nomarch's estate, inasmuch as I am the son of a waḥ-priest like each one of you.*  
     *See, these days shall pass to every future staff of officials of the temple because they are the ones who offer for me this bread and beer which they are to give me.*
- (4) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

**Contract IV** (ll. 290—295).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the hour-priests of the temple of Wepwat, Lord of Siût,*

- (1) *for the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each one of them for his statue which is in the temple,*  
     (c) *on the 18th day of the first month of the first season, the day of the wa-g-festival, and for their going forth after his ka-priest at his glorification when the lamp (torch ?) is lighted for him, as they do when they glorify their own honoured dead on the day of the lighting of the lamp (torch ?) in the temple.*

*Furthermore, this white bread shall be in charge of his ka-priest.*

- (2) *That which he gave to them in return was*  
     *a sack of coals for every bull, and*  
     *a basin (basket ?) of coals for every goat,*  
     (d) *which they are wont to give to the store-house of the nomarch when a bull or a goat is offered to the temple, in payment of that which they owe to the store-house of the nomarch. And he remitted it to them without exacting it from them.*

*And that which he also gave to them was the 22 kby-jars of beer and the 2200 rolls of kfn-bread.*

- (d) *which the staff of officials of the temple were to give to him on the 18th day of the first month of the first season<sup>1</sup> in compensation for that which they are to give, a roll of white bread for each individual from that which is due to them in the temple, and (in compensation) for his glorification.*
- (3) *And he spoke to them, saying: If these coals are exacted from you by any future nomarch, see, this bread and beer shall not be lessened which the staff of officials of the temple provide for me and which I have conveyed to you. Behold, I have contracted with them for it.*
- (4) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

<sup>1</sup> See Contract III.

**Contract V** (ll. 296—301).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the wardrobe-keeper (šndwty) of the temple (of Wepwat),*

- (1) *for three wicks with which the lamp (? torch) is to be lighted for the god.*  
 (2) *That which he (Hepzefa) gave to him (the šndwty) in return was three temple days.*  
*Now these three temple days shall be due to every future wardrobe-keeper (?) because these wicks are to be due to him (Hepzefa).*  
 (3) *And he spoke, saying: One of them (the wicks) shall be given to my ka-priest when he goes forth at the lighting of the lamp (? torch) with it for the god*  
 (c) *on the fifth intercalary day, the eve of the New Year.*  
*As for the wardrobe-keeper (?), he shall hand it (the wick) to my ka-priest after he has done that which he has to do with it in the temple.*

*He shall give another*

(c) *on New Year's day in the early dawn (d̲w), when the house is given to its lord after the hour-priests of the temple have given me this white bread which they are to give to me individually on New Year's day. It shall be issued through my ka-priest at my glorification (i.e., given to him and used by him).*

*He shall give another*

(c) *on the 18th day of the first month of the first season, the day of the wag-festival, at the same time as the white bread which the individual waḥb-priests give to me. This wick shall be issued through my ka-priest at my glorification (attended) by the hour-priests of the temple.*

*And he (Hepzefa) said to him: See, as for a temple day, it is 1/360th of a year. Ye shall divide all the daily rations which enter the temple, (consisting) of bread, beer and everything; for a daily ration is reckoned at 1/360th of the bread, beer, and everything which enters the temple, for each of these temple days which I have given to thee.*

(d) *See, it is my personal property from the estate of my father, not from the estate of the nomarch.*

*Now these three temple days shall pass to every future wardrobe-keeper (?) because to him (Hepzefa)<sup>1</sup> are to be due these wicks which thou hast conveyed to me on account of these three temple days which I have conveyed to thee.*

- (4) *And he was satisfied therewith.*

**Contract VI** (ll. 302—304).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the chief priest of Wepwat (i.e. himself),*

- (1) *for a roast of meat*  
 (d) *which goes up upon the altar, and is placed on the offering stone (altar) for every bull slaughtered in the temple;*  
*and a šṭ-jar of beer from every ¼ ds-jar,*  
 (c) *on every day of 'appearance' (in the temple),*  
 (d) *which is due to every chief priest in his time.*  
 (2) *That which he (Hepzefa) gave to him (the titular chief priest) in return was two temple days from his paternal estate, not from the nomarch's estate.*

<sup>1</sup> Note the change from the third to the first person in the rest of the sentence.

- (3) *Then Hepzefa spoke, saying: This roast of meat and this štȝ-jar of beer shall issue (šm) on every day of 'appearance' (in the temple).  
They are due to my statue in charge of my ka-priest.*
- (4) *And he (Hepzefa, as titular chief priest)<sup>1</sup> was satisfied therewith in the presence of this stuff of officials of the temple.*

**Contract VII** (ll. 305—306).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the great waḥb-priest of Anubis,*

- (1) *for three wicks which are to be due to him, with which the lamp (torch?) is to be lighted in the temple of Anubis,*  
     (c) *one on the fifth intercalary day, on the eve of the New Year,*  
     (c) *another on New Year's day,*  
     (c) *another on the 17th of the first month of the first season, on the eve of the waḡ-festival.*
- (2) *That which he gave to him in return was 1000 (measures) of agricultural land in Sema-resi*  
     (d) *of the land of his father,*  
     *as compensation for these three wicks which he shall give to my ka-priest in order to light for me the lamp (torch?) therewith.*
- (4) *And he was satisfied therewith.*

**Contract VIII** (ll. 307—311).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the hour-priests of the temple of Anubis,*

- (1) *for the gift to him of one roll of white bread by each one of them for his statue,*  
     (c) *on the 17th day of the first month of the first season, on the eve of the waḡ-festival;*  
     *and for their going forth after his ka-priest when the lamp (torch?) is lighted for him at his glorification, until they reach the 'lower stairway' (valley-chapel?) of his tomb, just as they glorify their (own) honoured dead on the day of the lighting of the lamp (torch?);*  
     *and for the gift by the monthly waḥb-priest of a dish(?) of bread and a ḏwiw-jar of beer for his statue which is in the 'lower stairway' (valley-chapel?) of his tomb,*  
     (c) *when he goes forth to perform the ceremonies in the temple every day.*
- (2) *That which he gave to them in return was the northern barley,*  
     (d) *from the first-fruits of the harvest of every field of the nomarch's estate just as (or, 'in the measure which') every common man of Siût gives of the first-fruits of his harvest.*  
     (d) *Now, however, he was the first to cause every one of his peasants to give it from the first-fruits of his field to the temple of Anubis.*

<sup>1</sup> The distinction drawn between Hepzefa as a private person and Hepzefa as titular chief priest is only a characteristic piece of Egyptian subtlety, not a mark of high legal development. Such contracts open the road to a wide range of frauds, and in order to secure enforcement before a modern court would have to be justified in every detail. The distinction between a man and his office is really a very simple practical conception, which is fully grasped by almost all semi-civilized and some quite barbarous races.

- (3) *And the nomarch, Hepzefa, said: See, ye know that as for any exalted man or any common man who gives the first-fruits of his harvest to the temple, the revocation (?) of it is not pleasant to him, nor does any nomarch in his time diminish the contract which another nomarch has made with the waḥb-priests in their time.*

*This northern barley shall belong to the hour-priests of the temple, individually to each one who gives me this white bread. He shall not divide with the priests in their months because they are to give this white bread individually.*

- (4) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

**Contract IX** (ll. 312—318).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, true of voice, made with (b) the overseer of the cemetery-workmen and the desert-guards (?)*<sup>1</sup>

- (1) *for causing them to go to the temple of Anubis*  
     (c) *on the fifth intercalary day, the eve of the New Year, and*  
     (c) *on New Year's day,*  
     *to receive two wicks which the great waḥb-priest of Anubis has given to the nomarch, Hepzefa;*  
*and for their going at his glorification until they reach his tomb;*  
*and for their giving the one wick (i.e. that of New Year's eve) to his ka-priest after they have glorified him as they glorify their (own) honoured dead.*  
 (2) *That which he gave to them in return was 2200 (measures) of agricultural land in Wabab*  
     (d) *of his personal property from his father's estate, not from the nomarch's estate:*

LIST OF THE SAME:		MEASURES OF LAND.
The overseer of the cemetery-workmen	...	400
Commander (?) <sup>2</sup> of the desert	...	200
Eight desert-guards (?) <sup>3</sup>	...	1600

*And there was also given to them the lower part of the hind-quarter (?) of every bull slaughtered on the desert in all its tomb-chapels.*

- (3) *That which they gave to him was:*  
*The overseer of the cemetery-workmen, two ds-jars of beer, 100 rolls of ḳfn-bread, and ten rolls of white bread;*  
*the commander<sup>2</sup> of the desert, one ds-jar of beer, 50 rolls of ḳfn-bread, and five rolls of white bread;*  
*the eight desert-guards<sup>3</sup>, eight ds-jars of beer, 400 rolls of ḳfn-bread, and 40 rolls of white bread;*  
*for his statue in charge of his ka-priest,*  
     (c) *on the first day of the first month of the first season, New Year's day, when they glorify him.*  
 (4) *And he said to them: See, this land which I have conveyed to him (? 'to you') shall belong to every future overseer of the cemetery-workmen, to every commander (wḥrtw) of the desert, and to every future desert-guard (?) because they are the ones who are to offer for me this bread and beer.*

<sup>1</sup> Tpyw-dw.

<sup>2</sup> Wḥrtw.

<sup>3</sup> Tpyw-dw.

- (5) *And ye shall be behind my statue which is in my garden accompanying it when [it proceeds to the temple of Wepwat (? Anubis)],*  
 (c) *on every festival of the beginning of a season which is celebrated in this temple.*  
 (6) *And they were satisfied therewith.*

**Contract X** (ll. 319—324).

*Contract which (a) the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, made with (b) the overseer of the desert,*

- (1) *for the gift to him of one hbnt-jar of beer, one great cake(?), 500 rolls of kfn-bread, and ten rolls of white bread for his statue in charge of his ka-priest,*  
 (c) *on the 17th day of the first month of the first season, the eve of the wag-festival.*  
 (2) *That which he (Hepzefa) gave to him in return was 1000 (measures) of agricultural land in Wabab,*  
 (d) *of his personal property from the estate of his father, not from the estate of the nomarch;*  
*and the fore-quarter(?) of every bull slaughtered on the desert in all its tomb-chapels.*  
 (3) *And he said to the overseer of the desert: See, this land shall pass to every future overseer of the desert, because he it is who shall offer for me this bread and beer.*  
 (4) *And he was satisfied therewith.*

*The revered one, the nomarch, the chief priest, Hepzefa, lord of reverence.*

As Prof. Erman has pointed out, these ten contracts are not exact copies of the original documents but summaries or abstracts of their contents. The original documents were of course written on papyrus, and it is obvious that Hepzefa was alive and in Siût when the agreements were sealed—that is, before his departure for the Sudân, where he died. Whether Hepzefa ordered the cutting of these contracts along with the other alterations in his tomb, or whether the *ka*-priest included them on his own initiative, it is now clear that they assumed a quite unusual importance owing to the fact that Hepzefa was not buried in the tomb. The service of the statue was nearly the only thing left of Hepzefa's mortuary services in Siût and *therefore more than usually liable to fall into desuetude.*

It is of some interest to examine the services obtained by Hepzefa through these contracts and the compensation paid for them. Taking the services provided by the contracts in their *chronological* order, they appear as follows:—

- (1) On the first intercalary day, when Wepwat, lord of Siût, proceeds to the temple of Anubis, lord of Rekreret (Contract I),  
 (a) the hour-priests of the temple of Wepwat (b) offer a roll of white bread each (c) for Hepzefa's statue which is in the temple of Anubis.  
 According to clause (3) of contract, part of the compensation was returned for "his statue in charge of his *ka*-priest."
- (2) On the fifth intercalary day, New Year's eve (Contracts V, VII, and IX), when the lamp (torch?) is lighted for the god in the temple of Wepwat, at the glorification of the dead, and the *ka*-priest of Hepzefa glorifies Hepzefa,  
 (a) the wardrobe-keeper of the temple of Wepwat (b) provides a wick, which is given to the *ka*-priest (c) for the torch-lighting in the temple of Wepwat.  
 When the glorification procession takes place from the Anubis temple to the tombs in the cemetery,  
 (a) the overseer of the cemetery-workmen and the nine desert-guard (b) receive a wick at the Anubis temple and go in procession to the tomb of Hepzefa (c) After the glorification, the wick is to be given to the *ka*-priest.

- (a) the great *waʿb*-priest of (b) furnishes the above wick.  
the temple of Anubis

The wardrobe-keeper (?) of the temple of Wepwat is further to hand the wick to the *ka*-priest, after he has done with it what he has to do.

- (3) On New Year's day, in the early dawn<sup>1</sup>, when the house is given to its lord after the lighting of the lamps in the temple of Wepwat (Contracts II, V),

- (a) the hour-priests of the (b) offer white bread (c) for the statue of Hepzefa in  
Wepwat temple charge of his *ka*-priest,

- (b) and follow the *ka*-priest to  
the northern corner of the  
temple,

- (a) the wardrobe-keeper (?) (b) furnishes the wick (c) to the *ka*-priest for the lamp-  
of the Wepwat temple lighting.

When the glorification procession takes place from the Anubis temple to the tombs in the cemetery (Contracts VII and IX),

- (a) the overseer of the ceme- (b) receive a wick at the Anubis  
tery-workmen and the temple and go in procession  
nine desert-guards (?) to Hepzefa's tomb

- (b) and provide 11 *ds*-jars of (c) for the statue of Hepzefa in  
beer, 550 rolls of *kfn*-bread charge of his *ka*-priest.  
and 55 rolls of white bread

- (a) the great *waʿb*-priest of (b) furnishes the wick for the  
the Anubis temple above procession.

- (4) On the 17th of Thoth, the eve of the *wag*-festival, when the lamp is lighted for him at his glorification (Contracts VII, VIII, and X),

- (a) the hour-priests of the (b) offer white bread (c) for the statue of Hepzefa.  
Anubis-temple

- (b) and follow the *ka*-priest at  
his glorification until they  
reach the "lower stairway"  
(valley-chapel?) of the tomb.

- (a) the great *waʿb*-priest of (b) furnishes the wick for the  
Anubis above ceremony.

- (a) the overseer of the desert (b) provides 1 *hbnt*-jar of beer, (c) for the statue of Hepzefa in  
1 large cake (?), 500 rolls of charge of his *ka*-priest.  
*kfn*-bread, and 10 rolls of  
white bread

- (5) On the 18th of Thoth, the *wag*-festival, probably in the early dawn (Contracts IV and V),

- (a) the hour-priests of the (b) offer white bread (c) for the statue of Hepzefa which  
Wepwat-temple is in the temple

- (b) and follow the *ka*-priest at  
his glorification.

- (a) the wardrobe-keeper (?) (b) furnishes the wick for the  
of the temple of Wepwat above procession.

- (6) On every day of "appearance" in the temple of Wepwat, including the three great festivals mentioned above (Contract VI),

- (a) the chief priest of Wep- (b) provides 1 roast of meat (c) for the statue of Hepzefa in  
wat from every bull and 1 jug of charge of his *ka*-priest.  
beer from every jar offered  
in the temple of Wepwat

<sup>1</sup> The word is *dʿv*, determined with the sign for night. In modern Egypt, the Muhammedans of Upper Egypt go to the graves in the cemetery in the early dawn, between 3 and 4 a.m., on the morning of the two annual festivals.




- (7) On every festival of the beginning of a season ; this would include the New Year's eve and the New Year's day ceremonies mentioned above, but not the *wag*-festival (Contract IX),
- (a) the overseer of the cemetery-workmen and the nine desert-guards (?) (b) follow the procession to the temple of Wepwat (Anubis?) (c) "behind my statue which is in my garden."
- (8) *On every day*, when the *wab*-priest of the month of the temple of Anubis comes forth at the making of offerings in the temple (Contract VIII),
- (a) the monthly *wab*-priest of the Anubis-temple (b) offers bread and beer (symbolic offerings ?) (c) for the statue of Hepzefa which is in the "lower stairway" (valley-chapel?) of his tomb.

It has ordinarily been assumed that there were five statues of Hepzefa mentioned in the contracts :

- No. 1. Statue in the Anubis temple, mentioned in Contract I, on the first intercalary day.
- No. 2. Statue in the Wepwat-temple, mentioned in Contract IV, on the 18th of Thoth, *wag*-festival.
- No. 3. Statue in charge of the *ka*-priest, mentioned in Contracts II (action in Wepwat temple, on New Year's morning), VI (action by inference in Wepwat-temple on every day of "appearance" in the Wepwat-temple), IX (offering of overseer of cemetery-workmen and company, on New Year's day, action apparently in the cemetery by the same people who are to follow the statue in the garden), and X (offering of desert-overseer, on the eve of the *wag*-festival, action apparently in the cemetery).
- No. 4. Statue in the "lower stairway" of the tomb, mentioned in Contract VIII (action by Anubis-priests on the eve of the *wag*-festival and on every day).
- No. 5. Statue in the garden, mentioned only in Contract IX, where the overseer of the cemetery and the desert-guards (?) are bound to follow it when it proceeds to (the temple of Wepwat [or Anubis ?]), on every festival of the beginning of a season.

Now there is nothing in the chronological order of events which prevents the assumption that all these represent one and the same statue. Furthermore, the following considerations favour that view :

- (a) Contract IX shows that the statue in the garden (No. 5) was carried in procession on every feast of the beginning of a season, and therefore also on New Year's day, when the actions described in the other contracts concern the statue in charge of the *ka*-priest (No. 3). The offerings of this same contract, made by the same men, are for statue No. 3. Thus it seems probable that statues Nos. 3 and 5 are the same.
- (b) The locality described as , which contains statue No. 4, undoubtedly refers to the valley-chapel of the tomb. The garden which contained statue No. 5 must have adjoined this "lower stairway" and was probably a part of it. Both were close to the Anubis temple. Statue No. 4 received the only daily offerings mentioned, and statue No. 5 is the only one carried in procession. Both of these actions belong most fittingly to the statue in charge of the *ka*-priest (No. 3). All this seems to me to indicate that statues Nos. 4 and 5 are the same and identical with the statue in charge of the *ka*-priest. I infer that the garden actually surrounded the valley-chapel, at least on three sides.
- (c) In Contract I, the offering is for the statue which is in the temple of Anubis, but it is to be noted that part of the compensation paid for this was returned for the statue in charge of the *ka*-priest.
- (d) No statement is made as to the place of the statue in charge of the *ka*-priest (No. 3). The action concerning it takes place in the temple of Wepwat and apparently in the cemetery. If there were a statue in the temple of Wepwat (Contract IV, *wag*-festival), why should the offerings of New Year's day be made in the temple to statue No. 3?
- (e) The *ka*-priest actually officiates at all the ceremonies concerning all the statues. In other words all the statues may be said to be "in charge of the *ka*-priest." The only ceremony in which the

*ka*-priest may not have taken part was the torch-light procession from the Anubis temple to the cemetery on New Year's eve when no offerings were made either in the temple or in the cemetery, and no statue is mentioned.

- (f) In Contract VIII (1), the offering of white bread is simply "for his statue." Of course, the scribe who made this summary of the contract may have omitted the defining phrase; but even if the omission were due to carelessness, it would indicate that the phrase was not of any great importance. If it were important, it would have been inserted at the reading of the painted draft of the inscription before the signs were cut. If the defining phrase was omitted in the original contract, as I suspect, the evidence that the phrase was unimportant is so much the stronger. The action takes place between the Anubis temple and the valley-chapel ("lower stairway"), while the second part of VIII (1) deals with the statue in the valley-chapel (No. 4).

Thus the usual assumption that there were five statues of Hepzefa presents certain difficulties. All these difficulties disappear if it be assumed that there was only one, a portable statue of Hepzefa, which stood ordinarily in the valley-chapel surrounded by its garden and was carried in procession to the two temples and to the cemetery as required by the mortuary service.

Since the contracts refer exclusively to actions for which persons other than the *ka*-priest were responsible, all the details of the action are not given. Those ceremonies which were carried out by the *ka*-priest and his servants unassisted, were contained in the unrecorded contracts with the *ka*-priest. Keeping this in mind, and assuming that there was only one portable statue of Hepzefa, I would suggest the following reconstruction of the yearly cycle of mortuary ceremonies carried out for the service of the statue:

- (1) Ordinarily the statue stood in the valley-chapel (VIII, 1, second part), which was wholly or partly surrounded by a garden (IX, 5, end). This was close behind the temple of Anubis. The monthly *wab*-priest of Anubis went to the valley-chapel every day after making the daily offerings in the temple and brought as offerings to the statue a *dwiw*-jug of beer and a dish (*hnkw*?) of *ptk*-bread. These were probably the small symbolic daily offerings which were common in important graves during the Old Empire and continued at some places into the early Middle Empire or later. The compensation paid in this contract precludes the supposition that these daily offerings could have had any intrinsic value. Such offerings would ordinarily be received by the *ka*-priest and placed by him before the statue.
- (2) On the first intercalary day, when the statue of Wepwat was carried from his temple to the Anubis-temple for his annual visit, the statue of Hepzefa was brought by the *ka*-priest and his servants from the valley-chapel to the same temple of Anubis. There were probably a few other statues of great men which participated in this ceremony. The action took place by daylight, as no lights are mentioned. Here, in the Anubis-temple, the hour-priests of Wepwat, who had accompanied the statue of Wepwat, made an offering of one roll of white bread each for the statue of Hepzefa. This white bread was, of course, handed to the *ka*-priest, he laying it before the statue, which was now in the temple (Contract I, 1) and afterwards disposing of it according to custom. According to modern Egyptian custom, it is not allowable for the offerer to consume his offering, but he may give it away; he may also exchange his offering for that of another offerer, but this is now considered bad form for well-to-do people.
- (3) The statue remained in the Anubis-temple probably the same length of time as did the statue of the god, and was carried behind the statue of the god when the latter went back to his own temple. This again was done by the *ka*-priest and his servants. The action took place before New Year's eve, but is not mentioned in the contracts.
- (4) On New Year's eve, there were two ceremonies of the lighting of lamps,—one in the temple of Wepwat and another which involved a procession from the Anubis-temple to the cemetery. At each of these a lamp was lighted for Hepzefa. At the Wepwat-temple, a wick was delivered by the wardrobe-keeper (?) of the temple, and the lighted lamp was in charge of the *ka*-priest "when he

goes forth at the lighting of the lamp for the god" (V, 1 and 3), but the ceremonies are not further described. They appear, however, to have been chiefly for the god. The statue was, during this ceremony, in the Wepwat-temple, as at the glorification of the next dawn. After the ceremony, the wardrobe-keeper handed the wick to the *ka*-priest. At the cemetery, the procession was one of the glorification of the dead (IX, 1). The overseer of the cemetery-workmen and the nine desert-guards(?) went to the Anubis-temple, where they received a wick from the great *wab*-priest of Anubis and went forth with lighted lamp at the glorification of Hepzefa until they reached his tomb. We must assume that this was a general celebration, that the desert-guards(?) carried lamps for other people than Hepzefa, and that many others took part in this procession, which went through the cemetery from tomb to tomb. The lights must have been suitable to an outdoor procession, that is to say large flares or lanterns of some sort. Even in the temple, the wind in the unroofed courts and the draught in the passages would often have made the use of "lamps" impossible, and for all these lighted ceremonies, the word "lamp" should probably be translated "torch." The two ceremonies on this evening appear to have begun simultaneously. The *ku*-priest does not seem to have been present at the cemetery procession, or at all events at the beginning of it, for the torch was carried by the overseer of the cemetery or one of his companions and was afterwards delivered to the *ka*-priest. To judge from anything I may know about the Egyptian character, the delivery of the cemetery wick to the *ka*-priest after the procession was intended to serve as proof that the wick had been actually used by the desert-guards for the glorification.

- (5) New Year's day was the great day of offerings, "when the house is given to its lord and the lamps are lighted in the temple," and appears in its ceremonies to have considerable resemblance to the modern Muhammedan "day of sacrifice." In the early morning, before dawn, "after the torches were lighted in the temple," the hour-priests of Wepwat delivered one roll of white bread each to the *ku*-priest for the statue of Hepzefa (II, 1). A wick was delivered by the wardrobe-keeper to the *ku*-priest (V, 3, second wick), a torch was lighted, and the *ka*-priest, followed by the hour-priests of the temple (II, 1), proceeded with the statue, which was doubtless carried by the servants of the *ka*-priest, until they came to the "northern corner of the temple" of Wepwat. This may have been the outside north-eastern or north-western corner, or it may have been the inside corner near a known door used on this occasion. At this point, the hour-priests returned. They probably had similar duties to perform for other great men or for their own honoured dead. The *ka*-priest and his servants must then have proceeded to the Anubis-temple, which thus appears to have lain to the north-west of the Wepwat-temple. One must imagine a number of these little processions issuing from the Wepwat-temple in the dark, each with a lighted torch, and proceeding towards the Anubis-temple and the cemetery. At the Anubis-temple, the overseer of the cemetery and the desert-guards(?) had received a wick for Hepzefa from the great *wab*-priest of Anubis and had lighted a torch. When the *ku*-priest of Hepzefa with the statue reached the temple of Anubis, the overseer of the cemetery-workmen and the desert-guards joined the procession and proceeded in glorification of Hepzefa until they reached his tomb (Contract VII, 1 and IX, 1). Other processions of glorification were also taking place at this time, but it is not clear from the details whether they all went together with their lights, gathering at the temple of Anubis and starting from there in one great procession, the women and the servants carrying the offerings, or whether each little procession with its one or two torches went up by itself. In any case, as the parties reached their individual tombs the desert side must have been picked out with lights. At this time, a large offering for the statue was provided by the overseer of the cemetery and the nine desert-guards(?) consisting of 11 *ds*-jars of beer, 550 rolls of *kfu*-bread and 55 rolls of white bread. This offering was delivered to the *ku*-priest at the glorification, and therefore probably at the tomb. Such at any rate was the original intention, but it is possible in Hepzefa's case, since he was not actually buried in the tomb, that the procession stopped at the valley-chapel, and that the large offerings were delivered here. Roast-meat and beer were also delivered by the chief priest of Wepwat to the *ka*-priest for the statue inasmuch as this was certainly a day of "appearance" in the temple. This offering amounted to one roast for every bull and one *st*-jar from every  $\frac{1}{4}$  *ds*-jar of beer offered in the temple of Wepwat on this day from the special dues of the chief priest (VI, 1). All these offerings were, of course, distributed to the poor or to such scribes as came to repeat the offering formula before the statue. In modern practice, the scribe reads or recites a chapter from the Korán, repeating it over and over

according to what he receives. The whole ceremony was over before noon, and probably about 10 or 11 o'clock.

- (6) At the conclusion of the ceremonies of New Year's day, if the statue was at the tomb, it was carried down by the *ku*-priest and his attendants to the valley chapel. Here it remained, supplied with the usual daily offerings by the monthly *wačb*-priest of Anubis until the 17th day of the first month, the eve of the *wag*-festival (*i.e.* for 17 days).
- (7) On the 17th of the first month, the eve of the *wag*-festival, the order of the action is not clearly indicated, but appears to have been as follows. The *ku*-priest went to the temple of Anubis where he received the third and last wick from the great *wačb*-priest of Anubis (VII, 1, 2), lighted a torch and, followed by the hour-priests of Anubis, proceeded to the valley-chapel. Here the hour-priests presented one roll of white bread each for the statue, while the overseer of the desert provided 1 *hnt*-jar of beer, 1 large cake (?), 500 rolls of *kfn*-bread, and 10 rolls of white bread (X, 1). These offerings are slightly less than those provided on New Year's day, but were also, no doubt, intended for distribution. It seems remarkable, but not impossible, that these offerings should have been distributed on this evening by torch-light. Possibly the offerings were provided at that time for some ceremonial or practical reason, and were actually distributed the next morning (see below). The statue was then carried to the Wepwat-temple, where it was on the following morning before dawn.
- (8) On the day of the *wag*-festival, the 18th day of the first month, probably before dawn as on New Year's day, there was again a ceremony of torch-lighting in the temple of Wepwat. After the temple torches were lighted, the hour-priests of Wepwat each delivered one roll of white bread to the *ka*-priest for the statue, now in the temple; the *ka*-priest received the third and last wick from the wardrobe-keeper (?) of the temple, lighted a torch for Hepzefa, and went forth, followed by the hour-priests to glorify him according to custom (Contracts IV, 1 and V, 3). Here the contracts leave us for this day. No procession to the cemetery is provided by the contracts, nor is any ceremony in the cemetery, as the offerings were delivered the preceding evening. The *wag*-festival was one of the great festivals on which offerings were brought to the dead. If the contracts are taken to be practically complete as they stand, it would appear that the offerings at the cemetery were made the evening before and that on the day itself the ceremonies took place in the temple. But it is possible that there were other contracts which have not been recorded. The 55 rolls of white bread provided by Contract III, remain undisposed of. The *wag*-festival must also have been a festival of "appearance" in the temple, and on this day, therefore, the roast meat and the beer must have been due from the chief priest as on New Year's day (VI, 1 c).
- (9) After the ceremonies of the *wag*-festival, whether they extended to the cemetery or not, the statue was carried back to the valley-chapel near the Anubis-temple, and the monthly *wačb*-priest of Anubis resumed the daily offerings. On every succeeding festival of the beginning of a season, which must also have been a day of "appearance" in the temple, the *ka*-priest, the overseer of the cemetery and the nine desert-guards followed the statue in procession to the temple (IX) of Wepwat (?), where the chief priest of Wepwat gave the roast meat and beer provided by Contract VI. The number of these festivals of the beginning of a season is, I believe, unknown. Nor have we any knowledge of the number of days of "appearance."

It is clear that Hepzefa, by means of these contracts and the unrecorded contracts with the *ku*-priest, had provided for the complete annual round of ceremonies and offerings which were due to the statue of a nomarch of his standing. This provision has often been called trivial, but the term can only apply to some of the details, and even then is due partly to a misunderstanding. The services were to be performed by the highest body of priests in the province at great national festivals when their services were greatly in demand. The "wicks" which seem so insignificant were without doubt large torch-wicks of special make, and were supplied by a priest of good standing. I have no doubt that the wicks were specially blessed or prepared ceremonially for these festivals, and that the priest in question had a prescriptive monopoly of the supply for the glorification processions. I wish to

emphasize again my impression that these contracts were inscribed by the *ka*-priest in his own interest, and that they did materially add to the prestige and the benefits of his office.

The various payments made by Hepzefa in order to obtain the advantages just described open up a number of interesting questions concerning the Egyptian law of contracts, of land-tenure, and of prescriptive rights, as has often been pointed out. To begin with, we must note that, the party of the first part being in every case Hepzefa, the party of the second part is in no case an individual, but always a titular official binding his successors to certain perpetual services and payments in return for the grant of lands or for permanent sources of income. This appears with especial clearness in Contract VI, made by Hepzefa in his private capacity with himself as titular chief priest of Wepwat, but before witnesses. The legality of such contracts in Egyptian common law is, in principle, beyond question; but the title or right of Hepzefa to the compensations which he conveys in the individual contracts varies considerably. The consciousness of the illegality of some of the conveyances is clearly shown by the appended remarks or exhortations addressed to future nomarchs. It is to be noted that many of the contracts provide for two considerations, in which case the secondary consideration is always one of doubtful legality. The major consideration, however, was supposed, according to IV, 3, to be sufficient compensation in case the minor consideration should fail. Taking only such considerations as either stand alone or else are of the major variety, they are of the four following classes:

- (a) Land, private property of Hepzefa, inherited from his father (VII, IX, and X).
- (b) Temple-days, 1,360th parts of the annual offerings in the Wepwat-temple, being a prescriptive right of Hepzefa as hereditary *wab*-priest of this temple (III, V, and VI).
- (c) Barley from the first-fruits of the nomarch's estate, in which Hepzefa had only a life interest (II and VIII).
- (d) A share of a bull of sacrifice secured by special contract, the compensation for which is not stated (I).  
Bread and beer secured by Contract III (IV).

The minor, or secondary, considerations are all of the same sort, being dues in kind from temple offerings, and occur in the following contracts:

- IV. Coals deliverable with animal-offerings in the temple of Wepwat and constituting a prescriptive right of the store-house (?) of the nomarch.
- IX. The lower part of the hind-quarter (?) of every bull slaughtered in the tomb-chapels at Siût, but the character of Hepzefa's right is not stated.
- X. The fore-quarter (?) of every bull slaughtered in the tomb-chapels at Siût, but the character of Hepzefa's right is not stated.

It is possible that the portions of meat conveyed in contracts IX and X had been secured by Hepzefa through special contracts.

The validity of the conveyances of land (VII, IX, X) is, of course, beyond question. The amount of land conveyed is unintelligible to us, but must have been perfectly clear to the parties with their knowledge of contemporaneous measures and customs. Possibly in the original contracts the statement was explicit, perhaps even with a demarcation of the boundaries, but 1000 measures, even if undivided, in a known field belonging to Hepzefa in a certain district must have been a sufficient description for the purpose of these summaries, especially if actual possession of the land had been given. Dr Gardiner, in his notes, takes the view that "Sema-resi" is to be read *sm3-šmC*, meaning "*sm3*-land of Upper

Egypt," and that both this expression and *w3b-t* designate kinds of land. In that case, the description of the land did not constitute a legal description, and we are forced to assume that the original contracts were more explicit. Owing to the nature of agricultural land, the unit of area used in conveyances is usually fairly large, like the *feddân* and the acre, while the small units are used for fractions. In modern times the measures of area used for agricultural land in Upper Egypt are as follows:

Feddân =	4,200	square metres =	1·37 +	acre.
Qurât =	175	"	" =	·057 + " (24 to the feddân).
Qasaba =	12·5	"	" =	·004 + " (14 to the qurât).
Sahm =	7·3	"	" =	·0024 + " (24 to the qurât).

In conveyances, the usual amount of land conveyed is expressed in feddâns, but conveyances of less than a feddân, described in qurâts, occur occasionally among small land-owners. In practice, conveyances of less than a qurât must be very rare indeed, for in spite of persistent inquiries among about 100 natives of Kenh province, I can hear of none in their recollection. If the measure used in the contracts were the size of a *qurât*, 1000 would make about 57 acres of land, which would appear an excessive consideration for the offerings of Contract IX. It is clear that this side of the question must be left until the Egyptian land measures have been definitely ascertained.

The conveyance of temple-days is by no means clear in respect of its legality (III, V, and VII). The total amounts to 27/360ths of everything which enters the temple of Wepwat in the course of the year, with the apparent exclusion, however, of the five intercalary days. Hepzefa's claim to this revenue was based on his hereditary office of *wa3b*-priest of Wepwat, and is conveyed *only to the other hereditary wa3b-priests of the same temple*. In Contract III, the staff of officials are named by their titles and are 11 in number, all of whom are said to be hereditary *wa3b*-priests. If the 12 months were divided among these 11 officials, the chief priest would probably have two months and each of the others one month. Originally, no doubt, each man took whatever came in during his period of service; but the prescription laid down in the contracts for obtaining the value of a temple day proves that at this time the offerings of the year had been pooled, and divided into 360 parts. This pooling was no doubt to the general advantage, prevented quarrelling, and made the exchange of temple days easy. Leaving aside the question as to whether trading in temple days was customary among the *wa3b*-priests, the present contracts prove conclusively that an inequality in the number of days owned by the priests either existed at the time or was created by these contracts. Hepzefa disposes of 27 days to various titular officials who as *wa3b*-priests already owned a certain number of days each. Of these 27 days, he, as chief priest, receives six days, the wardrobe-keeper (?) receives five, and each of the other functionaries two days. Now it is to be noted that these days, which were a hereditary possession of Hepzefa as *wa3b*-priest, pass to other *wa3b*-priests not as a hereditary possession but as a possession of their titular office. Thus if the distinction was maintained between the possessions and rights of a hereditary *wa3b*-priest and those attaching to a position on the staff held by the same man, then the wardrobe-keeper (?), for example, will have held *x* days as hereditary *wa3b*-priest and five days as wardrobe-keeper. Thus we have a picture of eleven men pooling the temple offerings, dividing them into 1/360ths, and taking unequal shares, partly as hereditary *wa3b*-priests and partly as titular officials of the temple. So far as the contracts go, there is no hint of any corresponding redistribution of duties. The perquisites of the offices seem to be completely severed from the duties of the offices, and it may be said that

this practice, together with the consequent trading in the perquisites, is entirely in agreement with the Egyptian character. Of course, if a strict record was kept, it would not have been difficult, on the death or resignation of an official, to carry out the necessary separation of the temple days held by him on the basis of his two different rights. By these contracts, 27 temple days were taken away from the total number of days inherited by the *wačb*-priests. If this practice continued, the time would arrive when the temple offerings would cease to be an inherited right of the *wačb*-priests and become the property of the same men by right of their titular offices. Thus the perquisites would again become attached to services rendered in the temple, but no doubt would be unequally distributed. If a *wačb*-priest inherited and transmitted inseparably both the *wačb*-priesthood and the temple office which he held, then the greater part of the difficulties would disappear; but the 27 days here conveyed would become inalienable and a continuance of the practice would make all the days inalienable. Other questions remain, *e.g.*, how many days were left to Hepzefa after the conveyances of these contracts? If he had no heir, how was his successor as *wačb*-priest and as chief priest appointed? Could Hepzefa transmit both these positions by will to a selected heir? Was Hepzefa's successor in the temple appointed by the king, by the nomarch, or by the temple staff? If he was appointed by selection and not by will, or if Hepzefa had disposed of all his temple days, how did the new man obtain a share of the temple days apart from the inalienable days attached to his office of chief priest, which were certainly at least six days? It is, of course, extremely probable that the temple officials enjoyed the income of fixed endowments in land as well as various other perquisites besides those mentioned here. Any of these offices was certainly an honour and carried with it both prestige and privilege. Egyptians were, and still are, very fond of such offices and well understood the art of making them pay. It is, therefore, not unlikely that almost any well-to-do or educated Egyptian would gladly have taken the appointment as temple official without a share of the temple days and trusted to his own devices for obtaining a share afterwards. To our minds, the resulting picture of confused dealings in temple perquisites seems curious, but it is not, I believe, foreign to the Egyptian manner of looking at such sources of income. According to Egyptian ideas, the practice was not wrong and the conveyances of the contracts were without doubt accepted as legal.

The conveyances of the barley from the first-fruits of the nomarch's estate (II and VIII) present another peculiar distinction between the permanent income of a life estate and the extras. Custom demanded that the first-fruits should be paid to some temple or divinity by the cultivators; and they were, therefore, not a source of income to the nomarch. Ordinarily, the payment was no doubt somewhat lax, and the peasant chose the temple to which he desired to make it. In the present cases, Hepzefa "caused the peasants to pay" to two particular temples in certain proportions, but the means which he took to secure this are not stated. The peasants may have acquiesced out of goodwill or out of the usual fear which the peasant has of his landlord. In any case, any future nomarch had the same power of diverting the first-fruits of these peasants to his use, and Hepzefa recognizes this by exhorting his successors not to interfere with the present contracts. The contracts II and VIII certainly had little chance of being carried out during any considerable period after the death of Hepzefa. The amount of grain payable by Contract II is explicit, being one *heka'et* from every field of the estate of the nomarch to the hour-priests of Wepwat. The amount payable by Contract VIII to the hour-priests of Anubis for greater services appears to be that payable by custom by the common man of Siût from the first-fruits of every field

of the nomarch's estate. The question arises as to whether the fields from which the first-fruits come are the same estate in both contracts. If that is so, then it would appear that Hepzefa had increased the first-fruits of the peasants by one *hḥꜣ-t* of grain for each field. In any case, these two contracts show very shady dealing on the part of Hepzefa, unquestionably a misuse of his position in the province. Hardly anything in the whole series of documents is so characteristic of the point of view, amounting almost to megalomania, of the greatest man in an Egyptian province, who is ever unable to realize that on his death some one else will succeed to the consideration he now enjoys.

The considerations of class (*d*) were first secured by Hepzefa by other contracts. The bread and beer conveyed by Contract IV were secured by the apparently valid Contract III. As for the share of the bull in Contract I, it is stated that the hour-priests of Wepwat returned a part of this to Hepzefa for his statue. It may be assumed that the arrangement was valid, but one suspects a certain pressure exercised by Hepzefa, a certain abuse of his influence as the greatest man in the province.

The secondary considerations of Contracts IV, IX, and X are all suspect as to their legality. The coal-dues conveyed in Contract IV belonged by ancient prescription to the store-house(?) of the nomarch. Hepzefa remits them, but he admits that some future nomarch may claim them again, in which case the priests have no remedy, but must accept the bread and beer as sufficient recompense. Contracts IX and X, conveying portions of the bulls slaughtered in the tomb-chapels, contain no intimation of Hepzefa's right to these portions. They would appear to have been prescriptive rights of the priests of those chapels, and Hepzefa may have acquired them by some more or less questionable contracts. Another possibility worth bearing in mind is that these two secondary considerations may have represented dues about which there was some dispute between the chief priest and the parties of the second part, and that the latter took this opportunity of quieting the claims of the chief priest.

The general conclusions that have been reached may be stated as follows:

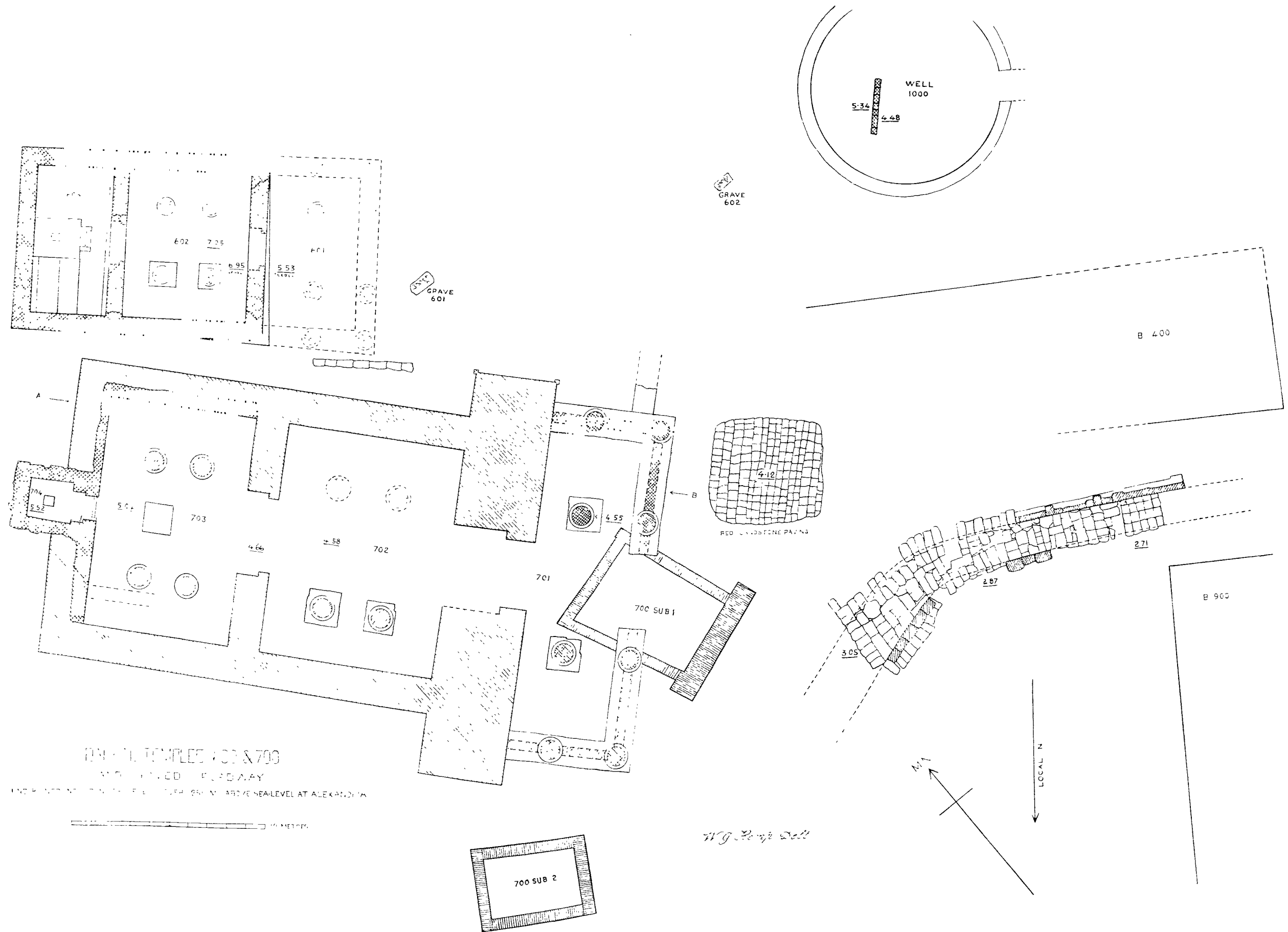
- (1) Hepzefa died in the Sudân and was buried at Kerma (Tumulus III).
- (2) The tomb in Siût was unfinished when Hepzefa went to the Sudân, and the inscriptions in Rooms 1—3 were made after his death under the supervision of his *ka*-priest.
- (3) The contracts were made by Hepzefa before leaving Siût for the Sudân. The unrecorded contracts with the *ka*-priest were probably made at the same time. When Hepzefa was buried in the Sudân, the service of the statue was all that remained at Siût of the mortuary services of Hepzefa and was therefore liable to be neglected. It was the duty, and to the advantage, of the *ka*-priest to maintain these contracts. He therefore had them inscribed on the walls of the tomb, together with the usual laudatory texts, as a permanent record of the services and payments due to him and his heir from the officials of the temples and the cemetery.
- (4) The services and the offerings provided by the contracts secured the complete (or nearly complete) annual round due to the statue of a nomarch of Hepzefa's standing.
- (5) The value of the benefits secured depended largely on the high station of the priests concerned and on the importance of the national festivals at which they served. The value of the wicks was probably due partly to their ceremonial mode of preparation and partly to the existence of official monopolies of the supply.
- (6) There was only one portable statue of Hepzefa, not five.
- (7) The considerations given were of unequal value and of varying legality, but represent, in the total, a considerable value. The conveyances of 4200 measures of land and of 27 temple days are valid and constitute no small consideration. The conveyance of first-fruits was valid only for the life



of Hepzefa, and Contracts II and VIII were therefore liable to early failure, being dependent on the good-will of the successor to the life-interest. The conveyances of shares of offerings and dues, so far as they were not supported by special contracts, were also dependent on the good-will of the successor to the life-interest in the various offices, but these were for the greater part secondary considerations. The only contracts which were liable to complete failure were II and VIII. Possibly this manner of diverting first-fruits to his own use was an ingenious invention on the part of Hepzefa which left all parties except himself a little puzzled but not enough concerned to interfere with the arrangement for some time.

Considering the contracts as a whole, they give the broad outlines of a picture which might well represent Upper Egypt at the present day. The great festivals of the New Year and the *wag*-festival, are only our modern *‘eed-el-kibeer* and *‘eed-es-sugheir*. The offerings in the cemetery and the endowments of mortuary chapels (mosques) still hold an important place in Egyptian life. Hepzefa and his associates, with their crafty dealings in perquisites and their view of public office as a private privilege, may be duplicated over and over again in modern Egypt. In spite of all changes in religion and the introduction of the products of a higher civilization, the character of the people has remained essentially the same, and the practices commended by the old beliefs have not been eradicated.





THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916



## THE BARKAL TEMPLES IN 1916

(continued from Vol. IV, p. 227)

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE A. REISNER

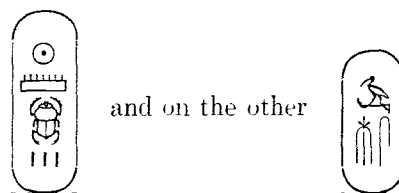
### II. THE TEMPLE B. 600.

TEMPLE 600, marked J in Lepsius' plan (see Vol. IV, p. 214) and *t* in that of Cailliaud, is a very small structure high up at the base of the next ridge "north" of the Great Temple (B. 500), and is rather a chapel than a temple. It consists of an inner room (603) with a low platform against the back wall, approached by a stair, an outer room (602) with the bases of four columns, and a portico with eight columns; see the plan, Plate X. The walls are fairly well built, but consist mainly of re-used stones. They were never incised either with scenes or with inscriptions; nor is any trace of painting to be detected. The floor is three metres higher than the floor of B. 703. On the "northern" side, outside, opposite the wall between 602 and 603, a screen-wall had been built between 600 and 700 to keep back the débris from above. This was later than 600 and later than the Meroitic restoration of 700. Thus 600 would appear to have been in existence and probably in use at the same time as 700-Meroitic, *i.e.* about first century B.C. Furthermore, the masonry is much the same as that of 700-Meroitic, while the *portico* and the absence of inscriptions point definitely to the Meroitic period.

Uninteresting as B. 600 is in itself, the excavation revealed several facts of importance for the history of the site. Among the re-used stones in its walls, one bore the cartouche of Men-kheperuw-Rê (Tuthmosis IV). Another, which had also been re-used and was found in the débris of 602, had part of a cartouche which can only be restored to Tuthmosis. Both of these stones are of grey-drab sandstone (nearly white). In the walls were several other grey stones with fragments of sculpture, and all these may be presumed to come from a temple of Tuthmosis IV. Now, in clearing where the floor of 600 was broken, the surface of the virgin soil underneath was found to fall away from a level about 50 cm. below the floor at the "eastern" wall to a level about 200 cm. below under the "western" wall of the portico. This space was filled with a mass of black débris (much decayed mud), which extended also "eastwards" for four or five metres. Contained in this mass of black débris under 600, we picked up remnants of foundation walls and the foundation-piers of columns. Both the "northern" columns of Meroitic 602 rested on these old piers; but a complete plan of what was preserved could not be followed without destroying 600. All the stones of these foundation walls were of yellow-brown sandstone in large blocks, a stone not used at Barkal or Nûri after Tanutaman, but used in the earlier period even for the small squared blocks of the Ramesside period. It is not improbable that the grey sandstone walls of Tuthmosis IV may have stood on these foundation walls.



In the black débris under the "north-eastern" corner of room 602, near the inner angle of the older foundation wall, the contents of a disturbed foundation deposit of Tuthmosis IV were found scattered but all within the same cubic metre of débris. The name was given by two small plaques of blue faïence, inscribed on one side



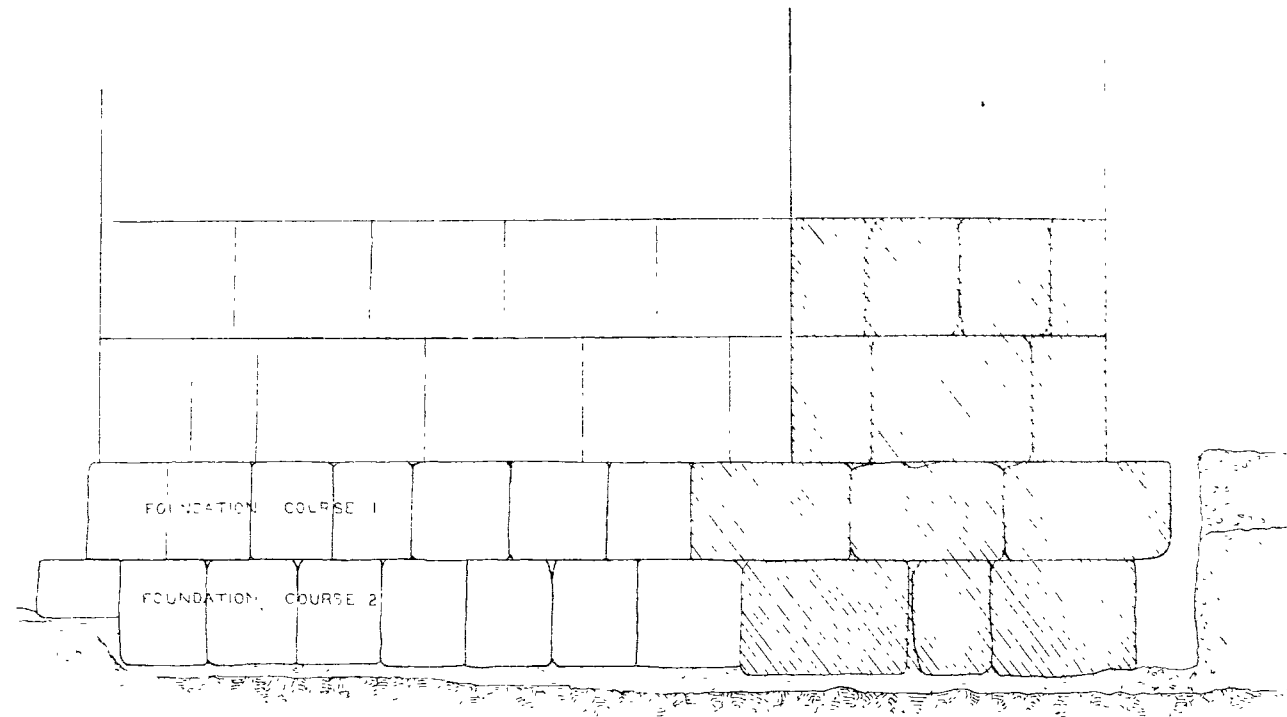
The other objects were a lot of small ring beads of blue faïence, some scraps of gold foil, and twelve or more small model pots of ordinary red-brown ware. See Vol. IV, Plate XLV; there were six or more of the first kind there depicted, one of the second, four or more of the third, and one of the fourth. The forms of these pottery models are the same as those of the model vessels of the foundation deposits of Tuthmosis III found in Egypt; and the vessels may be safely ascribed to the same deposit as the plaques of Tuthmosis IV just mentioned.

This material—the re-used inscribed blocks of Tuthmosis IV, the older foundation walls, and the deposit of Tuthmosis IV—justifies the conclusion that a temple of Tuthmosis IV once stood approximately on the same site as that now occupied by B. 600.

Just in front of the portico of B. 600, a burial was found which was earlier than the accumulation of dark débris containing the foundation and the foundation deposit of the temple of Tuthmosis IV. It consisted of a narrow oval pit sunk only 30 cm. in the virgin soil of the red sandbank, and was filled with clean red sand broken from this same red soil. If the grave had been dug after the accumulation of the dark débris, the filling would have been of sand and dark débris mixed. This shows that the burial must have been previous to any occupation of the site, and certainly previous to Tuthmosis IV. The body lay on the right side, with the knees drawn up level with the hips, the head towards the "east"—a typical burial-position of the Lower Nubian C-group. Another burial was found exactly similar later about 15 metres further "west." This was accompanied by a stone armlet and a deep bowl of smooth coarse red ware, both of which might well belong to the corresponding archaeological group of Lower Nubia; but the material is too meagre to justify assigning the burials definitely to the C-group. It may be said, however, that they certainly represent burials of local inhabitants of a period earlier than Tuthmosis IV, and in all probability earlier than the New Empire.

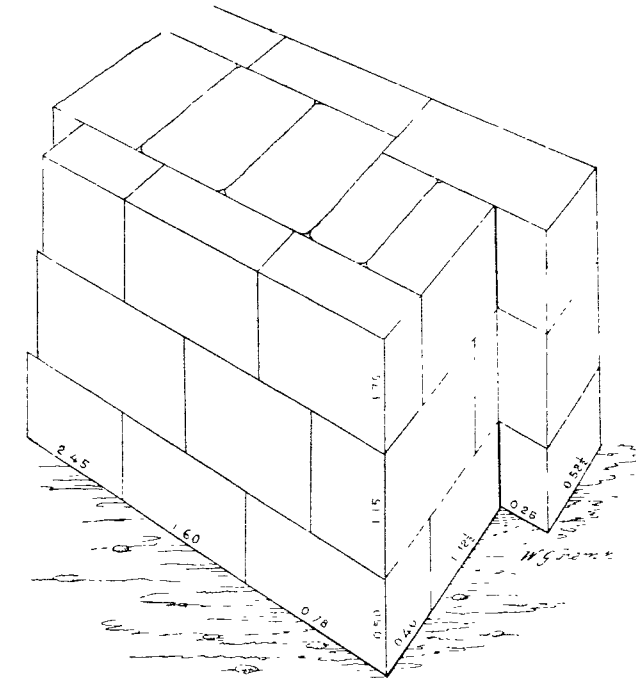
To sum up, temple B. 600 is a small and poor structure of the Meroitic period (about first century A.D.), standing on the site of a temple of Tuthmosis IV and built largely of re-used stones from that temple. It is possible that the Meroitic builders intended it as a reconstruction of the Tuthmosis temple, and the perfunctory execution may have been due to the fact that the rebuilding was merely a useless work of piety. The Tuthmosis temple had probably been crushed by a fall of rock from the cliff. B. 600 certainly suffered that fate, and its remains have been greatly diminished by the subsequent removal of stone for building purposes, a process which has continued down to recent times.



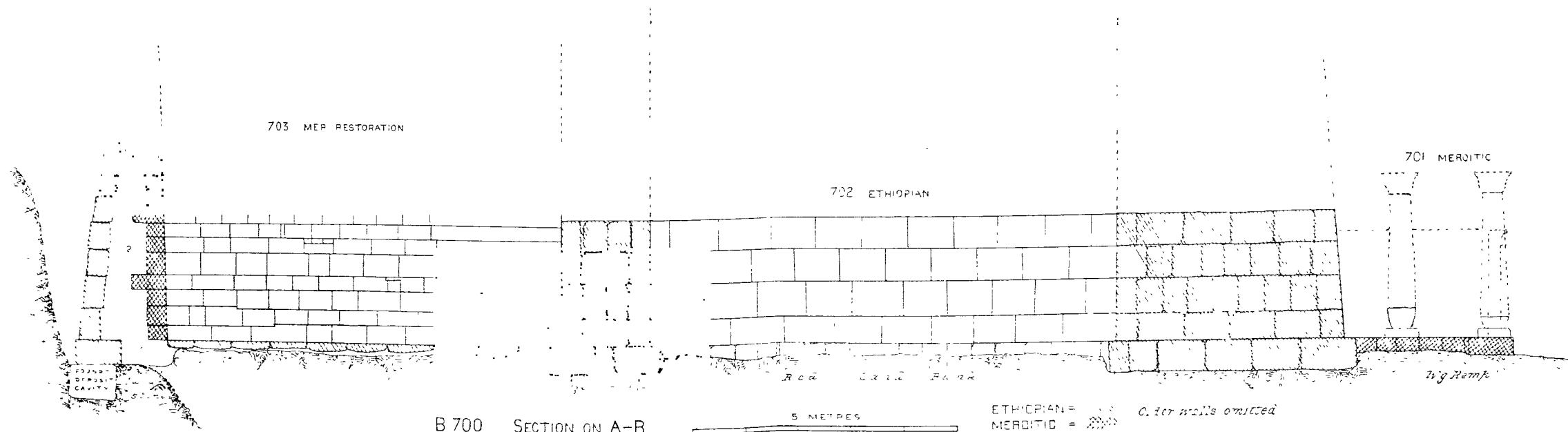


B 702 "W" WALL "N" HALF & SECTION OF "N" WALL

1 METRE





DOORWAY FROM 702 TO 703, "SOUTH" SIDE



B 700 SECTION ON A-B

5 METRES

ETHIOPIAN =   
MEROTIC = 

*C. der walls omitted*









Temple B700, looking "west" from the cliff above

## III. THE TEMPLE B. 700.

Temple B. 700, H in the plan of Lepsius, and s in that of Cailliaud, adjoins B. 600 on the "north," standing on the same ridge of ancient detritus. Like B. 600, B. 700 stands at the foot of the cliff, and when we began work the back part was covered with great blocks of sandstone fallen from the cliff. From beneath this mass of rocks, a bank of hard packed sand and dust ran out towards the river and covered the front part of 700, the paved roadway, B. 900 and a strip along the "southern" side of B. 900. This bank was so like the older ridges in appearance that after a first superficial inspection I reckoned it as "gebel" and planned to dump the débris from 700 upon it. A series of preliminary trenches revealed, however, dirty débris at a depth of nearly two metres, and the mass of the bank was found to contain potsherds, small faïence objects, and fragments of hard stone statuettes (New Empire). These objects ranged in date from the New Empire to the Christian period and proved that, in spite of its ancient appearance, the bank was of comparatively recent origin. Trenches cut to the "north" of B. 700 along the foot of the cliff exposed an area of unoccupied ground, and here the débris from 700, 800, 900 and the intervening space had been thrown, being piled up against the cliff. The breaking of the huge blocks of sandstone on the back of 700 and the removal of the fragments were a work of considerable difficulty. Underneath these blocks, the back rooms, 703 and 704 (see the plan, Plate X), were found filled with the detritus from the blocks as well as with sand washed from the cliff. Their walls had been denuded to the top of this débris by the removal of stone. In room 702 and in the portico, not only had the upper parts of the walls and the columns been removed but also the paved floors. The room 702 and the portico were filled with disturbed dirty débris which had been turned over and over, probably by treasure-seekers. The disturbance extended to the virgin soil beneath. Thus the only undisturbed layers of débris were in rooms 703 and 704. In room 704, the contents of the room at the time of the last occupation, when a part of the cliff fell, were found intact except for the damage done by the fall of rock. In room 703, the same condition existed over the larger part of the room, but the floor along the "northern" wall had been penetrated, also probably by treasure-seekers. In spite of the breaking up of the débris in the rest of the temple, the greater part of the objects in the disturbed débris seemed to belong to the time of the last occupation of the temple; but with these there were fragments of older things, especially of statues and an obelisk.

## (1) THE MEROITIC TEMPLE, B. 700.

The temple B. 700, as it stood when cleared (see the photograph, Plate XII), consisted of three rooms, a pylon, and a portico. The portico, supported by eight columns screened on the outside, is a feature typical of the Meroitic period, but the temple was definitely dated by the objects found in the undisturbed débris in 704 which came from the last occupation of the temple. These objects consisted of

- (1) a standing statue of a god (?) in grey sandstone, about 3/4 life-size, badly broken and decayed, and of crude Meroitic work.
- (2) several sandstone statuettes of the same workmanship, and in the same condition.
- (3) a standing statuette of the ram-headed Amūn in black granite, of better Meroitic work.
- (4) a small uninscribed altar of granite.
- (5) two ram's-head amulets in green-glazed, *red-bodied* faïence as found in the Barkal pyramids.

- (6) twelve small bronze figures of Osiris, as found in Barkal pyramid VIII.
- (7) four glass inlays from a small wooden box (decayed fragments and bronze rivets), like the glass found in Barkal pyramids I—VIII;

and other small objects, including potsherds such as were found in the Barkal pyramids. Most of the objects found were identical in form, material and workmanship with those found by us in the Barkal pyramids, and I have no hesitation in assigning them to the first century B.C. or somewhat later. They belong to the last period of occupation of the temple and in all probability to the same generation as that which gave the temple its final form.

The large sandstone figure stood in front of the small granite altar, facing the door; see Plate XIII, top. On its right stood the black statuette of Amūn, while the small objects seemed to have been cast in from the doorway. On the right of the sandstone figure stood a faceless statuette of Amenophis III in green slate. In spite of a most careful search, the missing face was not to be found in the débris of either 704 or 703. If the statuette had been broken by the fall of rock, the face would have been in front of the statuette on the floor. It is probable therefore that the face was already broken off when the statuette was placed in its present position. The inscriptions of the statuette are here reproduced in hand-copies (Fig. 1).

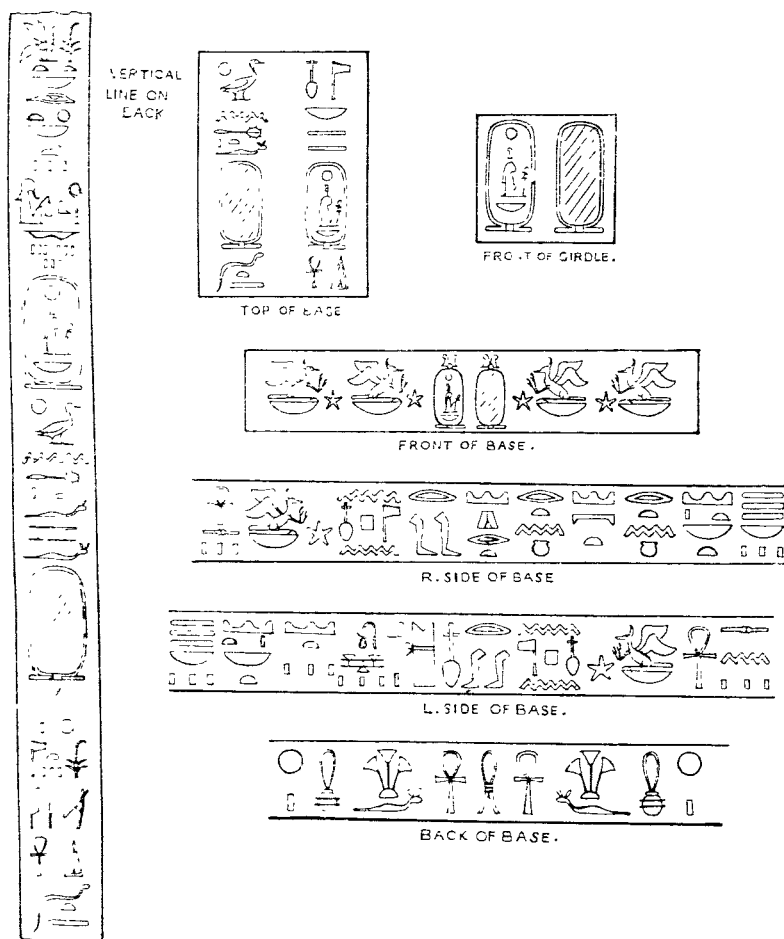


Fig. 1. Statue of Amenophis III



Room 704, as opened, looking "east"

The Merotic statue, small altar and statuette of Amenophis III are seen in the débris





Room 703, looking "south-south-east"



[These hieroglyphic legends contain but little beyond the names and titles of Amenophis III; only the following are worth translation:

Right side of base: *All lands and every hill-country, Upper Rethenu and Lower Rethenu, are at the feet of this Good God. All people praise (him), that they may live.*

Left side of base: *All lands and every hill-country, all distant hill-countries and Khenthennüfer (i.e. the Sudân) are at the feet of this Good God. All people praise (him), that they may live.—ED.]*

The erasure of the name of Amün is, I believe, the most southerly example of the work of Amenophis IV in his struggle with the priesthood of Amün. The examples of New Empire sculpture and architecture at Barkal are now so numerous that the only possible conclusion is that this statue was originally placed in one of the New Empire temples at Barkal, and in all probability in a temple built by Amenophis III. The builders who gave to B. 700 its present form must have found this statuette, probably in the débris of some older temple—possibly the unexcavated temple “north” of 800—and must have placed it for some reason in the inner sanctuary (B. 704) along with the Meroitic statuettes. Curiously enough, there is evidence of the activity at Barkal of a Meroitic king whose -name was also Neb-ma<sup>c</sup>et-rē<sup>c</sup>. He had a small shrine in the form of an omphalos (see the note by Mr Griffith in *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, Vol. III, p. 255), which was placed in the temple of Amün (B. 500); it may well have been this king who restored B. 700 and B. 600. If the restoration took place in or near his time, it is possible that the statuette of Amenophis III, on which only the -name remained, was mistaken for a statuette of this Meroitic king produced by magic. On the other hand, the act of placing the chance-found statuette in the sanctuary may have been dictated by simple piety.


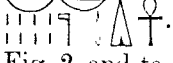
The Meroitic temple B. 700 was clearly the mere restoration of an older temple which bore the names of the Ethiopian kings Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken. The Ethiopian and the Meroitic parts were plainly distinguishable both by the type of masonry and by the inscriptions on the older walls. The room 704 and the portico had not been in the original plan and were entirely Meroitic. The foundations of the older “eastern” wall of 703 passed under the doorway to 704, while the walls of 704 were very roughly built of re-used stones and faced on the inside only. The stones re-used in these walls bore the name of Atlanarsa. The portico was built on very rough foundations resting partly on débris and containing re-used stones; it was built against the pylon and both the plan and the conventional papyrus columns were Meroitic in style. Apart from these additions to the original plan, the Meroitic restoration consisted of a reconstruction of the *inside faces* of the “southern” and “eastern” walls of room 703. This masonry was of smaller stones than the older masonry,—the stones of which appeared to have been obtained by re-cutting older stones. Like B. 600, none of the Meroitic walls bore the least trace of any inscription, whether incised or painted.

## (2) THE ETHIOPIAN TEMPLE, B. 700.

When I had identified the Meroitic parts of B. 700, the remainder was seen to be built on one plan and to form a coherent bonded structure which was dated by its inscriptions to the reigns of Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken, which I am inclined to place at about 650—610 B.C. This Ethiopian temple consisted of two rooms only, 702 and 703, each with four



columns, together with the pylon on the front side of 702. For a photograph of part of 702 see Plate XVI, top. The capitals of 702 were the ordinary Egyptian palm capital, while the columns in 703 were papyrus bundle columns with open flower capitals. I had expected to find that these two rooms led to a rock-cut sanctuary similar to that of B. 200 and B. 300, but although we laid bare the rock all along the back of the temple, we found no evidence that any rock-cut apartments had ever existed. This simple two-room temple with pylon was dedicated to Amen-Rê<sup>c</sup>; this is proved by the inscriptions on the pylon copied by Cailliaud and now destroyed<sup>1</sup>, as well as by those on a granite altar found by us in position in room 703.

The granite altar just mentioned stood near the middle of 703 on the Ethiopian stone pavement and was clearly in its original position, undisturbed since the time when it was placed in the temple. This fact is easily explained by the size and weight of the single block out of which it was carved. It is of the same form as the Tirhaqa altar in B. 506, but is of black granite. On the front or "west" side (Plate XIV, top) Atlanarsa is seen standing on the ∇-sign; he faces "south" and holds up the sign ≡ representing the sky. On each side of the ∇-sign is a god helping to tie together the papyrus-lily knot that symbolizes the union of Upper and Lower Egypt: on the "north," tying the papyrus, is Horus of Behdet, ; on the "south," tying the lily, is Thoth of Shmûn, . To the left of this scene is the vertical column of hieroglyphs marked A in Fig. 2, and to the right a corresponding column marked B in the same Figure. To these have been later added the two intrusive columns *a* and *b*. The copies in Fig. 2 are hand-copies, not facsimiles.

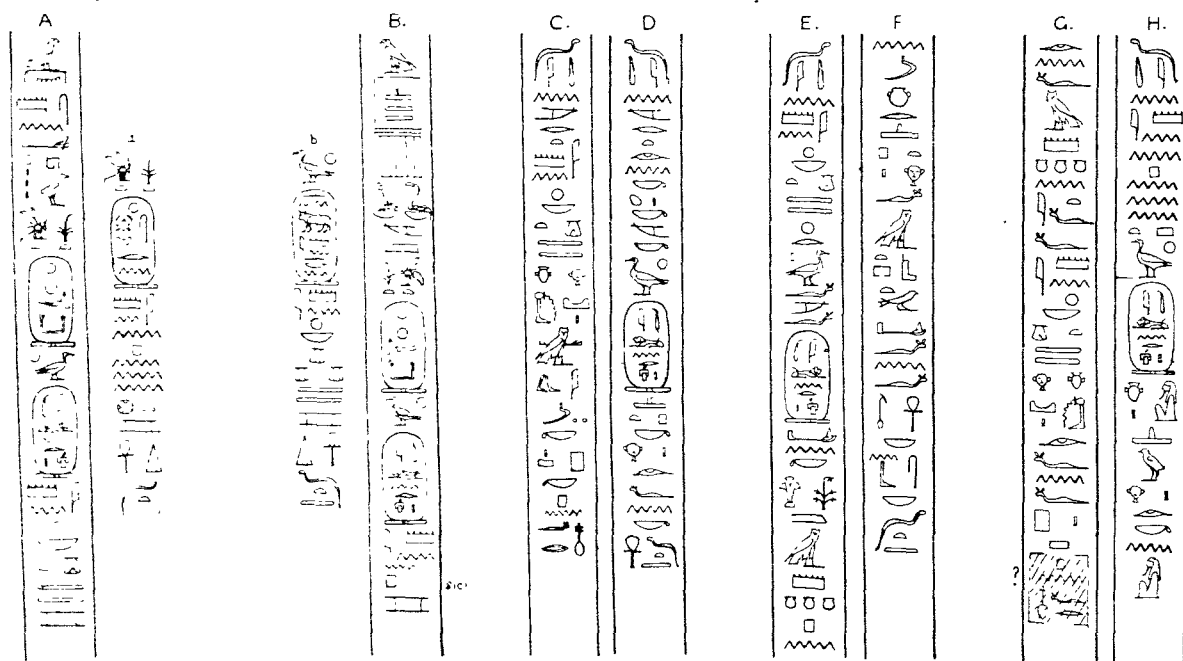
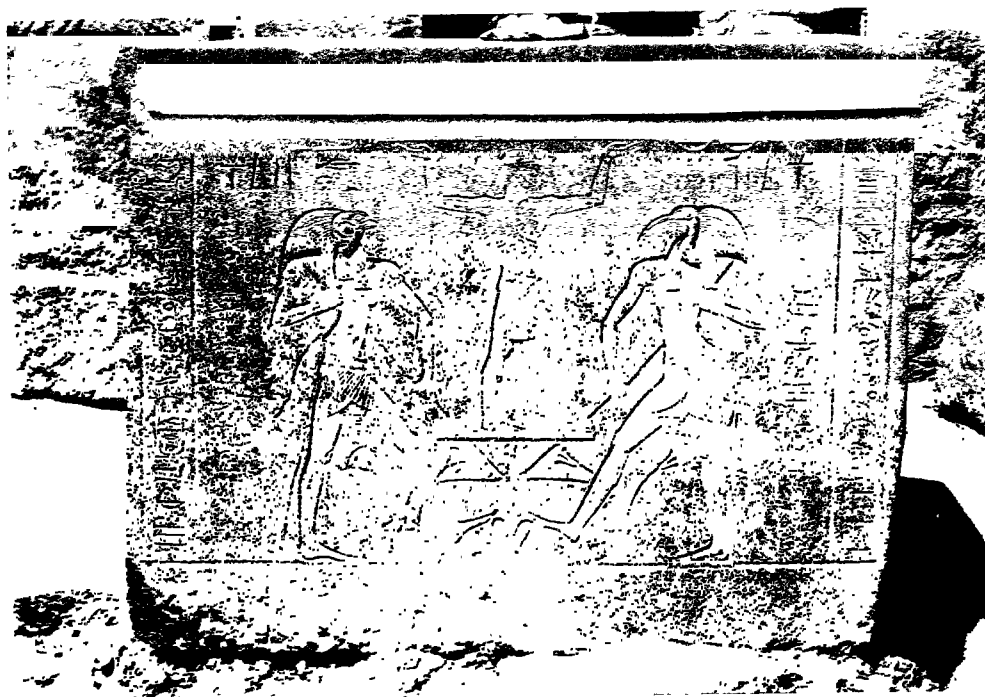
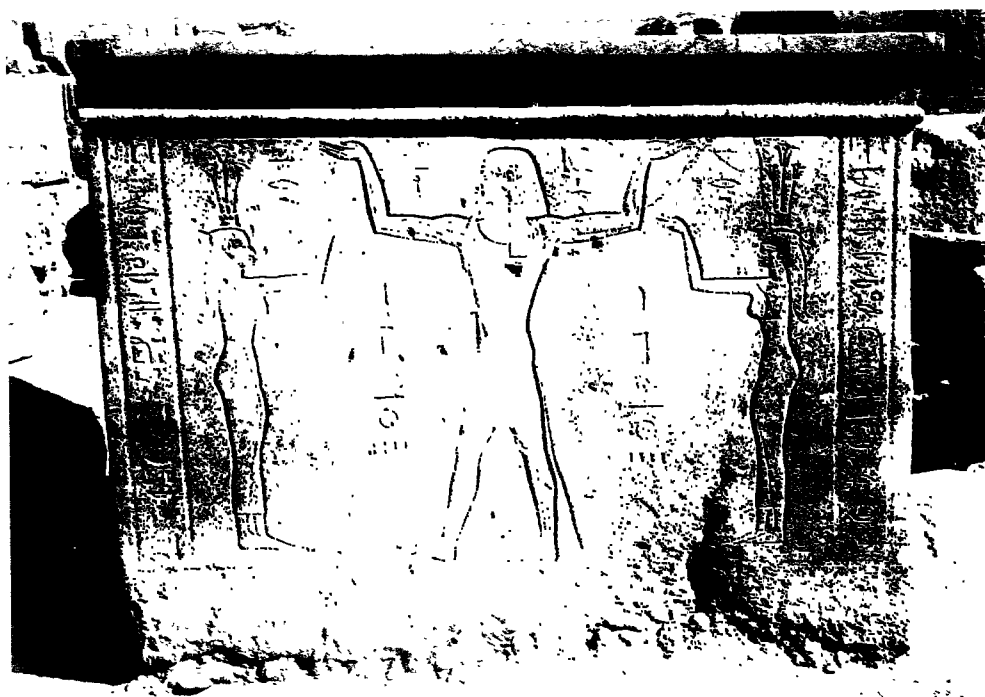


Fig. 2

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 108.




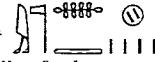



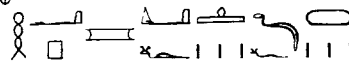





Altar from B703, "west" side



Altar from B703, "east" side



On the back or "east" side (Plate XIV, bottom) Atlanarsa is seen facing to left, supporting the sign  of the sky with upraised arms: on the two sides of the head the explanatory legend  "supporting his father." To right and left of the king are the  Meret-goddesses of Upper and Lower Egypt, with raised hands; the words sung by them are written before them  "The god comes; give adoration, four times." On the "south" and "north" of the scene are the vertical columns C and D respectively.

The "north" and "south" sides of the altar show two scenes each. The lower scene, which is identical in the two cases, shows both cartouches of Atlanarsa (surmounted by the usual feathers and disk) vertically upon the -sign; beside which are the usual papyrus and lily clumps. On either side the legend  "Happy gives food-offerings." The two upper scenes are counterparts one of the other. On the "north" side the goddess with the lily clump is seen on the right; Atlanarsa  approaches her, followed by three hawk-headed figures, the   "The Spirits of Pe." On the "south" side, the scene is identical except that for the hawk-headed deities are substituted three with jackal-heads, the   "The Spirits of Nekhen." The vertical columns of hieroglyphs E, F in Fig. 2 form the framing of the scenes on the "north" side, and the columns G, H form a similar framing for the scenes on the "south" side.

[TRANSLATION OF THE LEGENDS IN FIG. 2:

A. "Horus of Gold, Establishing-Laws; the King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khukarē<sup>c</sup>; Son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Atlanarsa; beloved of Amūn, lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands."

B. "Horus, Founding-the-Two-Lands; Two Goddesses, Loving-Truth; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Khukarē<sup>c</sup>; Son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Atlanarsa; beloved of Amūn of Napata."

C. "Spoken by the Meret-goddess: O Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands in the Pure Mountain (name of the hill of Napata), come that thou mayst see this thy beautiful altar."

D. Continuation of C. "Spoken by the Meret-goddess: which thy beloved son, the Son of Rē<sup>c</sup> Atlanarsa, makes for thee, and thou art pleased at what he makes for thee, living for ever."

E. "Spoken by Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands before his beloved son Atlanarsa. I give to thee Upper and Lower Egypt as recompense (emend *m'isw*) for this monument."

F. Continuation of G at the opposite front corner on the "south" side: "of granite to rest upon it in the Great Place. He gives to him all life and wealth, all health eternally."

G. "He made as his monument to his father Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands in the Pure Mountain, his making for him [this beautiful] altar." Continued in F.

H. "Spoken by Amūn of Napata. O Son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Atlanarsa. My heart is pleased because of what thou hast done for me."

The two intrusive inscriptions on the "west" side:

a. "The King of the Upper and Lower Egypt Sekheperenrē<sup>c</sup>, beloved of Amūn of Napata, given life eternally."

b. "Son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Senkumanseken, beloved of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, Lord of Thrones-of-the-Two-Lands, given life eternally."—ED.]

These very interesting inscriptions distinctly state that Atlanarsa presented the altar of granite to Amūn. In no case has the name of Atlanarsa been erased or damaged in any way, and it was the name originally written in every place where it occurs. The names of Senkamanseken on the middle field of the "west" side are not so well cut and are certainly intrusive. Senkamanseken respected the name of Atlanarsa and merely inserted his name on a vacant place on the front; this insertion was quite justified by the work which he did in the temple (see below).

The "western" and the "northern" walls of room B. 703 were decorated with standing figures in sunk relief and some vertical lines of incised hieroglyphs. The "western" wall (Plate XV, top and bottom), which is the better preserved, presents four figures on each half, and the third figure from the "south" was preceded by the cartouche of Atlanarsa, of which *n-r-s* is still legible. Now a number of stones were found of very different workmanship, bearing hieroglyphs in relief. Two of these were re-used, along with incised stones, in 704-Meroitic, and others were found in room 703 in the débris resulting from the destruction of the temple. None were found in place; but two of them bore the name of Atlanarsa and undoubtedly belong to this temple. Considering the number of the stones and the presence of incised inscriptions on the "northern" wall, it seems probable that the stones with relief inscriptions originally belonged to the "eastern" wall. Two of these inscriptions (*a* and *b*) are shown in Plate XVI; hand-copies of the other two are given in the accompanying Fig. 3. [Beyond the heading "*Atlanarsa [beloved] of Osiris Dedun in Tu-sti (Nubia)...*" very little connected sense is to be drawn from these fragments.—ED.]

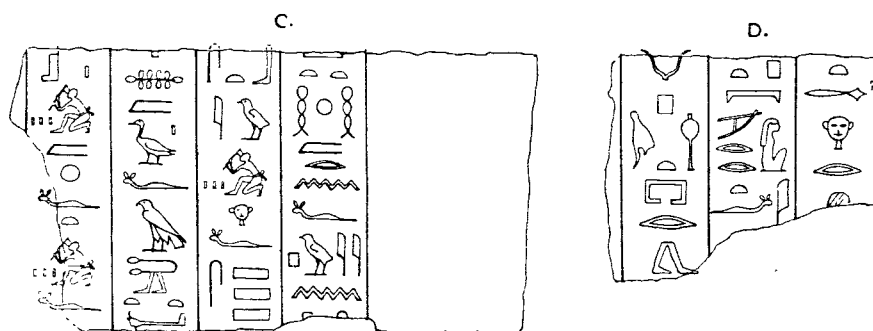
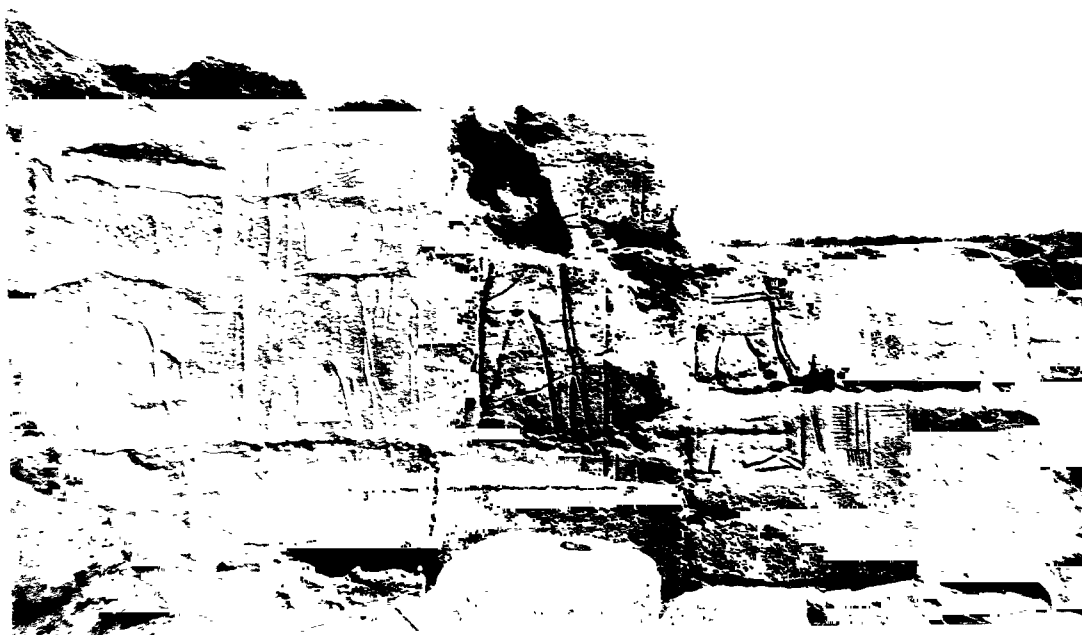


Fig. 3

In the débris of 703 there were also drums of the columns which stood in the room. These had incised inscriptions like the "northern" and "western" (also "southern"?) walls, and some of them gave the cartouches of Atlanarsa. Thus it was clear that room 703, so far as preserved, was entirely decorated in the name of Atlanarsa, and that the altar had been placed there by him. But Senkamanseken had inserted his name on the altar, and the decorations of the wall were in two very different styles,—the one consisting of crude rather unfinished hieroglyphs in relief, and the other of well-drawn incised hieroglyphs and sunk reliefs, both in the name of Atlanarsa.

An examination of the foundations of the temple led to the discovery of two foundation deposits of Atlanarsa under the "north-eastern" and "south-eastern" corners of room 703 respectively. An exhaustive search under the other corners of the temple, under the thresholds, and under the middle of the outside walls, failed to reveal any other deposits. Each of these foundation deposits was in a square hole (110 × 110 cm., with a depth of 65 cm.)



B703, "west" wall, "south" half, looking "west"



B703, "west" wall, "north" half, looking "west"



under the foundation course and exactly beneath the corner. It may be noted in passing that these square holes for foundation deposits appear at Nûri under the pyramids of Senkamanseken, Anlaman, Aspalta, Amtalqa, and Malenaqan, but the holes thereafter are circular. The holes of the foundation deposits of the temple of Tirhaqa excavated by Mr Griffith at Abu Sanam (Merowe) were also square, as he has informed me. The foundation deposits of Atlanarsa under temple B. 700 consisted of the following objects (see this *Journal*, Vol. iv, Plate XLV, Fig. 3):

No.	OBJECT.	"S.E."	"N.E."
1.	Jars, red-brown ware, red wash. Occur at Nûri, Senkamanseken to Aspalta.	2+	3+
2.	Cups of red ware. Occur at Nûri, Aspalta to Saasnûiq.	6+	5+
3.	Flaring cups of red ware. Occur at Nûri, Aspalta to Malenaqan.	2+	2+
4.	Wide bowls of red-brown ware, red wash. Occur at Nûri, Senkamanseken to Aspalta.	1+	2+
5.	Small beakers of red ware. The corresponding beaker of Senkamanseken and Aspalta at Nûri has a flat foot. The round-bottomed beaker appears at intervals throughout the deposits of Nûri. One of these beakers in "S.E." was nearly full of a golden brown resin. Fragments of resin were also found in "N.E." At Nûri, resin was found in pottery beakers in deposits of Senkamanseken, and in faience cups in deposits of Anlaman, Aspalta and Nansalsa.	11+	13+
6.	Two-handed mortar of grey-white sandstone. Occurs at Nûri, in a harder stone, in deposits of Senkamanseken to Malenaqan.	1	1
7.	Bronze model, blade of mattock. As in Egyptian deposits of XIXth Dyn.: at Nûri no bronze models were found before Nasakhma; thereafter in all deposits to Piankh-alara and Nastasan, in which they occur both in bronze and in iron.	0	3
8.	Bronze model, long broad-pointed chisel with rectangular shaft.	0	3
9.	" " pointed chisel or drill.	2	0
10.	" " short heavy chisel.	1	0
11.	" " small adze (?).	1	2
12.	" " axe.	1	1
13.	" " spearhead.	1	1
14.	" " bowl or saucer.	1	1
15.	Feathered cartouche in white-bodied blue-glazed faience, with the name "Atlanarsa." At Nûri, feathered doubled cartouche with two names in deposits of Anlaman and Aspalta.	1	1
16.	Tablets inscribed with the name "Atlanarsa" in a cartouche, no title. Like the tablets of Senkamanseken at Nûri.		
	a. Gold.	1	0
	b. Bronze.	2	1
	c. Lapis lazuli.	1	1
	d. Blue-green feldspath (? beryl?).	1	1
	e. Crystal.	0	1
	f. Red jasper.	1	0
	g. Blue faience, small.	1	0
	h. Blue faience, large.	1	1
17.	Fragments of animal bones, probably calf.		

Both these foundation deposits had been crushed, and had also suffered (especially the bronze, faience, and bones) from moisture. Nevertheless, with the knowledge now available



from the pyramid deposits at Nûri, the list of objects appears to be fairly complete. There the models and tablets were scattered over the floor of the hole in no order, the pots were arranged in whatever way seemed convenient, and the animal bones (skull and fore-quarter of a calf) were laid on or among the pottery vessels. One other point that emerges from the Nûri material should be noted: in the case of rebuilding or enlargement, no second foundation deposit was made. The absence of foundation deposits of Senkamanseken thus indicates clearly that Atlanarsa planned and built the greater part of the temple.

This material—the inscriptions on the walls, the altar, and the foundation deposits—proves conclusively that the Ethiopian temple, B. 700, which is a structural unit, was planned by Atlanarsa, and that the room 703 was built and decorated by him. The name of Senkamanseken appears only intrusively on the granite altar. But in room 702 and on the pylon, the only name preserved in the inscriptions is that of Senkamanseken. The “eastern” column on the “southern” side of 702 bore his name. The inscriptions on the walls were very badly preserved and the remnants (same style as those of 703, “west” wall) contained no name. But the copy of the front of the pylon published by CAILLIAUD, *Voyage à Meroë*, Vol. I, Pl. LXI, gives a dedication of the temple to Amen-Rê by Senkamanseken; and fragments of the pylon found by us in the débris of the portico also showed the name of Senkamanseken. Furthermore, in the disturbed débris of 702, near the door, we found a section of a small black granite obelisk (19 × 19 cm. in section and 95 cm. long) inscribed with a single vertical line on each of the four faces. Two of these lines are nearly obliterated in the middle, as if they had been worn by people brushing against or rubbing them with the hand<sup>1</sup>. The inscriptions on this stone are shown in the accompanying Fig. 4, a mere hand-copy.

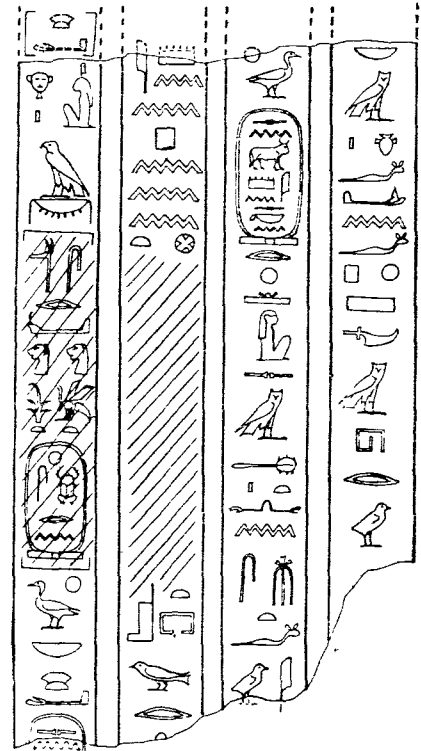


Fig. 4

[TRANSLATION.

- (1) ".....[Two Goddesses, Appearing]-on-account-of-Right; Horus of Gold, [Rich-in-valour; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Sekheperenrê]; Son of Rê, S[enkamanseken]......"
- (2) ".....Amân of Napata .....great seat....."
- (3) ".....Son of Rê, Senkamanseken, I knew him in the womb, before he was born. ...."
- (4) ".....all.....in his heart...(I?) give to him the scimitar on [this] day....."—ED.]

<sup>1</sup> I know of a certain statue of an ape in the Cairo Museum, the male member of which has been entirely worn away in less than a generation by the hands of native women touching it to induce conception.

Thus it is clear that while the temple was begun by Atlanarsa, it was finished by Senkamanseken and that the latter respected the name of the former. There is, however, no decisive evidence as to where the work of the one leaves off and that of the other begins. The unfinished appearance of the inscriptions in relief suggests that this type of decoration is to be assigned to Atlanarsa and the better finished incised inscriptions to Senkamanseken. But it is equally possible that after the attempt to decorate the "eastern" wall with relief inscriptions, Atlanarsa may have ordered the other walls to be treated in the more usual manner. The incised decoration is all in the same style of work, and I believe by the same hand. But this does not help us, as the same men probably worked for Atlanarsa and for his successor, as I assume Senkamanseken to have been. Leaving the precise line of separation undecided, I consider that the construction was nearly, if not entirely, finished by Atlanarsa and only the unfinished decoration and perhaps part of the pylon were completed by Senkamanseken.

A confirmation of this conclusion may be seen in the large *unfinished* statue (over life-size) in grey granite, found by us lying exposed in a hole dug in the debris of the portico; see Plate XVII, top. According to a statement communicated to me by Col. H. W. Jackson, Governor of Dongola Province, this statue was excavated by Dr Budge. In material, size, and workmanship, it is very like the statue of Amananal<sup>1</sup> found by us in 500 A, but it is uninscribed and clearly unfinished (feet, legs, and hands). I would explain this as a statue of Atlanarsa made to stand as one of a pair in front of the pylon. Judging from the position in which it lies, it had already been set, or was about to be set, in place in this unfinished condition and was to be finished after being set up. It was buried in its present place at or before the Meroitic restoration. The companion statue could hardly have been in place, as no fragment or other trace of it was found, and indeed it would not be strange if the unfinished statue of the same size and material now lying in the quarry at Tombos were this companion statue, which on the death of Atlanarsa was about to be moved from the quarry. The temptation is great also to include the two uninscribed statues on the Island of Argo among these works of Atlanarsa. They are of stone from the same quarry, the grey granite quarry at Tombos, and are the work of the same school of sculptors who made all the Ethiopian statues of this time; moreover, they are uninscribed and not quite finished, a condition proved so far only for the statue of Atlanarsa lying in the portico of B. 700. In my opinion, the existence of these unfinished statues which I venture to ascribe to Atlanarsa, and the completion of B. 700 by Senkamanseken, are facts that agree in pointing to one and the same conclusion, namely an unexpected termination of the reign of Atlanarsa.

The evidence supplied by B. 700 proves conclusively that Senkamanseken was later than Atlanarsa. The respect shown for the work and the name of Atlanarsa makes it extremely probable that Senkamanseken was his immediate successor, possibly a near relative. The evidence of the hard stone monuments already found shows that Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken belong to the first great group of Ethiopian kings, comprising Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Amananal, Aspalta and Amtalqa. The tombs of all these, except Atlanarsa, have been found at Nûri, and their correct order is beyond any doubt as follows: Tirhaqa, Tanutaman, Senkamanseken, Amananal, Aspalta, Amtalqa. Atlanarsa cannot be placed before Tanutaman and must, therefore, come between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken.

<sup>1</sup> [See this *Journal*, vol. IV, p. 216. Amananal is clearly the same king who was called Anlaman in the previous article.—ED.]

The only question is whether there was not another king, not buried at Nûri, who also comes between Tanutaman and Senkamanseken. If there was, I think the evidence of B. 700 indicates that he came between Tanutaman and Atlanarsa, not between Atlanarsa and Senkamanseken. As stated above, the tomb of Atlanarsa does not appear to be at Nûri, the excavation of which is now approaching completion. I may say in passing that the only remaining known site where his tomb may now be sought is the pyramid field of Kurru. The examination of the supposed pyramids at Tangassi and at Zûma, of which Lepsius made plans, proves that no pyramids exist or existed at either place. The mounds which Lepsius drew as pyramids are all of them tumuli graves of the type observed by me at Ferket and Gamai in February 1914. The tumuli of Gamai were excavated by Mr Oric Bates for the Harvard Peabody Museum in 1915-1916 and found to be of the third to fifth centuries A.D. The Tangassi and Zûma tumuli are banked with small stones and may be somewhat earlier, but they too are conical and not pyramidal. Tombs of kings of Ethiopia or Meroë are not to be found at either place. The pyramids of Kurru, on the other hand, are real pyramids. The large one on the plan of Lepsius and the small pyramids behind it appear to me, on a superficial examination, to be of the same general period as the pyramids at Barkal: but there is a badly destroyed pyramid on the "northern" side of the wâdy running through the field which may be older. If the tomb of Atlanarsa is not here, then it must be sought at the other end of Dongola province, perhaps near Kawa (Gem-Aton).

The masonry of the Ethiopian temple is of good light-red sandstone blocks, founded on one or two foundation courses which rest in shallow trenches cut in the hard sandbank. The undressed blocks in the foundation courses measure about  $80-90 \times 55-65 \times 40-50$  cm., having been roughly squared to one size, apparently at the quarry. The same kind of blocks were used in the dressed walls, but there, owing to the dressing and the cutting necessitated by the bonding, the size varies considerably. The foundation courses are all headers. The facing stones in the walls are all stretchers—even the short stones put in to bring a long stone into the corner. At the corners there is the usual bond formed by placing the long stone alternately in one and then in the other of the two adjoining faces. The side walls are two stones, or 165 cm. thick. As the faces, each half a stone thick, are not bonded with the core, the wall is really a cased core. The core is, however, bonded, and consists of alternate header and stretcher courses of undressed stones. The interstices are filled with mud and chips of stone. There is no trace of the bond introduced in the pyramids of Nûri about a century later, the peculiar system which consisted of laying two stretchers and a header alternately in each course, but so as to break the joints with the courses above and below. This point has a certain importance for fixing the order of the Nûri pyramids. All the above-mentioned details are illustrated in the sketches Plate XI, top.

The piers on which the columns rested are also built of the same kind of stones as the other foundations. Each consists of two courses, each course comprising five stones, three headers and two stretchers: but the joints are not properly broken (see Plate XVI, top). The columns, both the papyrus columns of room 703 and the palm columns of 702, are built of large drums, marked in the centre with a cross.

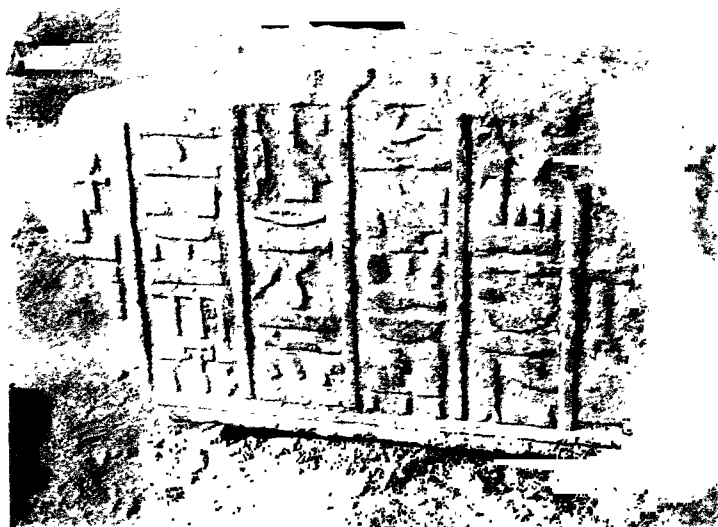
The moulding on the corner of the pylon is at present preserved only at the two "southern" corners, but is of course to be restored at the other two corners. The "northern" half of the back wall adjoining the cliff is thicker than the "southern" half, apparently because of a rain-washed gully which makes the ground in this direction insecure. On the "south," the trench for the wall is actually made by cutting into the cliff (see Plate XI, section on A—B).



B702, "northern" part looking "north-east"



Block re-used upside down in 704-Meroitic



Block found in the debris of 703



## (3) EARLIER STRUCTURES UNDER B. 700.

Underneath B. 700, there are some traces of earlier structures. Just beside the pylon on the "north," there was another small building (700-*sub*-2), which was on the same surface as the structures under the temple and must be included with them. Three of these earlier walls were built of the same yellow or white blocks of uniform size ( $52 \times 26 \times 22$  cm.), which in B. 500 were dated to the period of Ramesses II. One of the three was under the "eastern" wall of 703 and only visible where the Meroitic doorway had been broken through the wall. The other two, however, were complete single room structures (700-*sub*-1 and 700-*sub*-2). The small room, 700-*sub*-1, was under the Meroitic portico and was denuded or destroyed down to a single course of stones, resting in a very shallow foundation trench in the hard sandbank. Manifestly earlier than B. 700, it was probably already destroyed when 700 was built, but if not it would have been cleared away to open the entrance to that temple. The room was not well squared. On three sides the walls were a single stone thick (52 cm.), but on the "western" side the wall extended beyond the sides and was two stones thick having thus the appearance of a small pylon. The small room, B. 700-*sub*-2, a little to the "north," was of the same masonry, in the same state of destruction but was better squared. These small structures are like the two under the back of B. 500 (rooms 520 and 522: *cf.* also 500 A<sup>1</sup>) both in their simplicity and in their size. The date of all of them must be approximately the XIXth Dynasty, to which time this type of masonry is dated with certainty. Apparently in that period, probably during or previous to the construction of 500-first, a number of these small structures stood scattered over the site. B. 700-*sub*-1 looks like a chapel, and it is possible that others of them were small temporary chapels; but it is also possible that some or all of them were offices or shelters of some sort put up during the construction of B. 500-first.

Under the floor of the "northern" side of room 703, where the treasure seekers had broken through, two remnants of walls were visible, of different thickness but both of light-red sandstone. Under the circumstances, it was not possible to follow these out. They may have been only some sort of construction ramp used in building the Ethiopian temple 700.

## (4) SUMMARY, B. 700.

The temple B. 700 is an Ethiopian temple of about 650—610 B.C., planned and nearly finished by Atlanarsa. Room 702 and the pylon were decorated by Senkamanseken, and their construction may have been completed by him. The site was next to that of the temple of Tuthmosis IV, which was probably already in ruins; and it was unoccupied except for some small structures of the New Empire, probably completely destroyed by the time when the Ethiopian building commenced. Owing to its proximity to the cliff, the site is not a good one. It may be pointed out that the better ground in front was already taken by older buildings, B. 800, B. 900, and B. 1100, and the difficulty of finding a place for a new temple was probably responsible for the selection of this site.

The Ethiopian temple was partially destroyed by a fall of rock from the cliff. If we may judge from the worn places on the obelisk of Senkamanseken, the period of occupation was more than a generation and may have been a great deal more. The length of the

<sup>1</sup> See *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iv, pp. 220, 224.

period during which the back part of the temple lay in ruins is equally difficult to determine. But some time during the Meroitic period, in the early part of the first century A.D. or somewhat earlier, the temple was restored. No attempt seems to have been made to straighten the old back wall, which had been bent in by the fall of rock; but the inside facing of the walls of 703 was rebuilt, the columns were probably also rebuilt together with the old drums, a small inner sanctuary in very rough work was added at the back, and a columned portico was put in front of the pylon after the manner favoured by the Meroitic architects. The second period of occupation came to an end in the first century A.D., at about the same time as the Barkal pyramids were built. And again the termination of its use was caused by a fall of blocks from the cliff.

After this second destruction of the temple, it remained to be used as a quarry and as a hunting ground for treasure seekers until our day. The only part which was left undisturbed was the sanctuary, B. 704, and the greater part of room 703, which lay inaccessible under the fallen blocks.

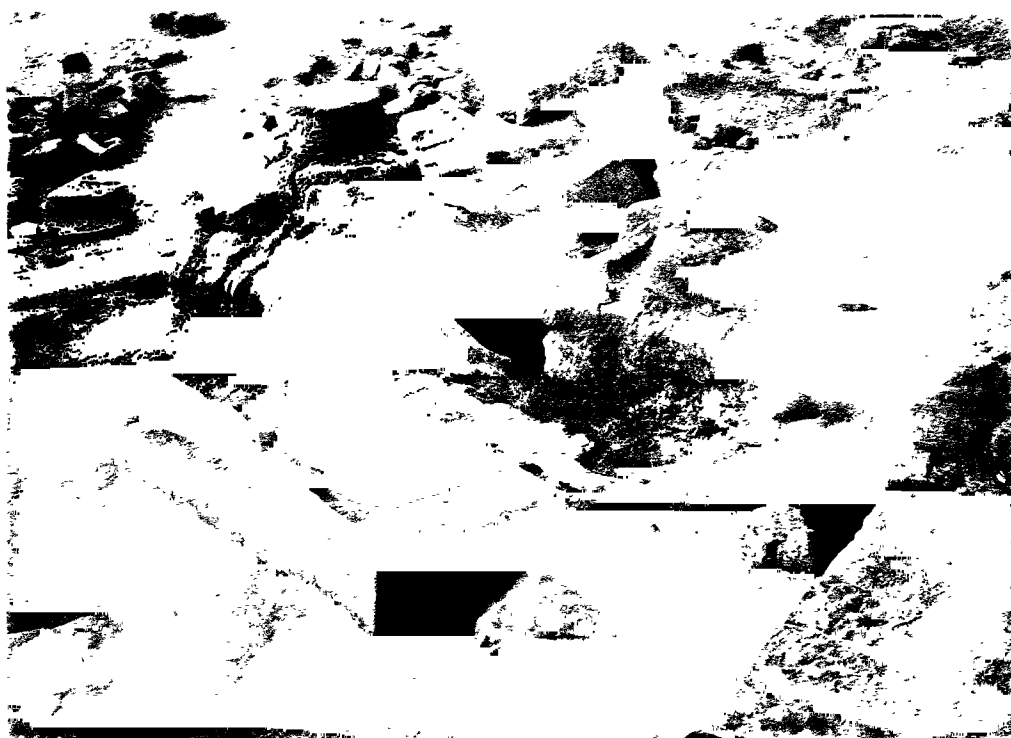
#### IV. THE PAVED ROADWAY.

In clearing away the bank of débris which ran out "westward" from B. 700, a paved roadway (Plate XVII, below) was exposed, made of slabs of white sandstone,—a material not used in any of the later buildings at Barkal (after Tirhaqa). This consisted of a pavement on which side walls were built to enclose the actual roadway. The height of the side walls was indeterminable, but two courses (over 50 cm.) were preserved at one place and there was at least one more course on the top of these. The walls were about 50 cm. thick and, as they stand, were dressed on the inside only. But on the outside, the courses now in place were probably below the surface and may have been left undressed for this reason. I am therefore in doubt how to restore the section, whether as a high-kerbed road or as a covered passage.

The width between the side walls increased from 165 cm. on the "west," opposite the "south-eastern" corner of B. 900, to 255 cm. on the "east," in front of B. 700. Towards the "east," where the roadway widened, it turned in a curve to the "north" and passed in front of 700-sub-1. Beyond this point, it was totally destroyed to the edge of our excavation, but may possibly be picked up again along the back of B. 1100. On the "west," the roadway had passed along the "southern" side of B. 900, but was destroyed to a point opposite B. 904, where its continuation was found at the edge of our excavation.

The level of the "eastern" end of the pavement is about 150 cm. below the threshold of 702-Ethiopian, while the level on the "west" is about the same as that of B. 900-first. The difference in level between the roadway and B. 700 does not signify much, owing to the rise in the ground towards the "east." The coincidence with the floor of B. 900 has a greater value from the fact that both are on the same level of ground and both are built of the same kind of stones. The relative positions, moreover, of the roadway and B. 900 indicate that one was built alongside the other, avoiding it, and the two must have been in use at the same time. B. 900, as will appear subsequently, is to be dated not later than Tirhaqa, and possibly earlier. This gives the only evidence available at present for the date of the roadway. There can be little doubt that the roadway was a passage leading from temple to temple.

*(To be continued)*



Unfinished statue found in Meroitic Portico B 701



A restoration of B900, B700 and 600 are seen in the background to right.  
The Paved Roadway, looking "east". The near end is obscured by a later foundation wall





## ON THE VARIOUS METHODS OF REPRESENTING HAIR IN THE WALL-PAINTINGS OF THE THEBAN TOMBS

BY ERNEST MACKAY

IN the wall-paintings of the Egyptian tombs the head of the human figure is always represented as either completely bare or covered with a wig. In the period of the Eighteenth Dynasty it is usually the less important figures that are represented with bare or shaven heads, though occasionally an important personage is portrayed without a wig. In the latter case, however, he is always shown acting in a priestly capacity or performing a religious rite. During the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties even the most important male figures are often drawn with bare and shaven heads, as is to be seen in many Ramesside tombs, the reason being that in this period such people were nearly always represented as acting in a sacerdotal capacity.

The shaven portion of the head was either painted the same colour as the body or a lighter tint. The latter was the more usual method in the earlier period, the colour commonly employed being either a brownish-red or brick-red which contrasted well with the dark red used for the rest of the body. In Ramesside times, however, this distinction of colour between the shaven part of the head and the rest of the body was rarely made.

Very closely cropped or newly-growing hair was often represented by painting the head a deep pink colour covered with numbers of black or red spots. Good examples of such work may be seen in the tombs of Meryamūn and Userhēt (nos. 22 and 56).

The usual method of representing a wig was to paint it in black or blue, the latter colour being quite frequently used. It is difficult to understand why blue should have been used for this purpose unless we suppose that the ancient Egyptian could not readily distinguish between black and blue, as is the case with the fellāḥīn at the present day. Another possible explanation is that certain kinds of black hair appear to have a bluish tint in a strong light, whereas others are distinctly warm in colour<sup>1</sup>. Black, however, was the colour more frequently used, though both black and blue wigs are often to be seen in the same wall-painting. A serious disadvantage attended the use of black paint for this purpose in that much of it was not of a permanent nature. In some tombs it has practically disappeared, especially where it has been exposed to a strong light, so that the wigs on many figures appear never to have been painted black at all.

<sup>1</sup> In the story of the Destruction of Mankind, it is related that when Rē, the Sun-god, was grown old, his "bones were of silver, his flesh of gold, and his hair of lapis lazuli." The writer has not, however, found any instances in the Theban tombs of hair being coloured blue to denote age, nor is it clear that this was intended by the Egyptian writer, who may be referring to the august rather than to the senile appearance of the god.

The wigs of the more important figures in a tomb are represented in several different ways, but the most interesting are those with the curls in relief. These were always very carefully done, and in the finest examples their execution must have occupied the artist a considerable time. The preliminary stage in the best work was to draw a series of fine horizontal lines across the outlined head to serve as guides in order to enable the artist to set the curls in as regular order as possible. The method can be best studied in the tombs of Menkheper (no. 79, see Fig. 1) and of Baki (no. 18), where both the beginning and end

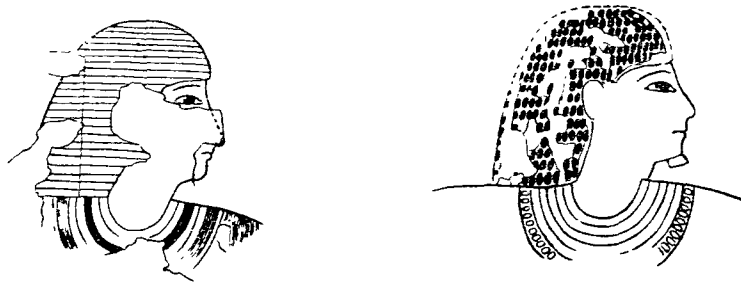


Fig. 1. Heads from the tomb of Menkheper (no. 79).

of the process may be seen<sup>1</sup>. In the tomb of Menkheper, the lines were drawn about 11 mm. apart, apparently with the help of a very narrow ruler or straight-edge, with whose width the space between the lines evidently corresponded, for no attempt was made to mark off with points the positions of the lines, as would have been done had an ordinary straight-edge been used. The curls, which resemble pear-shaped drops hanging vertically, are composed entirely of thick blue paint or coloured paste. In other tombs such curls were similarly formed, but plaster was generally the substance used for the purpose and was, after setting, painted black or blue. There is only one way in which such curls could have been made, namely, by dipping a pointed stick into the liquid material and applying it to the wall with a drop of plaster or coloured paste hanging from it. In no case so far discovered in the necropolis were such wigs cut out of solid material or modelled in the mass in wet plaster; they were evidently invariably made, curl by curl, from fluid material. The guiding lines above mentioned would obviously be useless for any other method, being drawn, as they are, directly on the unpainted plaster of the tomb wall and at a deeper level than the outer surface of the curls. A very effective wig is to be seen in the tomb of Antef (no. 155). It is made from drops of blue paste in the manner described above, but differs from the wigs already mentioned in that the ground between the raised curls is painted black, the whole forming a very imposing head-dress.

Another method of representing the hair on a wig in relief, of which, however, examples have up to the present time been found in only two tombs, namely those of Huy and Rekhmirê (nos. 54 and 100), was to make a series of raised lines in plaster radiating from a point on the top of the head, the lower part of the wig nearest the face being composed of drops as in the tombs above mentioned, nos. 18, 54 and 79. These raised lines

<sup>1</sup> Such lines are also to be seen in the tomb of Huy (no. 54), in a figure of Huy on the left jamb of the entrance doorway.

must have been cut or moulded in plaster, as they could hardly have been made in any other way<sup>1</sup>.

Wigs represented in relief in painted tombs appear to date from the period between Tuthmosis II and Amenophis III; none of either earlier or later date have been discovered in the Theban Necropolis.

In any given painted tomb the wig of the deceased is never shown in relief more than once or twice; in all the other representations of him it is merely painted on the flat. In the finer painted tombs, however, much care was taken even with a painted wig in order to make it as realistic as possible, and the colours used for this purpose were very varied.

A rare method of depicting a curled wig was to paint it blue and to represent the curls by rows of small black triangles, the apices of the triangles in each row touching the bases of those in the row above. Good examples of this method are to be seen in the tombs of Anena (see Fig. 2), Antef and Amenemhêt (nos. 81, 155 and 182). In the tomb of another Amenemhêt (no. 82, see Fig. 3<sup>2</sup>), this arrangement was reversed, for the apices of the triangles point downwards. All these tombs, with one exception, are dated to the

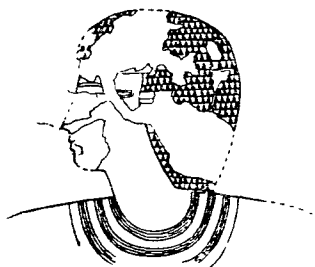


Fig. 2. From the tomb of Anena (no. 81)

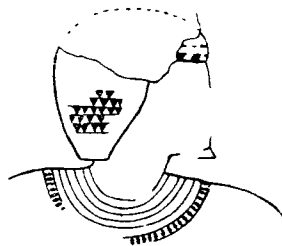


Fig. 3. From DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. VIII



Fig. 4. From DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt*, Pl. XVIII

time of Tuthmosis III; and though the exception, owing to the absence of definite evidence, cannot be exactly dated, there is a strong presumption that it belongs to the same period. This method of representing the curls in a wig by rows of small triangles comes down from the Old Kingdom, but is only found in the Theban Necropolis in tombs of the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty.

It should also be noted that in the tombs of Amenemhêt (Fig. 4<sup>3</sup>) and Antef (nos. 82 and 155), some of the figures in the wall paintings wear head-dresses with thick black horizontal lines painted on a blue ground. This is a very remarkable way to represent a wig, and beyond the examples in the two tombs mentioned, the writer knows of no others in the necropolis.

In four tombs (nos. 16, 147, 181 and 255) there are wigs in which the hair is painted in black on a ground of dark grey-blue or slate grey. The ground-colours used for the wigs in Tombs 38, 43, 55, 56, 64 and 93 were light red and both light and dark brown, the hair, whether in curls or straight, being painted in black. In the tomb of Sennûfer

<sup>1</sup> Wigs of a somewhat similar design, but cut in stone, may be seen in the tombs of Ramôse and Khaemhêt (nos. 55 and 57).

<sup>2</sup> See DAVIES-GARDINER, *Tomb of Amenemhêt* (no. 82, Pl. VIII).

<sup>3</sup> See *op. cit.*, Pl. XVIII.

(no. 96) a wig is to be seen, in which a series of thick black wavy lines representing the hair are painted close together on a yellow ground.

The representation of the wigs presented difficulties in the case of the small bodies or gangs of men frequently to be seen in Egyptian wall-paintings, whether the personal servants of the deceased or men over whom he had authority when alive, such as soldiers or labourers on temple lands, for they were usually drawn in rows, standing one partly behind the other. The result was that, owing to the Egyptian use of flat colours and the total absence of light and shade in their paintings, the heads and bodies of the figures tended to blend into one another so as to form a shapeless mass of colour. As a general rule, with a view to obviating this difficulty, each figure was outlined with a thin red line of a darker tint than the colour it enclosed, but in many cases this was found to be somewhat unsatisfactory, as such an outline could be seen only from comparatively close to the wall. The simple expedient was, therefore, adopted of painting alternate bodies of a lighter tint, a method extensively used throughout the Theban Necropolis, and the same system was applied in painting the head-dresses of the figures. One of the best examples of this is to be seen in the tomb of Kenamūn (no. 93), where the wigs of three large and important figures standing partly one behind the other are painted in three different colours. The wig of the foremost figure is dark red, that of the second dark yellow and of the third grey, a series of wavy curls being drawn on the ground-colour in each case. Another good example is to be found in the tomb of Amenemhab (no. 85), where the wigs of a row of figures are painted in turn black, light red, black, blue, black, light red, and so on, with no attempt to represent either curls or straight hair. Then again in the tomb of Ramōse (no. 55), a well painted row of men wear black wigs, alternately with red ones adorned with black curls.

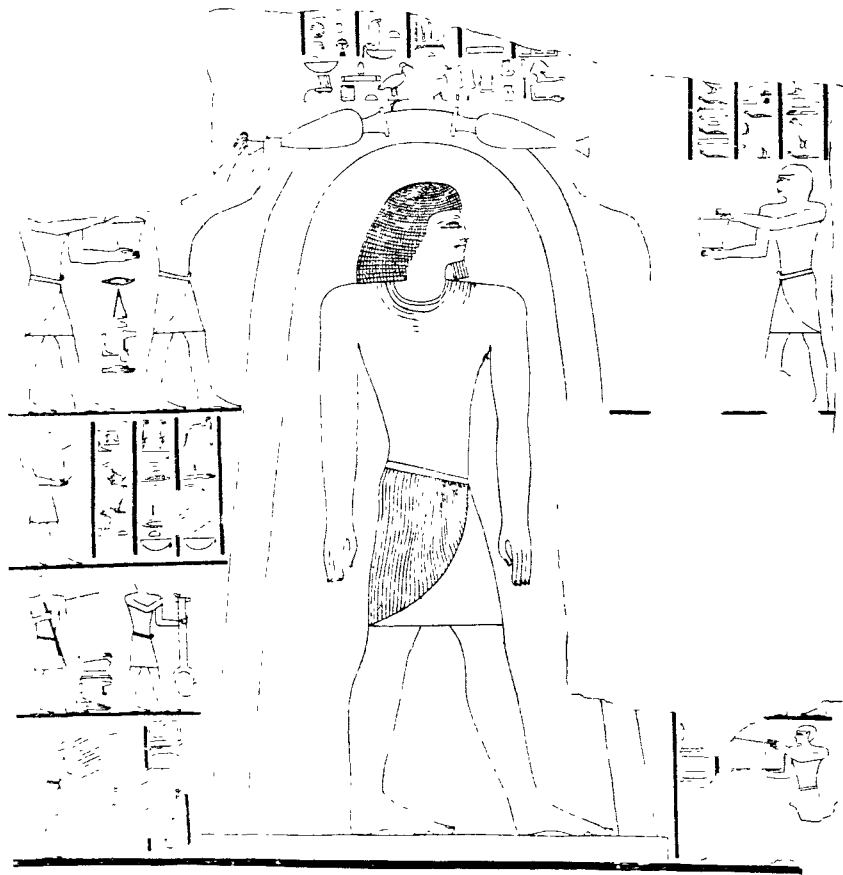
An exceptionally interesting case of a series of wigs being differentiated without the use of colour is to be seen on the south-west wall of the tomb of Rekhmīrē (no. 100), where there is a row of six men overlapping each other considerably. No attempt has been made to contrast the figures by the use of different colours, the faces and bodies being merely outlined in dark red, as in the case of single figures, but the wigs are distinguished from each other by varying the shape of the raised plaster curls in alternate figures. Thus the leading figure has a wig with horizontal plaster drops to represent curls, the drops are vertical in the second figure, and so on alternately, the last man having a wig similar in design to the second.

In portraits of women the wig is painted either black or blue, the latter colour being rarely found. Three types of head-dress are to be seen, namely wigs with hair tassels hanging from the lower border, others with a plain border, and head-dresses consisting mainly of loosely twisted or plaited strands, which were mostly worn by dancing girls and female musicians. The lower borders of the wigs of these three types are drawn either falling in front of the hinder shoulder of the wearer, or partly in front of and partly behind it. No attempt was made to represent in relief the hair upon a wig worn by a woman, which is curious, considering the care expended on the head-dresses worn by the men.

Women, with but few exceptions, were never represented with the head bare, and these exceptions are, in all cases, women personating goddesses in funeral ceremonies, as may be seen in the tomb of Amenemhēt (no. 82), where the cropped or newly growing hair is plainly indicated on the women's heads<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On the left hand side of the passage. See DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, Pl. XI.






The Purification of Dhuthotpe

## SOME NOTES ON THE ANCIENT EGYPTIAN PRACTICE OF WASHING THE DEAD

By AYLWARD M. BLACKMAN, D.LITT.

AMONG the reliefs that adorn the walls of his tomb-chapel at El-Bersheh is one (see Pl. XVIII) representing the dead *Dhuthotpe* being purified by his sons and other officiants<sup>1</sup>. When Mr Griffith and Professor Newberry's joint volume on this monument appeared in 1893, comparatively little was known about the beliefs and usages of the ancient Egyptians with respect to purification. During the last year or so I have succeeded in collecting a considerable amount of information on that subject, owing to my having undertaken to write the article PURIFICATION, PURITY (Egyptian) for Dr Hastings' *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. I trust, therefore, that a new discussion of the above-mentioned relief will not be unacceptable to readers of this *Journal*.

The washing or sprinkling of the living and dead king seems to have been a feature of the sun-cult of Heliopolis. The sun-god *Rē-Atum* was supposed to wash or be washed every morning before he appeared above the eastern horizon. As a result of his daily matutinal ablutions, at which, according to one conception, *Horus* and *Thōth* acted as his bath-attendants, the sun-god was thought to be reborn<sup>2</sup>.

The living Pharaoh (originally the local king or chieftain of Heliopolis) was regarded as the embodiment of the sun-god on earth. In this capacity he had on various occasions to undergo lustration like his divine prototype. For example, before entering a temple (originally the Heliopolitan sun-temple) in order to officiate, he was washed in the "House of the Morning" ()<sup>3</sup>, the temple-vestry. The lustrators on this occasion were supposed to be *Horus* and *Thōth*, the sun-god's bath attendants, or *Horus* and *Sēth*, the patron-gods of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively<sup>4</sup>.

The same gods, *Horus* and *Thōth*<sup>4</sup>, or *Horus* and *Sēth*<sup>5</sup>, were likewise thought to wash the dead Pharaoh before his ascent to heaven.

In reality, both the living and the dead king were washed by human officiants impersonating the divinities in question. Probably, in order to make themselves more like those gods and therefore render their acts all the more effectual, the lustrators sometimes would have worn masks. We know that a jackal mask was worn by the chief embalmer, who

<sup>1</sup> GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *El-Bersheh*, Part I, Pl. X.

<sup>2</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, pp. 57—60.

<sup>3</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 60 foll. and pp. 86 foll.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 61 foll.

<sup>5</sup> See the passage "*Mayest thou (the deceased, in the first instance the dead Pharaoh be purified, may thy body become divine, in the presence of the brothers Horus and Sēth; may Thōth and Harakhti bear thy bai aloft,*" GARDINER, *Egyptian Hieratic Texts*, Part I, p. 8.



impersonated Anubis at the embalmment and burial ceremonies<sup>1</sup>. It is highly probable that masks were worn by the priests who washed the Pharaoh in the temple vestry. An actual mask, belonging to a dancer who impersonated a lion-headed goddess, was found by Professor Petrie in the ruins of a Twelfth Dynasty house at Kahun<sup>2</sup>.

Through the medium of the lustration-water, which was identified with that of Nun or of a pool sacred to the sun-god, the Pharaoh was thought to be reborn, like that god himself, and to be brought into close association with him<sup>3</sup>.

When the dead king came to be regarded as Osiris the ceremony of washing his corpse was retained as an episode in the Rite of Embalmment, being performed when the corpse was taken out of the salt-bath<sup>4</sup>. But the view now held was, not that the dead king was reborn as a result of this lustration, but that his body, like that of Osiris, was revived. The water also was not identified with that of Nun or of a pool sacred to the sun-god, but it was said to come from Elephantine, *i.e.*, the First Cataract region and the traditional source of the Nile. The Nile was regarded as the vital fluid that had exuded from the dead Osiris, whose body, according to one account, lay in a cavern beneath the island of Bigeh in the First Cataract, from which cavern the Nile was thought to issue. The water from that region was therefore regarded as especially pure and potent, welling up direct, as it were, from the god himself. It was supposed to bring together the deceased's bones, unite his head to his trunk, and make him complete (*tm*) in every particular<sup>5</sup>.

The change in the significance of the posthumous lustration did not involve any alterations in the manner of performing it. Moreover, Horus and Thōth<sup>6</sup>, or, strange to say, Horus and Sēth<sup>7</sup>, were still thought to officiate at the washing of the departed before their reception into the abode of the blessed.

Accordingly the representation of the washing of the dead Dhuthotpe recalls the descriptions, such as those in the *Pyramid Texts*, of the ablutions of the dead Pharaoh and of his prototype the sun-god<sup>8</sup>; it also resembles the reliefs depicting the living Pharaoh being purified in the temple-vestry<sup>9</sup>.

Dhuthotpe stands between two officiants who pour each a  $\overline{\text{V}}$ -vase of water over him. The lustrator on the left is his second son Senusretconkh<sup>10</sup>; the one on the right is not named. Behind Senusretconkh stands Dhuthotpe's third son Nehri<sup>11</sup>, holding a vessel which, so the descriptive label informs us, contains *bd*-natron. The corresponding figure on the right is the eldest son Shemsumkha<sup>12</sup>, who holds a vessel in which is some substance made up into-balls. The descriptive label is destroyed, but it doubtless mentioned some kind of natron, such as *hosmen*<sup>13</sup> or *niṭer*<sup>14</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 66, with note 82, pp. 86 foll.

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Kahun Gards and Hawara*, p. 30<sup>b</sup>, Pl. VIII.

<sup>3</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 63 foll., pp. 87—90.

<sup>4</sup> Herodotus, ii, 86.

<sup>5</sup> For the statements in this paragraph see the writer's forthcoming art. in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, entitled "Osirian Lustrations."

<sup>6</sup> MÖLLER, *Die beiden Totenpapyri Rhind*, I, vi, lines 1—6; cf. *Book of the Dead* (Ed. Naville), ch. 1, lines 13 foll.

<sup>7</sup> See above, p. 117, note 5.

<sup>8</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, pp. 57 foll., pp. 61—65.

<sup>9</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 86 foll., Pl. V, 2; see also below, p. 124.

<sup>10</sup> GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *El-Bersheh*, Part I, p. 16<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*


<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*


<sup>13</sup> *Hsmn*, Copt. *gocm*.



<sup>14</sup> *Nṭr*, cf. Gk. *νίτρον*.


The natron held by Nēhri and Shemsunkha<sup>6</sup>wef was of course meant to be mixed with the lustration water in order to enhance its cleansing properties, natron (raw native carbonate of soda) being, as we know, regularly put to this use<sup>1</sup>.

In the second register behind Dḥuṯḥotpe the lector .....emḥēt is depicted reading from a roll. Part of the formula he is reciting is written in front of him:—"Unite for thee thy bones. What belongs to thee is complete<sup>2</sup>." This formula was regularly repeated at Osirian lustrations, i.e. at the sprinkling of the statue (or mummy) in the "Opening of the Mouth<sup>3</sup>," the sprinkling of the statue of a divinity in the daily temple service<sup>4</sup>, and at the (Osirianized) purification of the Pharaoh in the "House of the Morning<sup>5</sup>."

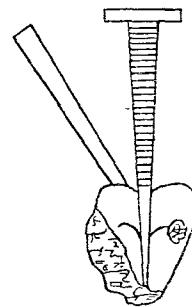
In the third register, immediately below this inscription, stands an attendant holding an object that bears a strong resemblance to the hieroglyph  (*smḥ*). Griffith and Newberry call it "a curious spoon-like instrument<sup>6</sup>."

Among the burial equipment—ornaments, clothes, insignia of office, furniture, household utensils, etc.—painted on the wooden coffins of the Herakleopolitan<sup>7</sup> period, are sometimes included two objects like the one produced in the adjoining cut. Their name is given as  (*by*)<sup>8</sup>, but they are also

labelled   "feet-washer of the king of Upper Egypt," "feet-washer of the king of Lower Egypt<sup>9</sup>." As the variant label shows the object called *by* is a long-necked can furnished with a spout and used for pouring water over the feet.

Clearly the "spoon-like instrument" in the El-Bersheh relief is an example of this curiously shaped can, with the spout broken away. The officiant who holds it is evidently waiting to pour water over Dḥuṯḥotpe's feet when the two lustrators with the -vessels have finished their task. Scholars did not know of the existence of this particular can when Professor Newberry copied the scenes in Dḥuṯḥotpe's tomb-chapel. He naturally, therefore, did not indicate what must have appeared to him as one out of many disfiguring breaks. Of course it is possible that the spout was omitted by the sculptor himself; for already at his time the can for feet-ablutions may have been an obsolete and unfamiliar object<sup>10</sup>.




This can is possibly also represented in a fragmentary relief from the sun-temple of Nuserre<sup>c</sup> (see cut on next page). In front of what was evidently a seated figure of that



Can for Feet-ablutions

(After LACAT, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. I, Pl. XXXIV, fig. 88.)

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's article PURIFICATION, PURITY (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, pp. 475, 477 foll., and 479.

<sup>2</sup> Restore   ; cf. SCHIAPARELLI, *Libro dei Funerali*, vol. I, pp. 31, 34; BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. I, p. 149; vol. II, p. 4.

<sup>3</sup> SCHIAPARELLI, BUDGE, *loc. cit.*

<sup>4</sup> MORET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 171 foll.

<sup>5</sup> KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI (1914), p. 8.

<sup>6</sup> GRIFFITH-NEWBERRY, *ibid.*

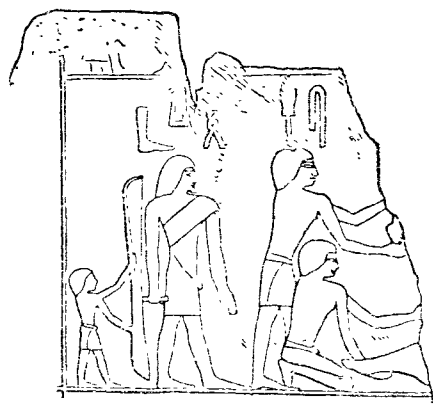
<sup>7</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. IV (1917), p. 204.

<sup>8</sup> LACAT, *Sarcophages antérieurs au Nouvel Empire*, vol. I, p. 99, nos. 27, 28.

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 112, nos. 37, 38.


<sup>10</sup> The representations on the coffins are highly conventionalised.











Pharaoh kneels an attendant who supports one of his majesty's feet (all that now remains of his portrait) with his right hand, while with his left he seems to be rubbing the royal

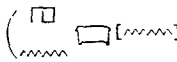



ankle. Beside the kneeling attendant stands a "courtier" (*smr*) holding a much damaged object, which is not altogether unlike the lower part of the feet-ablution can. His attitude suggests that he is pouring, or is about to pour, water over Nuserre's foot. The presence of a lector behind the "courtier" shows that this is a ceremonial washing, possibly part of the ablution that took place in the two sunken basins outside the vestry of Nuserre's sun-temple<sup>1</sup>.

According to Professors Schafer and Breasted<sup>2</sup>, this relief depicts not the washing, but the anointing, of the Pharaoh's feet, their view evidently being that the remains of the object in

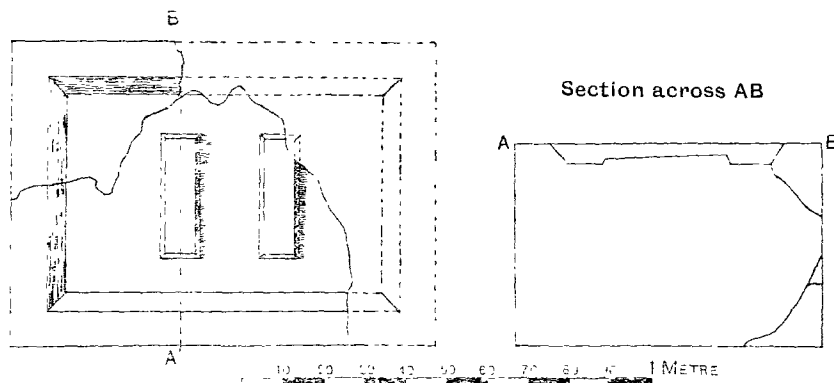
the "courtier's" hand is the base of a -shaped vase of ointment. My suggestion, however, is further supported by the fact that though we possess many representations of banqueters smelling unguent or with a dab of that substance on their heads<sup>3</sup>, there is no evidence to show that the Egyptians ever anointed their feet with it. In temple reliefs depicting the offering of unguent, the king is represented as holding up the vase or vases in front of the divinity<sup>4</sup> or as applying some of the contents to his (the divinity's) forehead or head<sup>5</sup>.

To return to the purification of the dead Dhuthotpe. Behind the officiant with the can for feet-ablutions is a man carrying a box, below which is written            

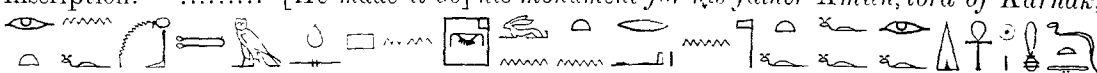
In the bottom left-hand register is a man with "a box of clean clothes" ().  
.


The second right-hand register is destroyed and so is the one below it, except for an insignificant fragment. In the fourth is an attendant carrying a box, the contents of which we do not know, owing to the mutilation of the explanatory inscription.

*Dhuthotpe*, it will be observed, is standing upon a low pedestal, probably of stone. The Egyptians performed both their secular and ceremonial ablutions in a shallow tank or bath<sup>1</sup>; but it was also customary for them, while purifying themselves, to stand or squat upon a stone pedestal. The late M. Legrain found in the temple at Karnak a rectangular block of alabaster intended to be put to this use by the "fathers of the god,"—the priests,



Purification-Pedestal from Karnak

as is well known, having to purify themselves before they officiated in a temple<sup>2</sup>. The block in question (see the adjoining cut) is just over a metre in length, about 75 cm. wide, and 50 cm. in height. The top is in the form of a shallow rectangular basin with sloping sides and with a margin of just under 10 cm. In the centre of the basin are two slightly slanting rests for the feet. On the front and back sides of the pedestal is the following inscription:—*".....<sup>3</sup> [He made it as] his monument for his father Amūn, lord of Karnak,*  
*making for him a purification-pedestal of alabaster of Hatnub for the use of the fathers of the God, that he may make 'an Endowed-with-Life-like-Re' for ever.'"*

In his tomb-chapel at Thebes there is a painting of the dead *Okheperkerēsonb* squatting on what is evidently an ablution-pedestal, its top being like that of the one found at Karnak, except that there appear to be no rests for the feet; see Pl. XIX reproduced from a photograph taken by Mr N. de G. Davies, who has kindly granted me permission to make use of it. Round about the deceased stand four pairs of officiants, each of whom pours water over him from a -vessel. These eight officiants are perhaps supposed to be


<sup>1</sup> See, e.g., BORCHARDT, *Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft*, no. 50 (1912), pp. 20 f.; LEGRAIN-NAVILLE, *L'Aile nord du pylone d'Aménophis III*, Pl. XI B.


<sup>2</sup> LEGRAIN, *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, vol. IV (1903), pp. 225 foll.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently there are traces here of a cartouche of Tuthmōsis III; LEGRAIN, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

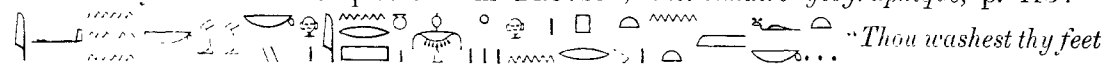
impersonating the four sons of Horus and the four sons of Mekhentirti<sup>1</sup>. According to Utterance 670 of the *Pyramid Texts*<sup>2</sup> the four sons of Horus washed Osiris, and Ch. 17 of the *Book of the Dead*<sup>3</sup> speaks of them and the four sons of Mekhentirti as guarding the corpse of Osiris in the "Place of Purification," i.e. the embalmer's workshop. In this connection we might note that Utterance 553 of the *Pyramid Texts*<sup>4</sup> states that the dead Osiris was purified as he rested on the lap of Mekhentirti.


Ch. 172 of the *Book of the Dead* informs us of what was supposed to be done for or by the deceased when he visited the Heliopolitan sun-temple. This account is doubtless based upon the procedure followed when the king entered that temple to officiate therein. In lines 39 foll. we read:—"Anubis wraps thee...which he hath made for him whom he hath favoured. He who is Great of Seeing, the cup-bearer (wdpw) of the great god, presents thee with his sd. Thou goest on thy way to cleanse thyself in the Excellent Pool. Thou makest offerings in the Upper Houses; thou contentest the lords of Heliopolis. Thou offerest the water of Rē<sup>c</sup> in a snbt-ewer, (and) two great vessels of milk. Thine oblation is laid upon the altar. Thou wasthest thy feet upon a block of...<sup>5</sup> upon the bank<sup>6</sup> of the Pool of the God. Thou comest forth to behold Rē<sup>c</sup> upon the Supports, the Upholders of Heaven, upon the head of Iwn-mutef<sup>7</sup>, upon the shoulders of Upwawet; he (Upwawet) opens for thee the way. Thou beholdest the horizon, the pure place wherein thou desirest (to be)."

The following passage occurs in the so-called "Ritual of Embalment":—

 "Thou goest upon a ground of silver, upon a floor of gold. Thou art washed upon a block of silver, upon a floor of gold. Thou art swathed upon a bench (or table) of turquoise<sup>8</sup>."

Finally we find this quotation in BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 413:—

 "Thou wasthest thy feet upon a block of silver, upon a basis of turquoise<sup>9</sup>."


<sup>1</sup> This and not Khentikheti seems to be the correct rendering of the name; see BLACKMAN, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 47 (1910), p. 121, where it is spelt ; see also GRAPOW, *Urkunden* v, p. 43.

<sup>2</sup> SEIHE, *Die altägyptischen Pyramidentexte* (hereafter quoted as *Pyr.*), § 1983.

<sup>3</sup> GRAPOW, *Urkunden*, v, p. 42 foll.; cf. JUNKER, *Die Stundenwachen in den Osirismysterien*, p. 4.

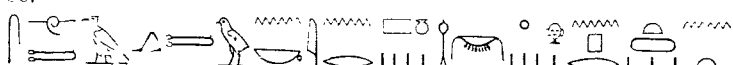
<sup>4</sup> *Pyr.*, § 1367 foll.

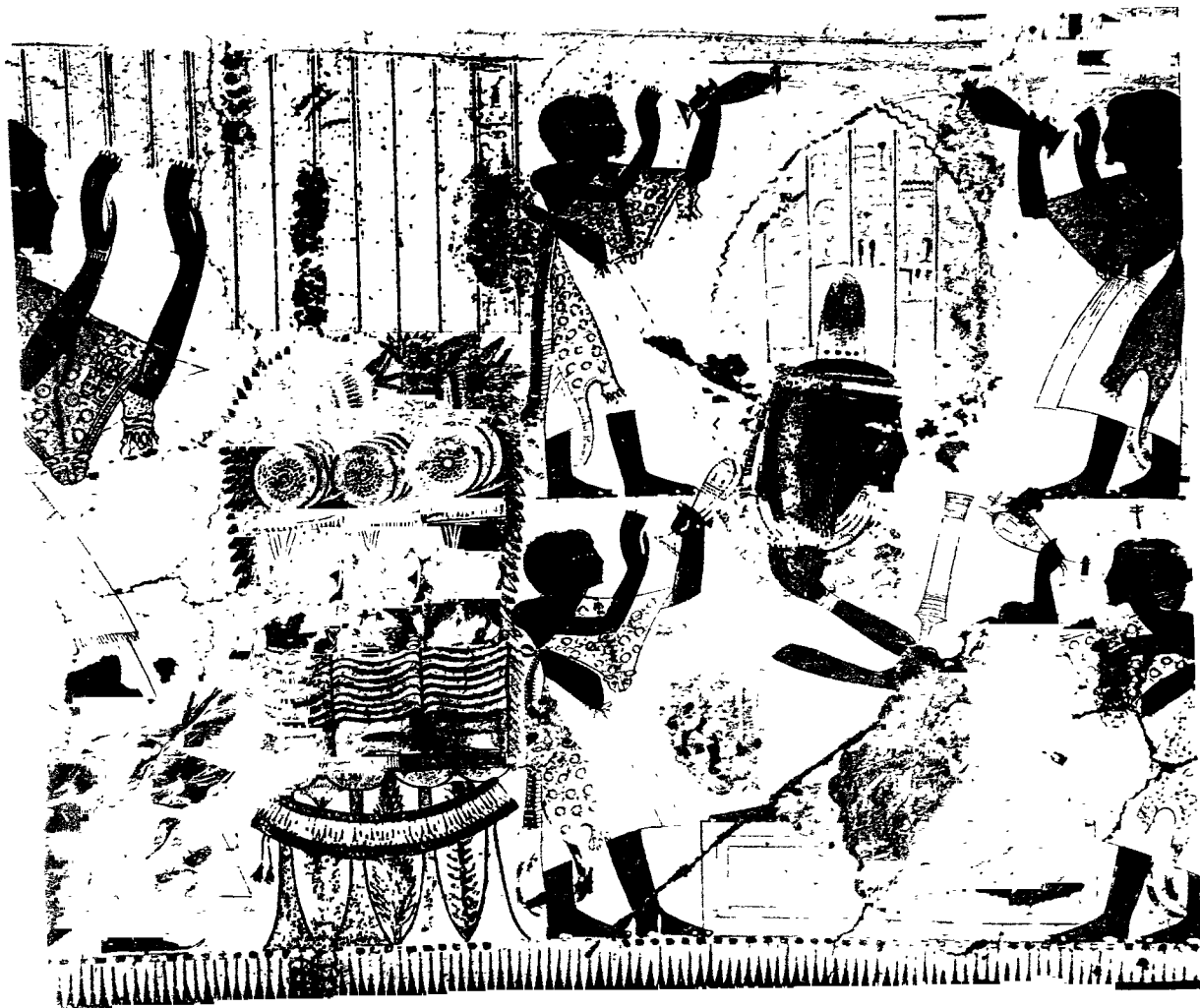
<sup>5</sup> Possibly, in view of the passage quoted by Brugsch and given below, "block of silver" should be read here.

<sup>6</sup>  seems to mean a raised piece of ground with a flat surface (see BRUGSCH, *Wörterbuch*, p. 753, and *Suppl.*, p. 666), hence "bank," "bench," "basis."

<sup>7</sup> This passage explains the name *Iwn-mutef* "Pillar of his Mother." The god was thus called because he was one of the supporters of Nut, the celestial cow-goddess; see ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, English translation, p. 8, fig. 6; MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. 1894, p. 169.

<sup>8</sup> MARIETTE, *Les papyrus égyptiens du musée de Boulaq*, vol. I, Pl. 14, l. 14 foll.; MASPERO, *Mémoires sur quelques papyrus du Louvre*, p. 50.

<sup>9</sup> Dr Gardiner refers me to  "There is brought to thee a block of silver upon a basis of turquoise"; LACAU, *Textes religieux*, Part I, no. XX, lines 61 foll.




SCENE FROM THE THEBAN TOMB-CHAPEL OF 'OKHEPERKERĒ'SONB



The scene in the tomb-chapel of Dhuthotpe furnishes us with some interesting particulars as to the procedure followed at the washing of a feudal lord's corpse in the Middle Kingdom. That this is the ceremony depicted is shown by the presence of the lector and by the formula written in front of him.

In the first place we learn that Dhuthotpe's three sons assisted at the washing of his body<sup>1</sup>, the second son being one of the two officiants who poured water over it. While the water was being poured out a lector recited a formula or formulae similar to those pronounced at the sprinkling of the mummy or statue in the ceremony of "Opening the Mouth<sup>2</sup>." Unfortunately the titles of the second lustrator and of the other officiants are not given, so that we do not know whether they were professional mortuary priests or merely ordinary members of Dhuthotpe's household<sup>3</sup>.

When the officiants with the -ewers had finished their work, the man with the can for washing the feet probably poured water over the feet of the corpse.

One would imagine that there was the figure of an officiant with burning incense in one of the two destroyed right-hand registers, for fumigation with incense was the regular sequel to both secular and ceremonial ablutions<sup>4</sup>.

The presence in the third left-hand register of the man with the "box of clean clothes" suggests that when the lustration was completed Dhuthotpe's body was attired in one or more garments,—unless by "clean clothes" are meant the bandages in which the body was swathed after it had been treated with unguents, gums, and spices.

The relief is partly a realistic, partly a symbolical representation of the washing of the corpse. It is realistic in that Dhuthotpe is being washed by human officiants and not by gods<sup>5</sup>. It is symbolic in that he is depicted as alive, clothed in a kilt, adorned with a bead-collar, and wearing a wig and tuft-beard,—whereas the corpse, both while soaking in the salt-bath, and at the subsequent lustration which is here depicted, would surely have been naked. The designer of the scene evidently had in mind the lustration which the dead were supposed to undergo at the hands of divinities before being received into heaven. Accordingly he represented him as standing upon an ablution-pedestal, like that mentioned in the passage quoted above (p. 122) from ch. 172 of the *Book of the Dead*. Of course the departed in their posthumous existence were visualized as alive. It is as a still living person, for example, not as a statue or corpse, that the deceased is represented partaking of the funerary banquet.

Partly symbolic representations of the washing of the dead, such as this<sup>6</sup>, and a wholly

<sup>1</sup> See p. 118.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 119, note 2.

<sup>3</sup> The four officiants who wash the dead Sennufer (temp. XVIIIth Dynasty) are a chief lector, two ordinary lectors, and a *sm*-priest: VIREY, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXII (1900), p. 91. The two lustrators of Renni are an embalmer (*wt*) and a treasurer of the god (TYLOR, *El-Kab: The Tomb of Renni*, Pl. XI). For the *sm* and treasurer of the god as funerary priests see the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, pp. 294<sup>b</sup>, 302<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> See the writer's art. PURIFICATION, PURITY (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. x, pp. 475<sup>b</sup>, 476<sup>a</sup>, 477<sup>a</sup>, 478<sup>a</sup>, 479.

<sup>5</sup> These officiants, however, are doubtless supposed to be impersonating gods; see the writer's forthcoming art. in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, entitled "Osirian Lustrations."


<sup>6</sup> In a somewhat similar scene, see VIREY, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXII (1900), p. 91. The scene of the purification of the deceased by two officiants that occurs in certain tombs of the Eighteenth Dynasty, that of Renni at El-Kab (see note 3 above), and those of Rekhmirê (VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmirê*, Pl. XX) and User (DAVIES, *Five Theban Tombs*, Pl. XXI, at Thebes, is possibly meant to be a more or less



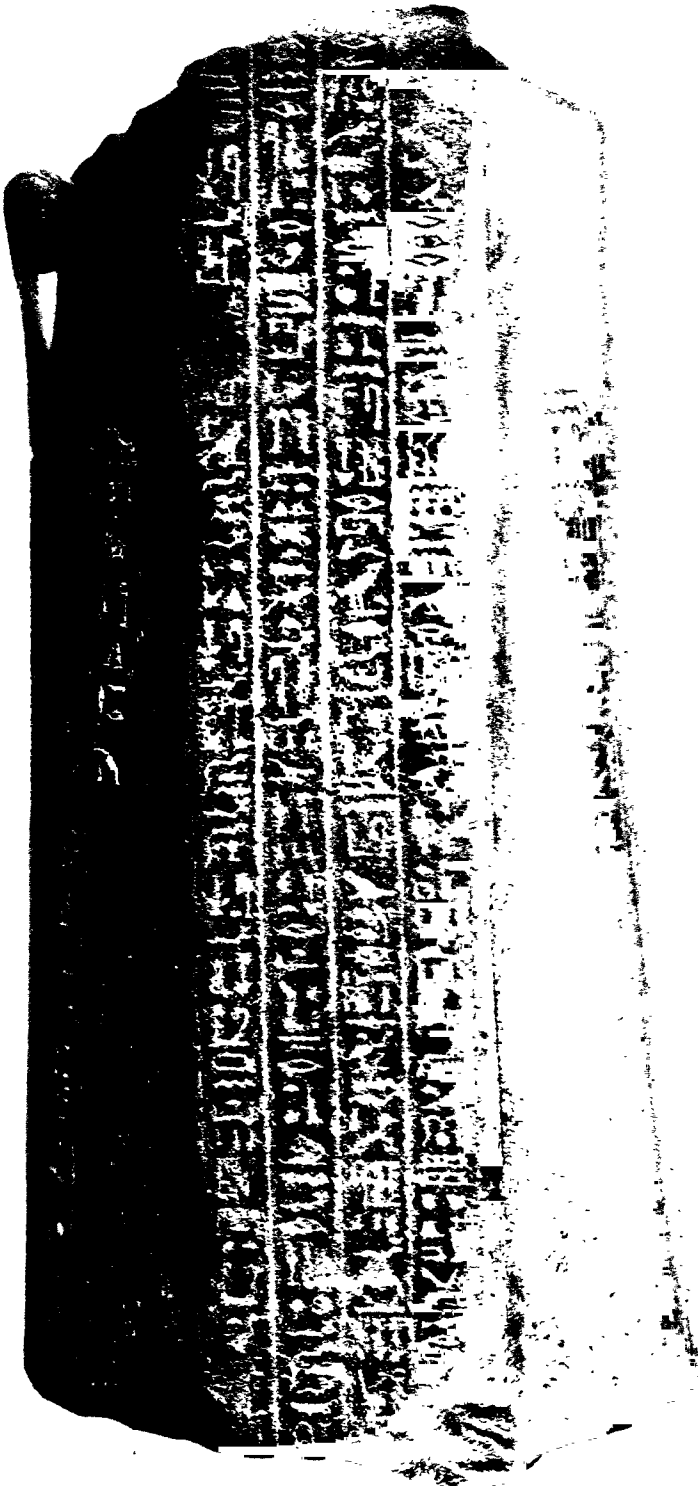
symbolic one like that in the tomb-chapel of Pennē at Anibeh<sup>1</sup>, resemble, as has already been remarked, the scene of the Pharaoh being purified in the "House of the Morning," and were possibly intentionally approximated to it. At purely ceremonial ablutions like those performed before officiating in a temple, the Pharaoh was doubtless only lightly sprinkled with water and not literally washed. He was therefore not obliged to take off his clothes, ornaments, and wig.

That representations of the lustration undergone by the dead should be approximated to those of the ceremonial sprinkling of the Pharaoh in the temple-vestry is only to be expected; for both ceremonies were supposed to imitate the same performance, *i.e.*, the sun-god's daily matutinal ablutions.

realistic representation of the lustration in the embalmer's workshop. The dead man is not standing up, as though he were alive, on an ablution-pedestal, but is placed in a squatting attitude on a large jar; see the writer's forthcoming art. "Osirian Lustrations" already referred to.

<sup>1</sup> Pennē, fully clothed, stands between Anubis and Thōth, who sprinkle him with the contents of two -ewers; LEPsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. III, Pl. 231 *b*. It must be borne in mind that this representation may not be so entirely symbolical as it appears to be. As has already been stated the lustrators of the dead not only impersonated divinities, but may also have worn masks: see above, p. 118.





5   +   3   2


C

LOWER PORTION OF A NAOPHOROUS STATUE  
 BELONGING TO PROFESSOR TOURAEFF (IV)

## THE NAOPHOUS STATUE BELONGING TO PROFESSOR TOURAEFF

BY BATTISCOMBE GUNN


IN Volume IV, pages 119 ff., of this *Journal*, Professor Boris Touraëff published photographs and translations of the main inscription on the lower part of an interesting naophorous statue in his collection. He has now sent the Editor hand-copies of the text of that inscription, and of the hitherto unpublished inscription running in six vertical lines on the support at the back of the statue, also a photograph of this latter (Plate XX). These documents, completing the material for this monument, have been handed to me by the Editor for publication.

Professor Touraëff's copies being in ordinary writing-ink and somewhat cursive in character, were hardly suitable for direct reproduction, and I have therefore copied them out, in the directions of the original texts (see Plate XXI<sup>1</sup>). Previously running over the copies with the photographs, I noticed one or two unimportant slips in the former, and also here and there a few doubtful points as to the reading of these rather roughly-cut signs. The palpable slips I have ventured to correct without comment; the dubious points are mentioned in notes on the Plate. I have also reversed in the lines B 2, 5, C 3, 4, the direction of the sign , as shown clearly by the photographs; had this reversal some magical reason?

Text C is thus described by Professor Touraëff: "Inscription on the support behind the statue. It contains the name and titles of the brother of the owner of this monument, who had made it 'to make his name live,' and the names and titles of his relatives. Among them are the Heliopolitan priestly titles *Imy-bḥwt-ḥ*, etc., with the names, common in this time, of *D-Ḥr*, *Wdḥ-Ḥr*."

The following is an attempt of my own—conditioned by great ignorance of the peculiarities of Late Hieroglyphic—at a translation of this passage<sup>2</sup>.

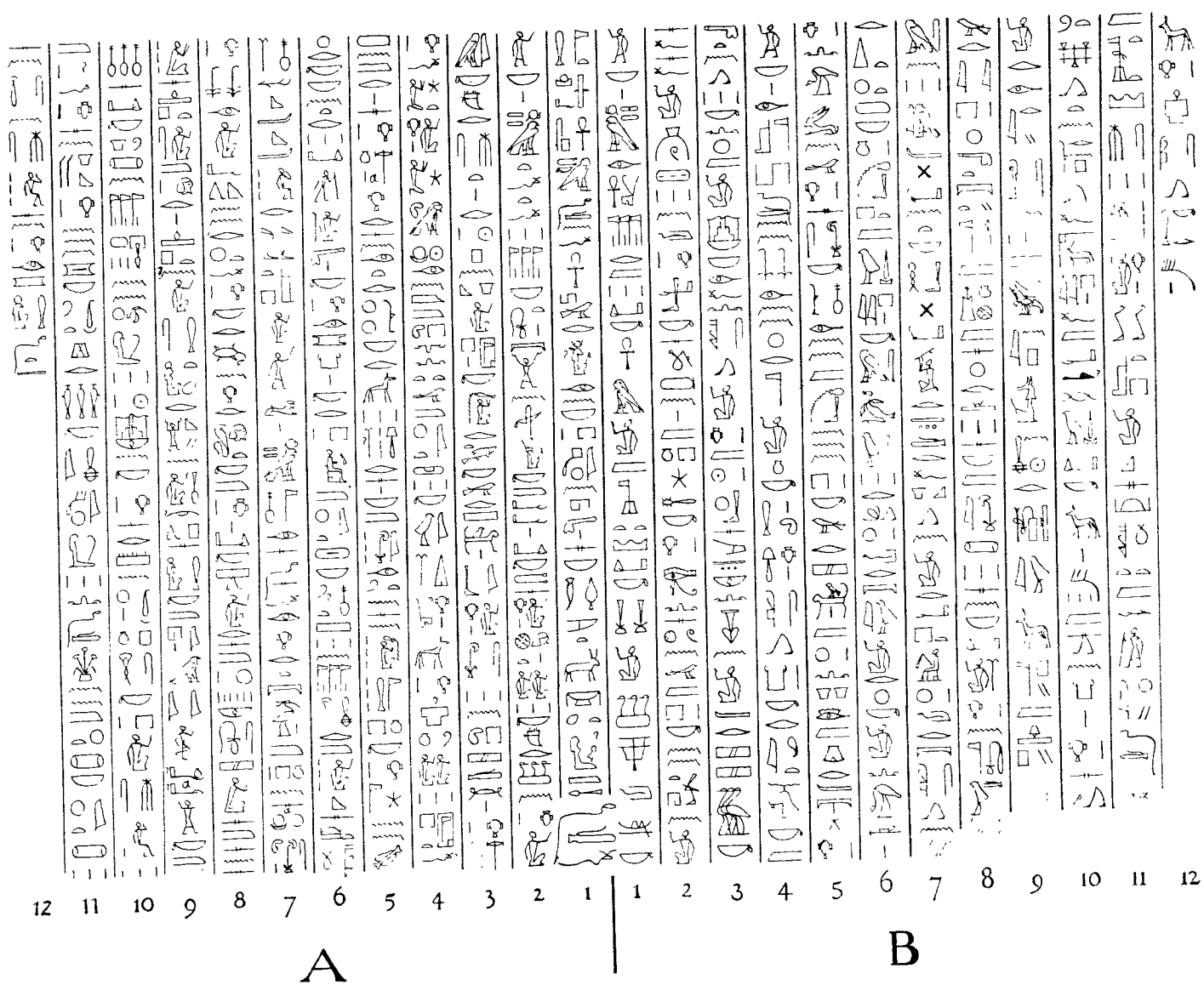
.....[not] *high*[-voiced] in the Holy Place, *Hōr*. It is (?) his brother who causes his name to live, the Prophet and *Imy-bḥwt-ḥ*, Master of the Secret in the Great Mansion, Master of the Secret in the Mansion of....., *Harwoz'e* [who is] called..... great in his nature of Great of Vision (name of the High Priest of Heliopolis).....

<sup>1</sup> Professor Touraëff's numbering of the lines has of course been respected, although it seems to me that the central line in the front of the statue (line A 1), ending in , is the joint beginning of the two texts on either side of it (A 2—12; B 1—12).

<sup>2</sup> Note that the bottom ends of lines 1 and 6 should come down lower than would appear from my copy.

*Great Priest.....in holy places, discreet*<sup>1</sup> (lit., 'whose belly conceals'), *Master of the Secret .....collected (?) of heart in time of distress, a good wall against which one may lean, who sits upon... .., a man of might.....whose goodness is widespread.....without going in and out, who loves Right, whose abomination is sin, happy of nature (w3d 'kd), good of character (nfr bît), who gives an order (tp-rd) in (due) place, so that he makes favour according to all that he says, the scribe..... His brother, the Father of the God and Imy-ç, Master of the Secret in the Great Mansion....., Harwoz'e, who is called Petosiris. His brother, the Father of the God, Wez'osiri who is called Teōs. His sister, Nefer..... The name of their mother is Tihatuūb, daughter of....., Prophet of Horus son of Isis in Heliopolis, Horus of Chemmis,....., Isis.....*

<sup>1</sup> "For this title and those following cf. my *Egyptian Collection of the Museum of Fine Arts at Moscow: The Statues of the Golénischeff Collection*, p. 54 (N 4152), and my article *Die Naophore Statue N 97 im Vatikan in Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XLVI (1909), pp. 74-7, line 1 of the inscription on the support behind the statue."—Prof. Touraëff's note to his copy of the text.



## NOTES

A5a 'read 0.

A7a Perhaps —.

A9a 'read

B1a. One or more signs lost

C1a 'read 6.

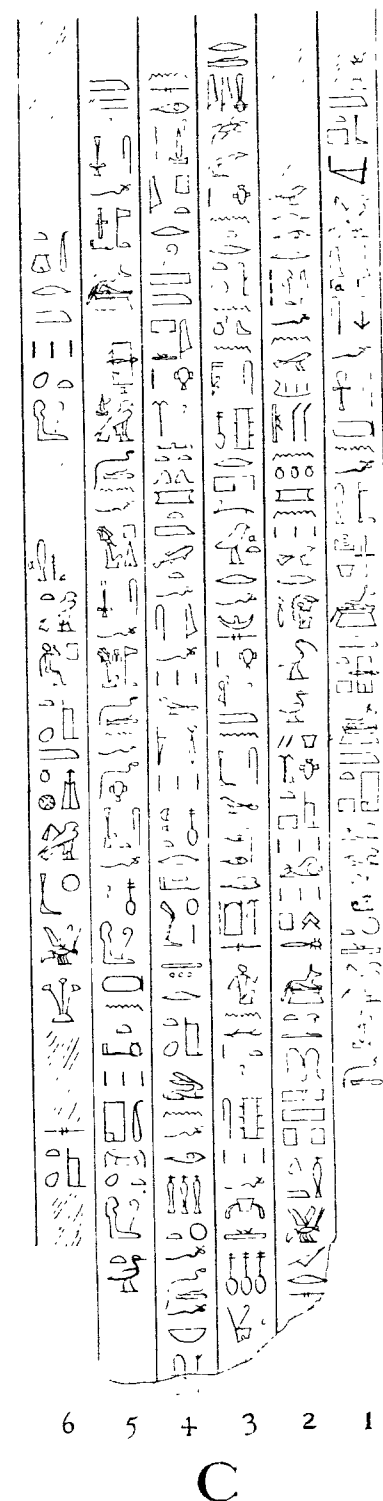
C12 T gives 1

C3a T omits 0

C4a T has 9.

C5a T omits 0.

C6a. T simply 8

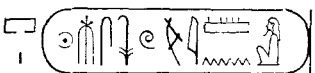


Inscriptions on the Naophorous Statue belonging to Professor Touraëff



## THE DELTA RESIDENCE OF THE RAMESSIDES

By ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

THE texts of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Dynasties make constant reference to a town named  Pi-Raḥmesse-mi-Amūn, "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*," which, from the frequency of the Egyptian king's presence there as well as from other indications, has to be recognized as the royal Residence in the Delta throughout that period. It would have been strange if the early Egyptologists, always on the alert to catch at any straw of evidence bearing upon the problems of the Exodus, had failed to identify this town with the store-city of Raamses built for Pharaoh, together with Pithom, by the oppressed and enslaved Israelites (Exod. i, 11). In point of fact the temptation proved too strong; and the consequent fusion into one of the two possibly distinct places denoted respectively by the Hebrew and Egyptian names has ever since gravely complicated the topographical and historical questions arising with regard to each. Quite apart from the question as to whether the identification is correct, it was unjustifiable, from the standpoint of right method, to start with such an assumption: so far as the *data* permitted, the position of the two towns ought to have been determined separately; the results thus obtained might then have been combined, if it still seemed likely that Pi-Raḥmesse and Raamses were identical. The adoption of a different course has involved the entire subject in such obscurity and diversity of opinion that we must now perforce retrace our steps and traverse the old ground anew from the very beginning.


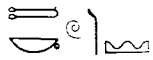
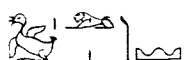
We must enumerate and discuss one by one, no matter how tedious the process may be, every single passage relating to Pi-Raḥmesse that can be ferreted out of the Egyptian inscriptions and papyri. The result of this arduous but necessary operation will be to lead us back to the almost forgotten view of Chabas, according to which Pi-Raḥmesse was situated at Pelusium or at all events somewhere in the region of that city<sup>1</sup>. In conclusion, we shall be entitled to reconsider quite briefly whether a case can any longer be made out for the identity of the Delta Residence of the Ramessides with the store-city of Raamses mentioned in the Bible.

To convey some idea of the views previously held upon this twofold problem a number of recent expressions of opinion have been collected in a footnote<sup>2</sup>. Most of them go back ulti-

<sup>1</sup> This view was expressed by Chabas first of all quite tentatively in *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, deuxième série (1864), pp. 108—164, then repeated more briefly but less uncritically in his later work *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique* (1873), pp. 221—2. See too ID., *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de la XIX<sup>me</sup> Dynastie*, pp. 138 foll.

<sup>2</sup> See below p. 129, footnote 1.



mately to one or other of the rival theories of Brugsch and Lepsius respecting the route of the Exodus. The theory of Brugsch has, as a whole, fallen upon evil days: living scholars do not favour the view that the narrow reed-covered strip of land between the Sirbonian Lake and the Mediterranean can have been the scene of the crossing of the Israelites, and the sites assigned by Brugsch to Pithom (Eg.  Pi-tūm) and Succoth (presumed to be Eg.  Theku) are now definitely proved to have been far north of their true positions<sup>1</sup>. Nevertheless, many traces still survive of Brugsch's view that Raamses or Pi-Ra<sup>3</sup>messe was none other than Tanis itself, the often mentioned fortress of  Thel and the Hyksos stronghold of Avaris being, in the same scholar's opinion, yet further names of the same town<sup>2</sup>. The hypothesis advanced by Lepsius<sup>3</sup> was much more sober. For him the route of the Israelites lay along the Wādī Tūmilāt, the narrow valley, over thirty miles long, connecting Egypt with Lake Timsāḥ. Lepsius had firmly grasped the fact that the land of Goshen where the Egyptians sojourned was the region immediately to the west of this wādī, at the mouth of which, near Tell Abu Suleimān, he inclined to place Pithom, while Raamses, he considered, might be identical with the extensive mounds of Tell el-Maskhūteh towards its eastern end. The excavations of Professor Naville<sup>4</sup> for the Egypt Exploration Fund (1883) finally settled the question of Pithom, which was found to be the ancient name of Tell el-Maskhūteh; and inscriptions found on the same site made it clear that Theku, the supposed prototype of Succoth, was either an alternative name of the town of Pithom or else was situated in its near neighbourhood. Since, however, Succoth was the first halting-place of the Israelites after quitting Raamses (here written Rameses, Exod. xii, 37), it now became apparent that Raamses had to be sought nearer the entrance to the Wādī Tūmilāt. When, accordingly, Professor Petrie unearthed, in 1905-6, some considerable Ramesside remains at Tell er-Retābeh, or Tell Rotāb<sup>5</sup>, nine or ten miles west of Pithom, most scholars readily acquiesced in his claim to have discovered

<sup>1</sup> See the map accompanying the brochure entitled *L'Exode et les Monuments Égyptiens*, Leipzig, 1875. At an earlier date Brugsch's views on the position of all these Biblical sites were much more in accordance with those of Lepsius, see *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* (1857), vol. I, pp. 260 foll., where the relevant evidence is collected and discussed at length. The theory here envisaged was adversely criticized by Maspero in *Revue Archéologique*, nouvelle série, vol. xxxiv (1877), pp. 323-4, but without bringing conviction to its author, who reiterated his opinions with emphasis in various articles of his *Dictionnaire Géographique*, particularly *s. c. Éth.*, pp. 890-919.

<sup>2</sup> Reluctant as I am to disparage the work of a great scholar who has contributed more greatly to the progress of Egyptology than almost any of the successors of Champollion, yet it seems necessary to utter a word of warning with regard to Brugsch's geographical writings. Owing to his inveterate habit of changing his opinion without calling the reader's attention to the fact, as well as to his practice of expressing his conjectures in an absolutely dogmatic form, often without references, the *Dictionnaire Géographique* is one of the most misleading and confusing of books, only to be consulted in the most sceptical and critical spirit.

<sup>3</sup> *Über die Lage von Pithom (Sukkoth) und Raamses (Hierakonpolis) in Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. xxi 1883, pp. 41-53.

<sup>4</sup> See E. NAVILLE, *The Story-city of Pithom* (E. E. F. memoir), 4th edition, 1903.

<sup>5</sup> PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, pp. 28-34, gives a full account of these excavations. Here the name is written Tell er Retābeh; in his later work *Egypt and Israel* (1911), p. 33, Professor Petrie returns to the form Tell Rotāb used by Professor Naville at an earlier date, see NAVILLE, *Goshen*, pp. 24-5. The spelling Tell er-Retābeh that I have adopted is derived from DRIVER, *Exodus*, p. 5, footnote.

the real position of Raamses, in spite of the fact that this claim was uncorroborated by any inscriptional testimony whatsoever. If now the question of Raamses appeared settled, a doubt still remained as to Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe, the Ramesside city of Residence, since it was felt that in its case the evidence of Brugsch in favour of Tanis had not been completely disposed of, and since, furthermore, it had come to be recognized that there were certainly several different towns in Egypt that owed their names to the Pharaoh Ramesses. Thus, as a final result, the bulk of present opinion tends towards the view that the Biblical Raamses is to be localized at Tell Roṭāb, while, as regards Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe, some continue to identify this with Tanis, others assimilate it to Raamses and Tell Roṭāb, and others again leave the question open<sup>1</sup>.

## I.

Our first step must be to eliminate from the discussion certain localities which, while they derive their name from one of the Pharaohs called Ramesses, yet cannot claim to be either the Residence-city or yet the Raamses of the Bible.

A. As M. Daressy pointed out to me some years ago, there still exists in the Delta a village named رمسيس, Ramsis. Boinet Bey<sup>2</sup> describes it as numbering 834 inhabitants, or 1256 if its nine dependences are taken into account. It is situated quite close to Naucratis, at one hour and ten minutes' distance on foot from Etay el-Barūd in the province of Beheireh. Mr Griffith visited it in 1885, and wrote about it as follows<sup>3</sup>:—".....an insignificant village, on level ground. A bank at the north end, twenty feet long by five broad, though showing nothing but late red brick, has been more extensive, and may, on the strength of the name, mark the site of a small chateau of Rameses."

<sup>1</sup> "Somewhere in the eastern Delta he (Ramesses II) founded a residence city, Per-Raamses or 'House of Ramses.' Its location is not certain, although it has often been thought to be identical with Tanis," BREASTED, *History of Egypt*, pp. 442-3. "The 'Treasure City Raamses' is, then, almost beyond doubt, none other than Tanis, or Pa-Rāmessu," BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, vol. v, p. 125. ".....la ville de Ramsès, qui est à Tell Retabeh, au milieu du Ouady Toumilat," DARESSY, in *Annales du Service*, vol. xvii, p. 128. ".....Pithom and Raamses (of which the latter certainly cannot be earlier than the reign of Rameses II, since it is 'Per-Rameses,' the royal burgh at Tanis)," HALL, *Ancient History of the Near East*, p. 405. ".....von Tell er Retabeh, einem in der Mitte des Wadis liegenden Ruinenhügel, den die Ausgrabungen Petries als die Überreste der Stadt Ramses erwiesen haben," KUTTMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, p. 34. MAX MÜLLER, art. *Rameses* in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, located the Raamses of the Bible in eastern Goshen, possibly at Tell Abu Suleimân (the article was written before Petrie's excavations at Tell Roṭāb), but admits that there were several cities of the name; elsewhere (see below § III, under no. 4) he alludes to a Per-Rameses at Pelusium. ROEDER, art. *Ramses*, in PAULY-KROLL-WITTE, *Realencyclopædie*, 2te. Reihe, col. 225, holds the old identification with Tanis to be certainly wrong, and quotes as possible alternatives Naville's localization of the town at Fakhûs, and that of Petrie at Tell er-Retābeh. "At least two places of the name existed in the Delta. One of them seems to have been near Zoan, the other is mentioned in the great papyrus of Ramses III who calls it Pi-Raamses-Meri-Amon, the house of Ramses II. As it is named in the papyrus between Pi-Bailos and Athribis, the present Benha, it could not have been far distant from Goshen. This agrees with the statement of Exodus xiii, 37 (*sc.*) that when the Israelites fled from Egypt they started from Raamses," SAYCE, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 8th ed. (1915), p. 239. ".....sa célèbre ville de Pa-Ramsès dans le Toumilat," R. WEILL, *Recueil des Inscriptions Égyptiennes du Sinaï*, p. 6.

<sup>2</sup> A. BOINET BEY, *Dictionnaire Géographique de l'Égypte*, Cairo, 1899, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> *Naucratis*, vol. II, p. 79.



*Peutingeriana* and alluded to by Strabo, leaving the Nile somewhere near the modern Barrage and corresponding roughly to the modern Khatatbieh and Nubarieh canals ending at Alexandria; in this case D would have necessarily to be distinguished from A. This solution does not help matters much, for though such a canal might certainly be called "*the Western Waters*" it could scarcely be called "*the Western River*," the Pelusiatic and Canopic branches being always regarded in Graeco-Roman times as the two extremes; so that the *datum* of the Golénischeff Glossary is not accounted for. The easiest way out of the tangle would, as Professor Grenfell agrees in thinking, be to regard "*the Western River*" and "*the Western Waters*" as alternative names for the lower part of the Μέγας Ποταμός, which is identical with the Canopic arm<sup>1</sup>. On this hypothesis A, B, C and D will all refer to the same town.

E. To Ramesses II belongs a series of large commemorative scarabs that served a kindred purpose to our modern commemorative medals. One of these is published by Professor Petrie<sup>2</sup>, and has reference to a "*House-of-Ptah-of-Ramesses*," presumably built or restored by that Pharaoh; this does not concern us further. The two others, in the Aberdeen Museum and Carnarvon collection respectively, are both of interest to us in the present connection. The Carnarvon example (Fig. 1), of pottery glazed with a thin green glaze and measuring 82 × 55 × 15 mm., commemorates a temple called "*The Castle-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Beloved-like-Tūm on the Western Waters*." The words "*Western Waters*" are misspelt or, at all events, rather peculiarly spelt, as is not unusual in this class of object. There can be little doubt but that the same temple is meant as was discussed above under D, although the term *ḥṣt*, "The Castle," is here substituted for *pr*, "House"; this variation even helps the view above put forward, as it mediates between D and B—C. It seems probable, therefore, that E must be combined with A, B, C, D as referring to one and the same place.

F. A temple of Amūn in Phoenicia or Palestine, which bears a name resembling the Hat-Raḥmesse of B and C, is mentioned in the *Harris* papyrus, where it is thus described (9, 1): "*I have built for thee a mysterious castle (ḥṣt) in the land of Zahi, like the horizon of*

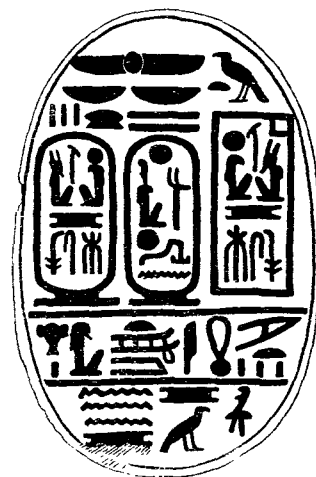




Fig. 1


<sup>1</sup> The most probable view of the course of this Nile-arm, according to Professor Grenfell, is that it flowed north probably as far as about Negwileh, then turned in a more westerly direction past Naucratis, and then taking somewhat the same course as the modern railway, flowed alongside Damanhūr and debouched at Canopus. The Rosetta arm at the present day takes a much more easterly course from Negwileh northwards. For literature on the subject see PETRIE, *Naucratis*, vol. I, ch. IX, with Plate XXXIX (this reproduces part of the *Tubula Peutingeriana*); HOGARTH, in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. XXIV, pp. 1 foll.; DARESSY in *Revue Archéologique*, 3rd series, vol. XXV. Also GRIFFITH, *Naucratis*, vol. II, pp. 83-4. As regards the "Western River," its lower courses appear from the great geographical text of Edfu (BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1369) to have run through the VIIth Lower Egyptian nome, usually identified with that of Metelis. "Wine of the Western River" is named on a hieroglyphic jar-sealing, PETRIE, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. III, no. 23.

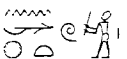

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Scarabs*, Pl. XL, no. 2. A fourth example of the same series is possibly also the fragmentary scarab Cairo 37396 = NEWBERRY, *Scarab-shaped Seals*, Pl. XVII.



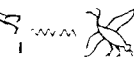
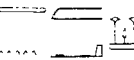
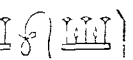
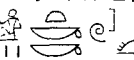
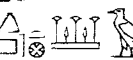

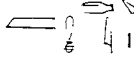
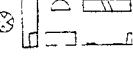
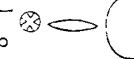
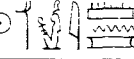
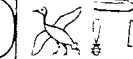



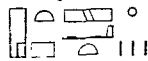




*of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-in-the-House-of-Rē*<sup>1</sup>." The town itself seems to have derived its name from the temple, since in the tomb of Pennē at Anībeh certain lands with which a statue of Ramesses VI set up by Pennē in the temple of Anībeh was endowed extended northwards from   "The town of *Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-in-the-House-of-Rē* opposite *The-House-of-the-Sun*<sup>2</sup>." I fail to understand the meaning of the last phrase.

M. Under this letter reference will be made to one or two foundations of Ramesses III which might easily be supposed to refer to towns built by Ramesses II; it was a not uncommon habit, as we shall see, for later kings to substitute their own cartouche for that of the original founder in place-names compounded with a royal name. (a) In the *Harris Papyrus* (8, 13) we read: "I have made for thee (i.e. for Amūn) a noble house in Ta'-Sti (i.e. Lower Nubia), engraved with thy noble name like the heavens 

 House-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis-Great-of-Victories, established with thy name to all eternity." The name of this foundation is identical with the name of the Delta city of Residence in the form which it takes in the *Harris Papyrus* (see below § III, nos. 26, 27). But there is no evidence that a town of the same name surrounded this temple, which moreover is at some unidentified spot in Lower Nubia; nor is there any evidence that the cartouche of Ramesses III here takes the place of that of Ramesses II. (b) A real town of Ramesses III did, however, exist somewhere in the desert west of Egypt, but cannot be connected with any town of Ramesses II known to us. This town is mentioned on three separate occasions on the walls of the temple of Medīnet Habu. The least damaged reference to it is on the inner side of the south wing of the First Pylon, where the king is seen hurling himself against the Libyan enemy. The legend runs:—

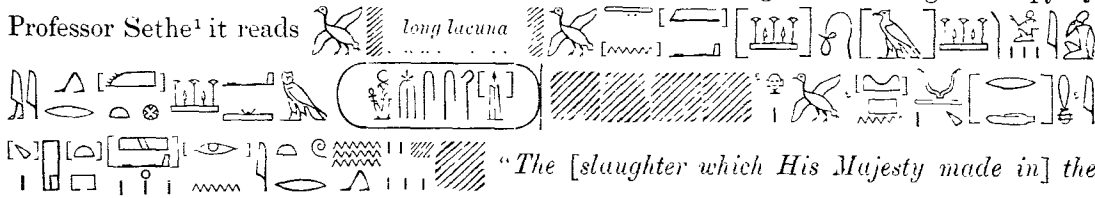
                "The sl[laughter which his Majesty made among the enemies of the land of Mashwash who had invaded] Egypt from the town of Ha't-shōc (i.e. "Castle-of-Sand") to the town of Usimarē-mi-Amūn, which is by the mountain of Up-to' (i.e. "Beginning-of-Land"), making 8 itṛ (a land-measure of undetermined length) of massacre among them<sup>3</sup>." On the exterior north wall, near the First Pylon, is another representation of the same event: Ramesses III, in his chariot, dashes forward against the enemy, while the Egyptians shoot at them from two fortresses, one of which bears the name 

<sup>1</sup> See BLACKMAN, *Temple of Derr*, pp. 2 and 113-4. In the last-mentioned form of the name we must probably read *hṣt-utr pr-Rḥmsw*, not simply *hṣt-utr Rḥmsw* as Dr Blackman's translations seem to imply. *Pr-Rḥmsw* is in that case probably in apposition to *hṣt-utr*, which would otherwise be preceded by the definite article; for this grammatical rule, of which *dmi Hṣt-šc* and *dmi Wsmirē-mi-Ima* below under M. b. are striking exemplifications, see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. L (1912), p. 55, note (n).

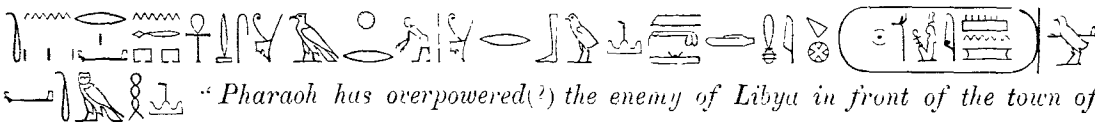
<sup>2</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 229, c. ll. 1-2.



<sup>3</sup> Published by BRUGSCH, *Ägyptologie*, p. 472 and again by DARESSY, *Annales du Service*, vol. XVI, p. 240. I quote from a copy by Professor Sethe controlled by photograph no. 476 of the Berlin Academy's *Darstellungen der Fremdvölker*.

*Ḥa't-shōc*, "Castle-of-Sand." The legend above is much damaged; according to a copy by Professor Sethe<sup>1</sup> it reads



"The [slaughter which His Majesty made in] the land [of] the Mashwash who came to Egypt, from [the city of] Raçmesse-Prince-of-Heliopolis, [which is] by the mountain of Up-to', [to the tow]n(?) *Ḥa't-shōc*, making eig[ht] itr." This legend is interesting as giving to the town of Ramesses III his *nomen* instead of his *pre-nomen*, and also for the means it provides of restoring the text previously quoted. The same town appears to be named in some hieroglyphs which, according to M. Daressy<sup>2</sup>, stand upon a fort in front of which Ramesses III is haranguing his troops (North wall, third scene):



"Pharaoh has overpowered(?) the enemy of Libya in front of the town of *Usimarē-mi-Amūn-massacring-the-Tenhu*." M. Daressy provides evidence that *Ḥa't-shōc* here is identical with a place written  *H3t-n-š* and having a god  "Min-lord-of-Sand<sup>3</sup>," which is found in a curious text turning on temple ritual and naming many places in the north-west corner of the Delta: though this fact is clear to him, and though he bases other valuable conjectures upon it, he takes the curious point of view that *Ḥa't-shōc* is to be sought in the Oasis of Siweh. Surely it is more natural to suppose that it lies a short way out in the desert near Lake Mareotis. The term Up-to', "Beginning-of-Earth," is usually applied to the extreme south of Ethiopia, but at least one other instance of its use in connection with the north-western country can be quoted<sup>4</sup>.

To sum up the results of this section, we see that, quite apart from the Delta Capital of Pi-Raçmesse, there existed in or near Egypt at least two or three towns that derived their names from that of Ramesses II; there was another town, also, on the fringe of the Libyan desert, which was called after Ramesses III. In Graeco-Roman times we meet with a similar phenomenon; scattered over the ancient world there were various places that bore the names of Alexandria, Ptolemais, and Caesarea.

## II.

At last we may turn to the Residence-city itself. Since its name appears in several different forms, our first task must be to discuss the more certain of these. The town was called after Ramesses II, who is probably to be regarded as its actual founder; consequently his characteristic epithet *mry 'Inn* "Beloved-of-Amūn" (pronounced in Greek times

<sup>1</sup> Controlled by photograph no. 469 of the series named in the last note.


<sup>2</sup> *loc. cit.*

<sup>3</sup> A god "Min-Rēc...in *Ḥa't-shōc*" is mentioned on a Roman stele, PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. XX.


<sup>4</sup> Sometimes translated "Horns of the Earth." See SETHE, *Urkunden* IV, 55. 133; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 81, c, where the extreme southern boundary is meant. This is not referred to as a mountain; "the mountain of Up-to'" is, however, mentioned in connection with the Libyan victory of Menephtah on the Athribis stele published *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXI (1883), p. 66.




Μαμοῦν) appears in nearly all writings of the name, being placed within the cartouche. The only exceptions are a trio of instances (below nos. 24, 26, 27) where Ramesses III has substituted his own particular predicate *ḥkꜣ Twꜣw* "Ruler-of-Heliopolis," thus arrogating to himself in true Egyptian fashion, the credit of founding the city<sup>1</sup>; and, further, a late example (below no. 39) where the exact attribution was either forgotten or else deemed un-

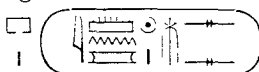
essential. The permanent nucleus of the name is thus  *Pr-Rꜥmssw-*

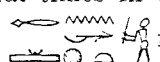
*mry-'Imn*, "House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn," probably pronounced in late times Pi-Raꜥmesse-mi-Amūn. It is unnecessary to enter into details as to the purely graphic variations of this nucleus. Nor need more than a passing mention be made of the fact that

the usual honorific abbreviations  "living, prospering, in health" are as a rule appended

to the cartouche, especially in hieratic. The signs  "given life" replace them on one occasion (below no. 5).

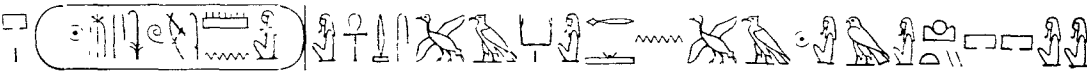
Much more important than these minutiae are two epithets frequently, though by no means always (*e.g.* nos. 4, 7, 8, 9), added to the cartouche and its adjuncts; these, according to the habit of Egyptian names, express the precise aspect in which the king appeared in the particular locality that they designate, and are the real distinguishing mark by which that locality could be differentiated from others owing their names to the same king. The

original name of the city, in its complete form, was  *Pr-*

*Rꜥmssw-mry-'Imn-ḥ-nḥw*, "House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Great-of-Victories," and the boastful addition here made to the royal *nomen* conveys a significant hint as to the position of the city near the military road to Asia. The epithet "Great-of-Victories," which, it may be remarked, is a regular constituent of the Horus-of-Gold name of Ramesses II, and also appears as a constituent in other place-names<sup>2</sup>, occurs several times in the inscriptions of the reign of that monarch himself (below nos. 1, 3, 6; variant  no. 17),

nor did it quite pass out of remembrance after his death (below nos. 26, 27). In one or two places (see the next paragraph, *ad finem*) this epithet stands alone, unaccompanied by the words Pi-Raꜥmesse-mi-Amūn, as the name of the Residence-city.

The just reflexion that, after the death of Ramesses II, the epithet "Great-of-Victories" could be legitimately claimed only by a possibly jealous successor led to its replacement by a new honorific predicate. From this time forth, the town was known in full as

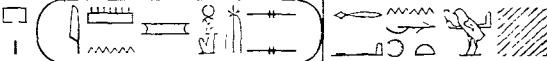


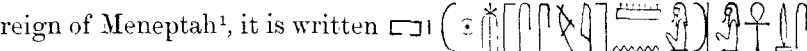
"House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-(living, prospering, in health)-the-Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon." In a few rare cases P-rēꜥ, "the-Sun," alone stands in place of P-rēꜥ-Harakhte, "the-Sun-Horns-of-the-Horizon" (below nos. 12, 13). In either form the underlying thought was that the Pharaoh Ramesses, the founder of the Residence-city, had

<sup>1</sup> In just the same way the fortress of "Buto-of-Sethos" was called "Buto-of-Sese" under Ramesses II, see GARDINER, *Hieratic Texts*, vol. I, p. 29\*, note 6.

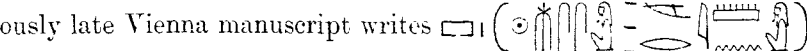
<sup>2</sup> In the Karnak reliefs depicting Sethos I's return from Asia there is depicted (LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 126, b) a watering-station called *ḥꜣmt Mn-mꜥt-Rꜥ ḥ-nḥw* "The well-of-Sethos(-I)-Great-of-Victories"; this must be far too near Raphia to have anything to do with the town of Pi-Raꜥmesse. See too the town of Ramesses III in Nubia discussed above, p. 134, under M (a).

at length "flown to heaven and become merged with" the sun-god his creator, henceforth manifesting himself to mankind in the guise of the great soul or spirit or essence of the solar deity. There are only two passages in which a reasonable doubt could be entertained as to whether Ramesses II was really dead at the time when the new predicate was applied to him in connection with the name of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe. One is a stele discovered by Mariette at Abydos (below no. 9), but it is quite justifiable to conjecture that the Vizier Raḥotpe, its owner, lived on and continued to hold office in the next reign. The other is a passage on the *verso* of *Pap. Sallier IV*, a discussion of which will be found below under no. 12. The positive proof that "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-the-Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon*" refers to the same place as "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Great-of-Victories*" is afforded by two texts, each of which exists in an earlier and a later transcript. The so-called "Poem of Pentaur," after its long and flowery account of the battle between Ramesses II and the Hittites, describes how in the end Ramesses returned to Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe (below no. 3); in the almost contemporary monumental version at Karnak (l. 72) the name

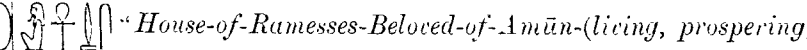
of the town is given as  "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Great-of-Victories*," whereas in the papyrus *Sallier III*, from the hand of the


scribe Pentowēre in the reign of Menepthah<sup>1</sup>, it is written  "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-*

*of-Amūn-(living, prospering, in health)-the-Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon*." Again, in a lyrical eulogy of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe that will be translated *in extenso* further on


(below no. 15), the obviously late Vienna manuscript writes  "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-*


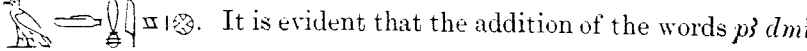
*Amūn-the-Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon*"; it is true that *Pap. Anastasi III*, an earlier though not contemporary copy, writes in the corresponding passage (1, 12) only

 "*House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-(living, prospering,*
















*in health)*," but the differentiating epithet  "*Great-of-Victories*" occurs three times lower down (2, 8; 3, 2. 5) as an abbreviated name of the city, leaving no doubt as to what Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe is meant at the beginning of the eulogy.


















There are to be found a certain number of references to a town of Ramesses II, where the name is not written in any of the above characteristic ways, and where, owing to the obscurity of the context, there remains a certain degree of doubt whether some place different from the Residence-city may not be meant. At the present stage it is impossible to discuss these references, which will be dealt with at the end of the next section of this article. In order, however, to give some sort of completeness to the paragraphs devoted to the name of the town, the more dubious writings in question are collected here. In the























first place there are a couple of examples in which the prefixed word  "*House*" or its

equivalent is omitted: no. 2  and no. 34 . It is evident that the addition of the words *p3 dmi*

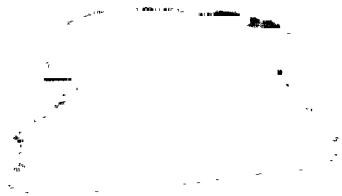
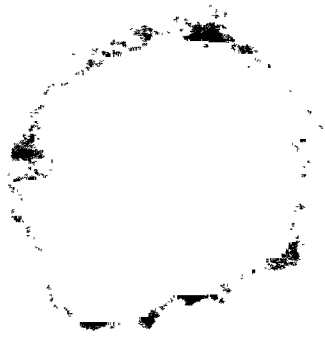
<sup>1</sup> MÖLLER, *Hieratische Paläographie*, vol. II, pp. 11—12.

"the town" is in both these cases the cause why  *pr* is omitted; none the less, its omission provides,—at least in the example where the king's *nomen* is used (no. 2)—a very good parallel to the Biblical place-name **רַעַמְסֵס**, **רַעַמְסֵס**, Septuagint **Ραμεσ(σ)η**, Sahidic **ϣραμεσση** (Numb. xxxiii, 3, 5), Boheiric **ραμεσση** (Ex. i, 12), **ραμασση** (Ex. xii, 37), where there is no trace of  *pr*. Turning back to the last section, we shall see that the town of Ramesses III in Libya (above p. 134, under M[b]) was written both with the *prenomen* and without the prefixed word *pr*. The writing of the name of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe in the Delta with the *prenomen* of Ramesses II has already been instanced in the case of no. 34; to this must now be added nos. 32, 33, where the regular prefix  *pr* precedes the *prenomen*. A quite problematic writing of the name of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe is   (         ), discussed at length under no. 35.

Rather less doubtful is                  on the Aberdeen scarab (no. 36).

Here no explanation of                        





BALLS OF THREAD WOUND ON PIECES OF POTTERY

## BALLS OF THREAD WOUND ON PIECES OF POTTERY

By BERNICE M. CARTLAND

IN Plate XXII are reproduced some X-ray photographs<sup>1</sup> of two balls of linen thread in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York<sup>2</sup>, showing how the Egyptians used small pottery fragments as a foundation on which to wind thread into balls. The fact that this was usual has already been stated by Professor Flinders Petrie<sup>3</sup>. These two balls date from some time between the Twentieth and the Twenty-second Dynasties (about 1200—1000 B.C.). The accompanying photographs show them full size, as they actually look, with X-rays of each ball in two positions placed above them. Solid cores that appear upon examination to be made of pottery can be seen inside. The larger ball contains one piece of pottery, the smaller has two laid with flat sides together in order the more easily to make the ball round. Such small, roughly circular pottery fragments, varying in thickness from one-quarter to three-quarters of an inch, have been found frequently without any thread on them by the Metropolitan Museum's Egyptian Expedition at Lisht, and their probable purpose is now evident. They are roughly cut out of fragments of pots baked pink on either side, with a dark underbaked layer through the middle.

It is interesting to note that the thread on the smaller ball, which is rather brittle, being poorly spun, was wound so as to leave a hole on one side of the ball, just as some people nowadays wind their yarn in balls, leaving a thumb-hole so that the yarn, when used, will unwind from the inside of the ball. However, it is improbable that this was the case with the ancient ball, though it is impossible to be certain on account of the delicate condition of the thread.

<sup>1</sup> Furnished through the courtesy of Dr C. Winfield Perkins of New York.

<sup>2</sup> From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum at Lisht.

<sup>3</sup> PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 53.

## NOTES AND NEWS

The Egypt Exploration Fund has again sustained heavy losses through death in the persons of Mrs McClure and its former Hon. Secretary Mr J. S. Cotton. Mrs McClure was the wife of Canon McClure, Secretary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge until the outbreak of the war, and was throughout her life the close companion and collaborator in her husband's studies. To her fluent pen is due the English translation of Sir Gaston Maspero's great History of the Orient, and at the time of her sudden and deeply regretted death she was engaged on an edition of the Pilgrimage of Aethieria. As Miss Herbert, Mrs McClure became in 1888 a Member of the Fund, and had been a member of the Committee ever since that date.

Mr James Sutherland Cotton was a brilliant scholar and man of letters who joined our Committee at an even earlier date. He held the post of Hon. Secretary to the Fund from 1896 to 1912. During the last years of his life he acted as Assistant-Editor to this *Journal*, where we can bear testimony to his extraordinary accuracy and acuteness of vision as a proof-reader, and where his scholarly oversight and ever-ready counsel have already made themselves most regrettably missed. Full notices of Mr Cotton's career appeared in the daily Press, and more space than we have at our disposal would be required to do justice to his distinguished and remarkable career. A scholar of Trinity College, Oxford, he secured high Classical honours and from 1871 to 1874 was Fellow and Lecturer of Queen's College. In 1874 he was called to the Bar and in 1881 became editor of the *Academy*, which under his able guidance gained a leading position for its scholarly outlook and authoritative criticism. During his later years Mr Cotton was engaged in cataloguing the European MSS. relating to India in the library of the India Office. By the younger English Egyptologists Mr Cotton will be remembered mainly as a very kindly and unassuming elder; but those who belong more nearly to his generation are loud in their praise not only of his intellectual qualities but also of his gifts of friendship and devotion. It is a pleasure to quote the following lines from the letter of one of his old College companions:—"He cared not for publicity or ordinary rewards, such as fame; as for money, he got all he wanted, and he wanted little for his modest requirements and pure aims. With his talents, brightness, wide knowledge and conscientious industry he might have gone far, if he had but added a little push. But he was what he was, a warm-hearted affectionate man, fortunate in his troops of friends, his absorbing studies, his social gifts as a talker and companion, and in a most happy family life."

News has reached us of the death, on June 21st, of Oskar von Lemm, Conservator of the Asiatic Museum of the Academy of Arts and Sciences, Petrograd. Born in 1856, for

the four years 1887—1891 he was Professor of Egyptology in the University of Petrograd. At the beginning of his career he published some works on Old-Egyptian philology, but this he subsequently abandoned for the study of Coptic, in which he became an acknowledged master. In the next number of the *Journal* Mr Crum will give some account of his extremely valuable contributions in the field of Coptic language and literature.

M. Lacau speaks, in a private letter, of the discovery at Heliopolis of the tomb of another Mnevis-bull, similar to that described by Ahmed Bey Kamal in Vol. xxv of the *Recueil de Travaux*. Apart from this, there appears to be no archaeological news of interest to report from Egypt.

We take the following from the *Vossische Zeitung* of Aug. 4:

In the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Berlin Academy Prof. Schubart publishes a Greek papyrus with music. The text, in large carefully written characters, appears on the back of a Latin military document, dated in 156 A.D.; it can be taken that the Greek was written a few decades later. It does not consist of a complete poem with music, but of three different beginnings or extracts, the object being apparently to give specimens of music; perhaps examples were copied out from a musical text-book for some purpose or other. The syllables are spread out so as to make room for the notes. The Greek notes are represented by letters and written above the lines after the vowel to which they belong. Many lines contain clearly distinct instrumental parts. In both systems sustained notes are represented by a cross and rests by a dot. Curves under two notes may well signify that the notes are to be slurred. An over-written stroke to the right throughout some entire lines and here and there in one probably corresponds to an octave sign. Various other individual signs in the instrumental staves appear to indicate pauses. The instrument staves probably belong each time to the preceding song, but it is doubtful whether they are postludes or accompaniments to it.

Mr H. I. Bell sends us the following *personalia* gleaned from the German papers:

Prof. Matthias Gelzer of Greifswald has been made *ordentlicher* Professor of Ancient History and Director of the Inst. für Altertumswissenschaft at Strassburg in succession to K. J. Neumann. He has done excellent work at the history of Byzantine Egypt and also at papyri of an earlier period. Artur Steinwenter, a jurist who has, *inter alia*, devoted his attention to legal papyri of the Roman and Byzantine periods, has been appointed extraordinary Professor at Graz. Friedrich Zucker, who had been appointed as Professor of Classical Philology at Tübingen, has now been called as Ordinarius to Jena.

The chair of Prof. Nicole at Geneva has been filled by another papyrologist, M. Victor Martin. M. Martin, a pupil of Nicole's, has already done excellent work in papyrology. His first publication was *Les Epistratèges* (Geneva, 1911), a doctoral thesis on the epistrategus, on whose office he succeeded in throwing a good deal of new light. Another valuable piece of work was an article on the strategi and royal scribes of the Arsinoite nome in the Roman period, contributed to the *Archiv für Papyrologie* (vol. VI); and recently he has published, in Wessely's *Studien*, a land register contained on one of the burnt papyri of Mendes, with an illuminating commentary. His principal work in papyrology is, however, vol. II of the Rylands Papyri, in which he collaborated with Messrs. Hunt and Johnson.



A series of lectures will again this year be provided by the Egypt Exploration Fund in the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, and the services of Dr A. M. Blackman have once more been obtained for a course of four on the Relations of Ancient Egypt with Foreign Countries; the first deals with the Pre-Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom, and will take place at 4 p.m. on Friday, November 29th. The dates of the other lectures will be announced later. Members and Subscribers are reminded that their friends can be introduced by ticket, and in view of the actuality of the subject treated it is hoped all interested in the Fund will help to secure a good attendance.

## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Les Cultes Égyptiens à Delos du III<sup>e</sup> au I<sup>er</sup> Siècle av. J. C.* By PIERRE ROUSSEL. *Annales de l'Est publiées par la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Nancy.* Berger-Levrault, Paris, Nancy, 1915—1916. Pp. 300. With plates and plans.

A good deal of evidence, in the shape both of inscriptions and of architectural remains, with regard to the Egyptian shrines in Delos has been accumulated from time to time, particularly in the course of the excavations undertaken by the French in 1909—1912, and M. Roussel has rendered a very useful service in gathering together and digesting it in this interesting monograph. He begins the volume with a sketch of the development of our knowledge up to the excavations just referred to, and follows this with a detailed account, accompanied by plans and photographs, of the buildings brought to light; after which he publishes, with a brief commentary and in a systematic arrangement, the inscriptions, both published and unpublished, found in or relating to the shrines. He concludes the volume with a history of the cults in Delos and a summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the evidence as to the gods, their worshippers, and the forms of worship.

The evidence thus presented serves to give us a good deal of information on certain subjects, though on others it tells us little or nothing. On the cult itself, its liturgical forms and the spirit of the worship, we learn nothing except for such scanty and indirect conclusions as may be drawn from the titles of priestly officials and associations of worshippers, from lists of offerings, from votive inscriptions and the like; but on the history of the cult and its external organization we acquire a considerable amount of knowledge.

The excavations of 1909—1912 revealed the fact that there was not one shrine only but three, referred to by Roussel as Serapeum A, B, and C respectively; the last being the only one previously known, while A and B were brought to light only by the excavations referred to. These two are regarded by Roussel as private and so to say proprietary shrines; C, much larger, was the seat of the public and official cult. For the history of shrine A we have a valuable authority in the shape of an inscription (the first in Roussel's collection) containing a metrical chronicle of the cult and of the erection of the shrine. This inscription is in some ways the most interesting of all, since it probably reveals to us the origin of the Sarapis cult in Delos, and certainly affords an illustration of the way in which such cults might spread and of the ideas and standpoint of the devotees of Sarapis.

Another fact established by the recent excavations was that the marble temple hitherto regarded as the shrine of Isis or Sarapis really belonged to Hera. Sufficient remains were brought to light to make it possible to draw plans of all three shrines; but Roussel admits that there is considerable uncertainty as to details of these, and he doubts certain identifications by their author, M. Sven Risom. Both the shrines A and B and perhaps also C have subterranean chambers or crypts which Roussel regards as the reservoir of the sacred water; perhaps also as the place of "incubation." Serapeum C is much the largest and most elaborate of the three, as is natural; but all three reveal the same general idea and thus serve to give us some notion of the externals of the cult. It may be noted that on p. 36 the author appears to have got his points of the compass confused; in l. 8 *ouest* would appear to be miswritten for *est*, in l. 13 *sud-ouest* for *sud-est*.) With few exceptions the buildings are all of very poor construction and do not indicate the existence of much wealth among the devotees of the Egyptian deities—or at least of much readiness to spend it on building.

The inscriptions include several which are of considerable interest besides that already referred to. Among these may be mentioned the senatus-consultum on p. 93, the decrees on pp. 203—206, and the valuable series of inventories, which throw much incidental light on various details of the cults.

Many interesting points are touched on by Roussel in his commentary and concluding chapters. Of special importance is his conclusion that the Ptolemies did not, as has generally been supposed, take active steps to propagate the Sarapis cult in their foreign dependencies. His argument, founded on the evidence of the inscriptions and other remains, seems conclusive, so far at least as Delos was concerned. Another interesting point is the conclusion from the dedications that the worship of the triad Sarapis-Osiris, Isis, and Harpocrates did not figure in the original cult. In the oldest inscriptions Harpocrates is generally ignored; in the later ones he comes fourth, after Anubis.

Roussel was able to use, but only in the Addenda, the invocation to Isis in P. Oxy. xi 1380, details of which find interesting parallels in the Delos inscriptions. To those pointed out by Roussel may be added a reference to ll. 30 and 48, *νικήτρια*, as compared with the *Νίκη Ἰσιδι* of Roussel's Inscr. 121 and *θεοῖς νικηφόροις* of Inscr. 4.

H. I. BELL.





CHALICE OF BLUE FAIENCE  
FROM MYERS' COLLECTION NOW AT ETON COLLEGE

## TWO FAIENCE CHALICES AT ETON COLLEGE FROM THE COLLECTION OF THE LATE MAJOR W. J. MYERS

By CHARLES RICKETTS

MANY years have passed since the small but singularly exquisite collection of Egyptian objects brought together by the late Major W. J. Myers was on view in the Victoria and Albert Museum. Since his death, in the Boer War, they have been left to his old school, Eton College, where they form a memorial to a gallant gentleman and art-lover of rare taste and discernment.

The two blue faience chalices now at Eton<sup>1</sup> (Plates XXIII—XXV) have been illustrated and described by Dr Henry Wallis in his work on *Egyptian Ceramic Art*<sup>2</sup>, as well as another in his own possession: a fourth is in the collection of the Rev. W. MacGregor at Tamworth. The four were found at Tûneh, and, failing any further evidence, each can be ascribed, in the matter of style, to the later years of the Eighteenth Dynasty or to the early years of the Nineteenth. The uncertainty attending their discovery by Arab explorers has deprived us of all sure knowledge as to their date, the cartouches on the first specimen being meaningless and yielding no clue. Other cups of this shape exist in Florence, Athens and Berlin, the last, of coarser workmanship, bearing the name of a son of Sheshonk I of the Twenty-second Dynasty. It is doubtless this fact which has led Mr Wallis to assign so late a date as the Twentieth Dynasty to the Eton cups, though the Berlin specimen is not of the same provenance, nor indeed of the same quality in style, invention and workmanship as the four goblets from Tûneh.

The resemblance in the shape of these chalices to half-open lotuses is strengthened by the fact that the specimens in Florence and the Tamworth collection are moulded to represent opening flowers. The Eton cups possess a double interest beyond the fact of their shape, rare in faience: not only are they outstanding specimens of ceramic craftsmanship, but their maker has overcome great technical difficulties in making them. Their form is really better adapted to metal; the stem supporting the bell-shaped cup is not one to which the potter would instinctively turn. It is possible to say more: the intricate decoration in relief imitates a type of design of which embossed and chased metal would furnish prototypes. The photographs leave one in doubt as to their substance; without the breakages they might be in metal, the incised outline of the potter's tool, the engraved line of the burin, giving sharpness and accent to the work of the chaser. An almost

<sup>1</sup> We are deeply indebted to the authorities of Eton College for permission to publish these and other objects from the Myers collection; and special thanks are due to Mr F. H. Rawlins and Mr C. H. Blakiston for the facilities for studying the same which they very courteously provided.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> *Egyptian Ceramic Art*, 1900, pp. 22-5 with Plate IX.

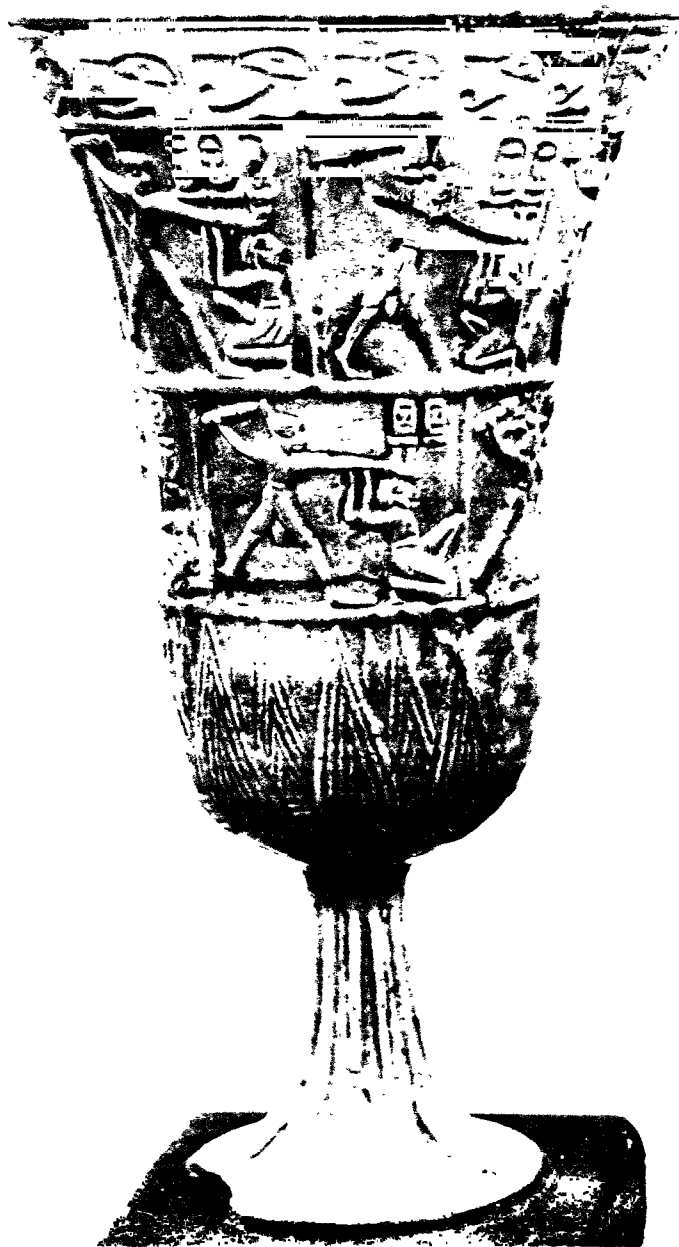
Journ. of Egypt. Arch. v.

Asiatic richness of design, a certain lack of severity even, tends to confirm the impression that these cups found at Tûneh belong to an age of experiment, even of cross influences, such as the later years of the Eighteenth Dynasty; there is something exotic or not entirely Egyptian in their general aspect, though the composing elements are entirely native.

The cup figured in Plate XXIV (160 mm. in height, breadth 90 mm.) is decorated with a row of sacred eyes at the rim; the two following bands are divided into panels each representing a king slaying an enemy; the base is decorated with lotus petals; on the stem are reversed lotus buds and papyrus blooms. The colour, once a turquoise blue, has grown greyish with time. The other cup (Plate XXIII, 150 mm. high, 88 mm. across the top) is yet richer in aspect and, with its sparse figures, more certainly in the temper of the Eighteenth Dynasty. On the rim is a series of stunted papyrus stems and birds. On the two following bands the design may well be consecutive and represents, in the lowest section, charioteers on a battle-field strewn with dead. The upper band displays the bringing in and sacrifice of prisoners in the presence of sacred persons; but breakages have rendered the interpretation of the last scene uncertain, an important piece of the design being missing. The base is decorated with lotuses and buds, the stem with reversed or descending palm branches.

My feeling that in the second cup we can detect the pictorial manner of the Eighteenth Dynasty is strengthened by the Wallis chalice, which almost certainly came from the same tomb. In this, the spirited fowling scene repeats with even less formality those familiar water hunting-parties of the painted tombs. The fact that the Berlin chalice belongs to the Twenty-second Dynasty need not detain us, for it is not of the same provenance and the decoration is not only coarser, but it shows no naturalistic or pictorial tendencies. It is hackwork decoration and, without the evidence of its inscription, it might be placed some centuries later. At the risk of over-stating the experimental character of these two chalices I feel it difficult to class them outside that exceptional period in Egyptian Art to which I have ascribed them. From the reign of Tuthmosis IV to that of Sethos I we constantly come into touch with unexpected elements in the lesser crafts. The naturalism associated with the reign of Akhenaten covers a period slightly anterior to his reign and survives it for a while.

During the Eighteenth Dynasty chance foreign elements may well have become blended with the immemorial crafts of the Egyptians. The Asiatic campaigns had brought them into closer touch with other civilizations, and it is the period when imported objects, Cretan and other, have been found on Egyptian ground. Early in the Dynasty strange shapes and composite forms occur in the sacred vessels ordered and, in official phrase, designed by Tuthmosis III, which we can see carved on the walls of Karnak, and the crescendo in experiment may well have been continuous; new conditions, the widening of frontiers and intermarriages, may have brought other influences to bear on the stubborn and self-sufficing art of Egypt. It is during the Eighteenth Dynasty that the ceramic worker acquires a new tendency towards variegation and the free use of colours, from the deep blues of the older potters to pale greens and pale primrose yellow. To drink out of a flower-shaped cup is in the spirit of the time; to fashion objects of decoration in imitation of grapes, convolvulus blooms and field-daisies is of constant occurrence; earlier, as too in later days, the style is more formal, the taste more masculine; and perhaps the Eighteenth Dynasty was the most art-loving time in the Nile civilization, or the one in which the permanence and utility of an object did not wholly control the conditions of



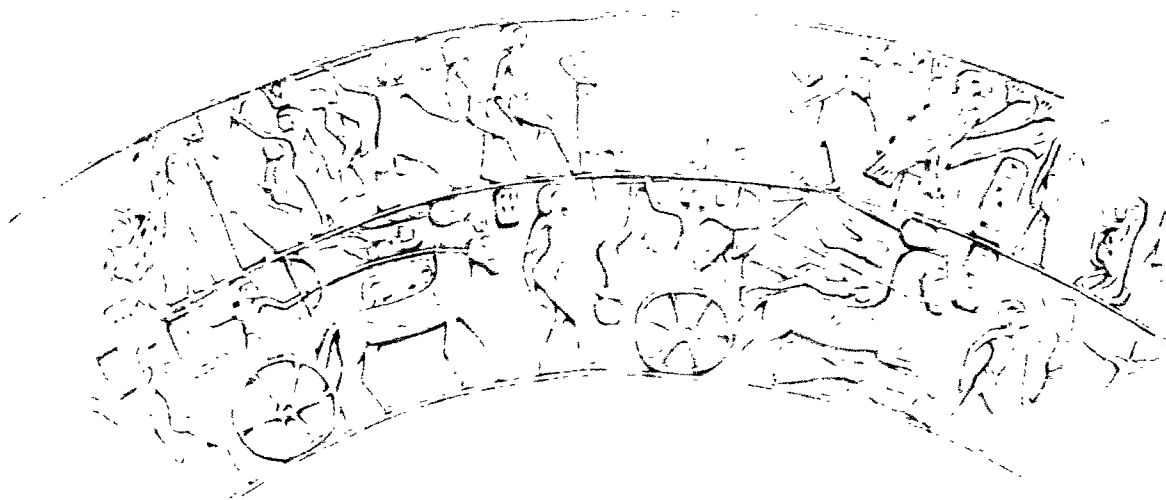
CHALICE OF BLUE FAIENCE

In the Myers' collection now at Eton College

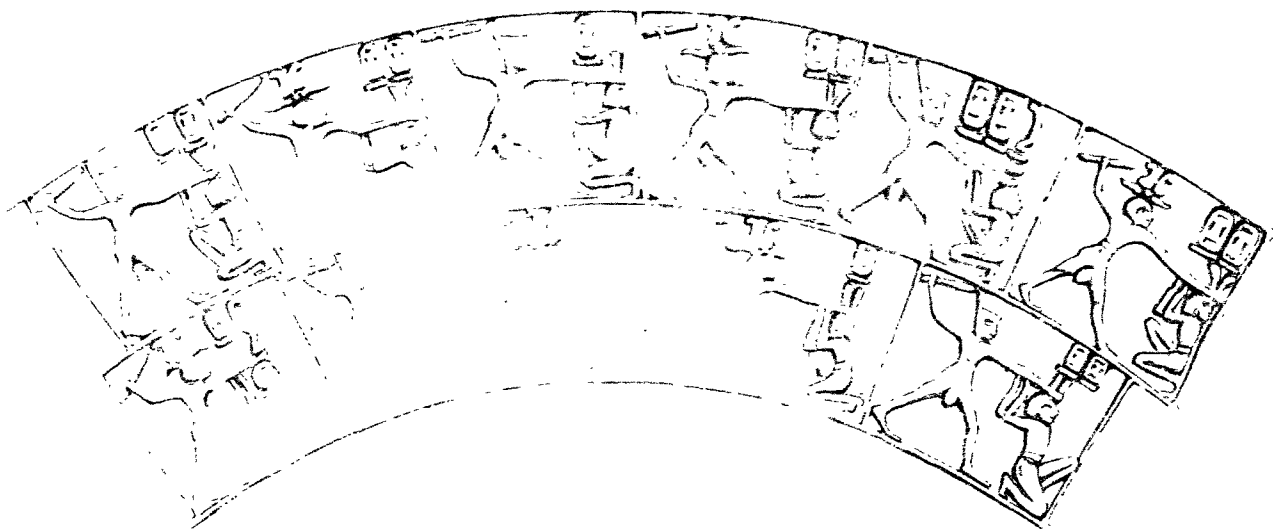








A. Scenes from the Chalice figured in Plate XXIII



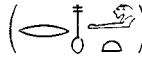


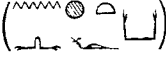
B. Scenes from the Chalice figured in Plate XXIV

SCENES DEPICTED ON THE CHALICES OF BLUE FAIENCE  
IN THE MYERS' COLLECTION NOW AT ETON COLLEGE

its achievement. The chance finds in tombs and, above all, on the sites of palaces and cities, have yielded things which seem to have been done for their own sake. There is a vein of coquettish fancy in the contemporary toilet utensils and in the vases of intricate shape and variegated colour. The profusion of gilding and silvering upon the very coffins puts a touch of gaiety even upon the houses of the dead. The sun-worship of Akhenaten, the love of brightness and luxury in life, meet us in the social festivals painted in the tombs, replacing the more sober works and days represented in earlier sepulchres; it is as if Egyptian art had learnt to smile. In all this the craftsmanship itself may not outclass or even equal the graver efforts of former times. But the impulse is different, more intimate, more life-loving. The late Eighteenth Dynasty is the epoch which has left us the most varied, suave and vivid faces in Egyptian sculpture, the tenderest and most charming small objects of decoration; not indeed the most perfect in workmanship or taste, for centuries before and after the sense of design may be sounder and more secure, but something of the spirit will not be there or else will affect us differently. It is not wholly due to chance that the tomb-paintings have yielded pictures of feasting, and the furniture of the dead so many dainty objects of daily use; the temper of the times seems to have been more secular and more beauty-loving. The very religion of the Heretic King accepted beauty, or the love of beauty, in the attempted emancipation of man from the thrall of the dead and their creeds, so powerful hitherto. Something analogous to the Fifteenth Century rebirth in Italy surrounded the reign of Akhenaten, that earlier St Francis, who brought with him a new art and the love of peace among men. The artistic impulse was slow to die, at least in the lesser crafts.

The Louis XIV-like temper and splendours of the great Ramesses II were destined to turn Egyptian Art into other channels. But within the short reign of his father Sethos I the manner of the Eighteenth Dynasty was kept alive by older craftsmen or by those men and women who still remembered, nay actually wore, the ampler garments and fantastic wigs invented in earlier times; men and women who may well have retained the holiday spirit of those days before the new remoulding of an arrogant and more than ever self-supporting Egyptian civilization, one more than ever closed in within its ritual of tradition and haughty sense of formula and immemorial perfection.




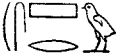
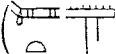
NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
1.	IV—V.	Kenōfer	Unique Friend (var. Friend), Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the <i>pr-dwṯ</i> ( <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , Part I, Pl. 4). K. was a son of Snofru, a Vizier and Chief Justice, and superintendent of that king's pyramid.
2.	IV.	Thenti	Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. (L., D. <sup>1</sup> , Part II, Pl. 30).
3.	IV.	Debhen	(a) Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite <sup>2</sup> , Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown (  ) Who adorns Horus (L., D., Part II, Pl. 35). (β) Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life ( <i>hry wdb<sup>3</sup> m ht-ḥb</i> ), doing what his lord loves, Debhen, Supervisor etc., Debhen, Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 36, c). (γ) Unique Friend, Chief Lector, Supervisor etc., Keeper of the Crown, Who adorns Horus, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 37, a).
4.	IV.	Iunmin	Unique Friend of his Father, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 34, g). He was a “king's eldest son” and also bears the titles of Vizier, Chief Justice, Controller of the Palace, and Lector.
5.	IV—V.	Niuti (  )	Favourite Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 89, a).
6.	IV—V.	Sethu	(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Chief Nekhebite,  , Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 86, b). (β) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life ( <i>ib.</i> , Pl. 87). (γ) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 86, b).
7.	V.	Khnemhotpe	Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> <sup>3</sup> , p. 312; see also <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , Part I, Pl. 26). K. was also an Inspector of the <i>wḥb</i> -priests of the sun-temple of Userkaf.
8.	V.	Enkheftka (  )	Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions of the House of Life (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , p. 307 foll.). He was also a Superintendent of the King's Linen, Superintendent of the King's Adornment, Superintendent of the Bathroom of Pharaoh, a <i>wḥb</i> -priest of Rē in the sun-temple of Userkaf, an Inspector of <i>wḥb</i> -priests of the pyramid of the same king, and a <i>wḥb</i> -priest of the pyramid of Sahurē <sup>4</sup> .

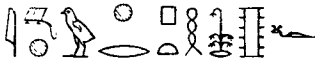

<sup>1</sup> = LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*.



<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 45, p. 126. The stele of Khentemsemti the Younger, line 7 foll. (*Egypt. Stelae in the Brit. Mus.*, Part II, Pl. 9), closely associates this title with the priesthood of the royal diadems viz., “supporting the white crown in the *pr-wr*, chief Nekhebite, sercant of the red crown in the *pr-nw*, .....cautious in his goings when putting on the red crown, when causing Horus lord of the palace gloriously to appear (*m sḥt Hr nb ḥ*).”


<sup>3</sup> See SETHE, *Ber. Sachs. Ges. d. Wissenschaften*, vol. LXIII, p. 149.

<sup>4</sup> = MARIETTE, *Les Mastabas de l'Ancien Empire*.

NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
9.	V.	Sekhemkerē	(a) Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc. (L., <i>D.</i> , Part II, Pl. 41, <i>b</i> ). (β) Chief Lector of his Father, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 41, <i>c</i> ). He was a king's son, Vizier, and Chief Justice, and also bore the title "Anubis the Embalmer" ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 42).
10.	V.	Weshptah	Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Must.</i> , pp. 269 foll.). He was also a Vizier, Chief Justice, Chief Lector, and Scribe of the God's Book.
11.	V.	Kemrōmet (?) 	Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, His Lord's favourite Controller of the Palace, Supervisor etc., Supervisor of the Contributions in the House of Life (MAR., <i>Must.</i> , p. 176). He was also a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserre.
12.	V.	Tepem'onkh	Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc., Controller of the Palace, Servant of the Throne (BORCHARDT, <i>Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Ne-User-rē</i> , p. 120).
13.	V.	Ti	(a) Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. (STEINDORFF, <i>Das Grab des Ti</i> , Pl. 27). (β) Beloved Unique Friend, His Lord's favourite Keeper of the Crown, Unique Friend, Lector, His Lord's favourite Supervisor etc. ( <i>loc. cit.</i> ). (γ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, His Lord's favourite Chief Nekhebite, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 80). (δ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Chief Nekhebite, Superintendent of all the King's Adornment, Director of the Wig-makers of the King, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 82). (ε) Director of Pharaoh's Wig-makers, Supervisor etc., Chief Nekhebite, Controller of the Palace ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 95). (ζ) Unique Friend, Keeper of the Crown, Director of the Wig-makers of Pharaoh, Supervisor etc., Lector ( <i>op. cit.</i> , Pl. 136). Ti was also a superintendent of the pyramid of Neferirkere, superintendent of the prophets of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nuserre. He was moreover superintendent of the sun-temple of Sahure, Neferirkere, Nefrurē, and Nuserre ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 6).
14.	V.	Perneb	Unique Friend, Chief Nekhebite, Keeper of the Crown, Supervisor etc., He who adorns the King ( <i>The Tomb of Perneb</i> , published by the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, fig. 34, p. 60).
15.	V.	Isi'onkh	Unique Friend, Supervisor etc., Superintendent of Pharaoh's Two Pools ( <i>Egyptian Stelae in the Brit. Mus.</i> , vol. I, Pl. 24).
16.	V.	Khenu	Superintendent of the <i>sšrw</i> (  ). Superintendent of the <i>tmt</i> (  of the King, Friend, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Must.</i> , p. 135). He was also Superintendent of the <i>hst</i> (a royal head-dress) and Superintendent of the Chamber of the <i>ms</i> -sceptre.
17.	V—VI.	Sethu	King's son of his body, Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 303).

NO.	DYNASTY	NAME	TITLES
18.	VI.	Mereruka	Royal House-Superintendent of the Lord of the Palace, Supervisor of the Mysteries of what only one sees, Lector, Supervisor etc. (DARESSY, <i>Mera</i> , p. 537). He was also inspector of the prophets of the pyramid of Teti, and, moreover, a Vizier and Chief Justice.
19.	VI.	Meriteti	Lector of his father, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 569).
20.	VI.	Ihimhoref	Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 573).
21.	VI.	Isēsikha <sup>c</sup>	Inspector of the Great House, Supervisor etc. (MAR., <i>Mast.</i> , p. 456). He was also a “superintendent of the distribution” ( <i>vpt</i> ) of the pyramid of Piōpi I.
22.	VI.	Sēsi	Unique Friend, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 420). He was also Vizier and Chief Justice, was connected with the domain attached to Piōpi I’s pyramid, was an inspector of the prophets of that pyramid and of the establishment called <i>Meret-Meryrē</i> .
23.	VI.	Merirē <sup>c</sup> nōfer	Unique Friend, Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l’Égypte</i> , vol. xvii, p. 131). He was a Memphite official (cf.  <i>loc. cit.</i> ) who had been sent on a mission to Edfu ( <i>op. cit.</i> , p. 136) where his stele has recently been found.
24.	VI.	Pepi <sup>c</sup> onkh the Middle	Unique Friend, Lector, Supervisor etc. ( <i>op. cit.</i> , vol. xv, p. 214).
25.	VII—VIII.	Emrōri 	Nomarch ( <i>hstj</i> - <sup>c</sup> ), Supervisor etc., Chief of the Transport of Hathor Mistress of Denderah,.....Superintendent of the Prophets (PETRIE, <i>Denderah</i> , Pl. VIII). He was also supervisor of the mysteries of the Treasurer of the God and Herdsman of the <i>Tntt</i> -cows ( <i>loc. cit.</i> ; cf. BLACKMAN, <i>The Rock Tombs of Meir</i> , vol. I, p. 2).





























As the list shows, the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* is closely associated with the well-known one  Unique Friend (var.  Friend)<sup>1</sup>. It was sometimes borne by persons of the highest rank, as in the case of nos. 1, 4, 9, 10, 17, 18, all of whom held the offices of Vizier and Chief Justice, and four of whom were sons of kings. The Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* was evidently, therefore, a functionary whose relations with the Pharaoh were of an intimate nature.














Since this title is also closely associated once with that of Royal House-Superintendent of the Lord of the Palace (no. 18), once with that of Inspector of the Great House (no. 21), and in the greater number of instances with that of  Controller of the Palace<sup>2</sup> (nos. 1—9, 11—13 *ε*), one would suppose that the *pr-dwšt* in this connection was a department of the palace or an annex thereof.

<sup>1</sup> This has already been remarked on by GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, p. 109.







<sup>2</sup> See GARDINER, *loc. cit.*



Again, we find this title standing next, or in close proximity, to those of   Keeper of the Crown (nos. 3, 7, 10, 13, 14),   He who adorns Horus, *i.e.* the king (no. 3; cf. no. 14),   Superintendent of all the adornment of the King (no. 13; cf. no. 8),   (var. )  Director of the wig-makers of the King, var. Pharaoh (no. 13),   (no. 6),                Superintendent of the *ssrw*, Superintendent of the *tmt* of the King (no. 16). These three last offices, as the determinative  shows, were connected with the care of the royal wardrobe.

Though not closely associated with it in the respective enumerations of their offices, it should be noted that, in addition to the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt*, Enkheftka (no. 8) bore among other titles those of    Superintendent of the King's linen,   Superintendent of the King's adornment, and     Superintendent of the Pharaoh's bath-room; and Khenu (no. 16) those of   Superintendent of the (royal head-dress called) *hšt*, and   Superintendent of the chamber of the *šms*-sceptre.

The fact that the office of Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* is combined with the care of the king's diadem, wigs, ornaments, apparel, and the superintendence of his bath-room, indicates that *pr-dwšt* has the same meaning here as in the inscriptions referred to at the beginning of the article, namely that of Toilet-chamber,—in other words the *pr-dwšt* of this Old Kingdom title was the apartment or group of apartments in his palace wherein the Pharaoh was assisted at his daily toilet by specially privileged courtiers<sup>2</sup>.

What is the literal meaning of the compound *pr-dwšt*? Most authorities seem to connect the element *dwšt* with    *dwš* "to adore," and translate the whole by "House of Adoration<sup>3</sup>." But no word *dwšt* with the meaning "adoration" is to be found in the lexicons: indeed, so far as I can ascertain, no feminine derivative of *dwš* "to adore" occurs at all, except of course in the title   *dwšt-ntr* "Votress of the God<sup>4</sup>," where  must be the fem. imperfect active participle and should really be transcribed *dwšyt*. *Dwšt* in the compound *pr-dwšt* cannot be the infinitive of *dwš* "to adore," for that verb, being a triliteral, has a masculine infinitive<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> See MACE-WICKLOCK, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 43 foll.




<sup>3</sup> See GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 110 and the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. X, p. 476<sup>b</sup>, § III.

<sup>4</sup> KEES, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVI, p. 3; ERMAN, *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 70; MORET, *Du Caractère religieux de la Royauté pharaonique*, p. 212.

<sup>5</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 296<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.*, GARDINER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 45, p. 126; GRIFFITH, *Sitê and Dêr Rifeh*, Pl. 11, line 1; see also below p. 154, note 5.



For example:—Hymns to the sun-god are commonly prefaced by the following or similar words: “Praise (  ) of Rē<sup>c</sup>, when he ariseth in the eastern horizon of heaven, by N., who saith,” and then follows the actual hymn<sup>1</sup>.

Piankhi informs us that he went at dawn “very early” (*dwṣ dwṣ*) to make offering to Atum at Kher<sup>c</sup>eha<sup>2</sup>, and that on another occasion he “went to the High Sand(-hill) in Heliopolis and made a great offering on the High Sand(-hill) in Heliopolis in the presence of Rē<sup>c</sup> at his rising.” It is most significant that before making this offering to Rē<sup>c</sup> at dawn “he purified himself in the Cool Pool, and washed his face in the Stream of Nun, in which Rē<sup>c</sup> washes his face<sup>3</sup>.”

The temple of Abu Simbel, dedicated to Rē<sup>c</sup>-Harakhte of Heliopolis and Amun-rē<sup>c</sup>, the solarized god of Thebes, has been so orientated that the rising sun sends its rays straight into the sanctuary<sup>4</sup>. To enable the rays to enter the priests must have opened the doors of this temple at dawn,—an indication that it was customary in all sun-temples for the daily service to begin at that hour<sup>5</sup>.

It is not, I think, inappropriate to point out in this connection that the song beginning “Thou awakest in peace,” which was addressed to the sun-god and then to other divinities (doubtless by the same process as that by which they came to have ascribed to them the solar quality of righteousness<sup>6</sup>), was very possibly addressed in the first instance to the king<sup>7</sup>. If this greeting was used to arouse the king at dawn, it naturally enough came to be employed as a welcome to the sun-god, with whom the king was so closely associated, when, awaking from his night-long sleep, he appeared at dawn above the eastern desert hills.

It is also to be borne in mind that the word *dwṣ* “to adore” may well be etymologically connected with *dwṣ* “to do something in the morning,” “to arise early<sup>8</sup>,” to which root *dwṣt* “morning” of course belongs. *Dwṣ* “to adore” may originally have meant “adore in the morning,” and have come into existence because it was his priests’ custom to adore the sun-god at dawn; it should be observed that *dwṣ*, as already pointed out, is often the first word in hymns to the sun-god. The suggested connection of *dwṣ* “to adore” with *dwṣ* “to arise early” finds a parallel in the Arabic *صَبَحَ ṣabah* “to get up early in the morning” and *صَبَّحَ ṣabbah* “to greet in the morning.”

That the Heliopolitan king’s ablutions and entry into the sun-temple took place at

<sup>1</sup> BUDGE, *Book of the Dead*, Hieroglyphic Text, pp. 1, 3, 6, 8, 39; cf. p. 11, line 5 foll.; DAVIES, *El-Amarna*, vol. VI, p. 28<sup>b</sup>, Pl. XXV.

<sup>2</sup> SCHAFER, *Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums*, vol. III, p. 37.






























<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 37 foll.


<sup>4</sup> See BAEDER, *Ägypten und der Sudan*, ed. 1913, p. 387.

<sup>5</sup> The modern *fellāh* still arises at dawn to pray, and before praying squats upon the bank of the Nile or of a canal to perform his ablutions. May we not recognise in these acts a survival from the days of his sun-worshipping ancestors?

<sup>6</sup> See the writer’s art. *RIGHTEOUSNESS (Egyptian)* in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 797<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>7</sup> See ERMAN, *Hymnen an das Diadem der Pharaonen*, p. 18; BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt*, p. 17.

<sup>8</sup> *E.g.*,                              “The gods rise up early to adore her” (ERMAN, *loc. cit.*), where there is evidently a play on the two-fold meaning of the root *dwṣ*.

Finally my suggestion is supported by a passage in the biographical inscription of Khentemsemti, which implies that the Opening of the Mouth, a rite derived in its main features from that of the *pr-dušt*, was performed at dawn. The passage speaks of Khentemsemti as  "Great šm in the House of Gold (the sculptors' workshop) when the god is born (or fashioned) in the morning<sup>3</sup>."

The residence of the Heliopolitan king, since he was also, of course, high-priest of the sun-god, was doubtless attached to the temple of that divinity<sup>4</sup>. The House of the Morning (*pr-dwst*), therefore, was as much an adjunct of the one building as of the other. The belief that the king was the embodiment of the sun-god, and the custom concomitant therewith of ceremonially washing and arraying him every day in the early morning, were still maintained after Heliopolis ceased to be the seat of the central government and when in consequence the royal residence was separated from the sun-temple. Accordingly the name House of the Morning was assigned to the group of apartments in the palace in which the king's morning toilet took place.

After the fall of the Sixth Dynasty the religious aspect of the Pharaoh's early morning toilet seems to have been entirely lost sight of. This was probably due to the seat of government shifting from Memphis to Herakleopolis Magna, when accordingly the influence of the Heliopolitan priests would have waned, owing to the distance between their city and the new capital. The office of Supervisor of the *pr-dw3t* was not, it would seem, held by any officials of the Theban Pharaohs of the Middle Kingdom, and *pr-dw3t* as the name of the toilet apartments in the royal palace appears to have fallen out of use. However, in the *Story of Sinuhe* a parallel compound *ḥnwty-dw3t*, "Cabinet of the Morning,"

<sup>2</sup> See below, pp. 159 foll.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. MACIVER, *Buhen*, pp. 105, 107, Pl. 32 foll.

<sup>5</sup> See the cut on p. 120 of this volume of the *Journal*.

<sup>6</sup> See the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian) in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 478<sup>a</sup>.

SCHAFER, *Urkunden der ägyptischen Altertüms*, vol. III, p. 38.

is employed to denote the toilet-chambers in the house of a Middle Kingdom prince<sup>1</sup>. But not a vestige of any religious significance seems to have been attached to this "cabinet"; it was simply a place where a person bathed, dressed, and was shaved<sup>2</sup>.

Though the daily morning toilet of the Pharaoh had lost its religious significance before the XIIth Dynasty, the Heliopolitan sun-temple, as is shown by line 103 of the *Piankhi Stele*<sup>3</sup>, still possessed its *pr-dwšt*; and the Rite of the *pr-dwšt* (i.e. the ceremonial purifying and robing of the king before officiating in that temple) continued to remain a feature of the Heliopolitan sun-cult.

But, as we have seen on p. 148, temples other than those of the sun-god possessed their *pr-dwšt*, and for the following reason. In order, doubtless, to enhance their political prestige a number of the local gods of Egypt were identified with the sun-god<sup>4</sup>, with the result that certain accessories of solar ritual were imported into their cult, and in process of time into the cult of all the greater Egyptian divinities. Thus apparently every temple possessed its *pr-dwšt*<sup>5</sup>, in which the Pharaoh had to undergo purification before he could enter the presence of the divinity to whom the temple was dedicated. Not only so, but the water used for purifying the Pharaoh was brought from the sacred pool with which every temple seems to have been provided, and which seems regularly to have been associated, not with the presiding deity of the temple, but with the sun-god<sup>6</sup>. The shrine in the form of a boat was also probably in the first instance a feature of the sun-cult<sup>7</sup>, as also the offering to a divinity of a figure of the goddess Mēset in the daily temple service<sup>8</sup>.

A detailed discussion of all the episodes that formed the Rite of the *pr-dwšt*, whether in the palace or the temple, must be reserved for another article. It should, however, be pointed out here that the characteristic feature of the rite as performed before entering a temple (originally the Heliopolitan sun-temple) was the lustral washing of the king, with which were nearly always associated two other subsidiary episodes, viz. fumigating him with burning incense and presenting him with balls of natron to chew. According to the reliefs and inscriptions on the walls of the *pr-dwšt* at Edfu<sup>9</sup> the rite began with these three episodes, as no doubt did the actual daily ceremonial toilet of the king as originally carried out in the *pr-dwšt* of Heliopolis. The reliefs depicting the lustration, which are to be found in most Egyptian temples, represent the king being washed either by Horus and Thōth, the bath-attendants of the sun-god with whom the king was identified, or by Horus and Sēth, the patron gods of Lower and Upper Egypt respectively<sup>10</sup>. Actually the king would have been washed by two officials impersonating either pair of gods, and wearing appropriate masks<sup>11</sup>. The water was brought, as already stated, from a tank or pool sacred

<sup>1</sup> GARDINER, *Notes on the Story of Sinuhe*, pp. 108 foll.

<sup>2</sup> GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> See above, p. 148.

<sup>4</sup> See the writer's art. *RIGHTEOUSNESS (Egyptian)*, in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 797<sup>a</sup>; ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 56 f.

<sup>5</sup> See the writer's art. *PURIFICATION (Egyptian)*, in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 478<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>6</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, p. 88, with note 97.

<sup>7</sup> *E.g.*, SCHAFER, *op. cit.*, p. 39 = *Piankhi Stele*, line 104.

<sup>8</sup> The formula that the priest recited when he offered the figure is clearly of solar origin; see MORET, *Revue du culte divin journalier en Égypte*, pp. 138 foll.

<sup>9</sup> KEES, *Revue de Théologie*, vol. XXXVI, pp. 7—9.

<sup>10</sup> See above, p. 117.

<sup>11</sup> See above, pp. 118 foll., where, in discussing the wearing of masks by priests, I might have referred

to the sun-god and was identified with Nūn, the primaeval ocean out of which the god had in the first instance been born<sup>1</sup>. By means of the lustration the king was, as we have seen (p. 153), thought to be reborn and at the same time to be endowed with solar qualities<sup>2</sup>. The lustrators, as they poured the water over the king, repeated formulae which represent him as imbued with life and good fortune and rejuvenated like the sun-god<sup>3</sup>, or which assert that his purification is that of the gods Horus, Thōth, and Sēth themselves, and also that of a god called Sepa<sup>4</sup>, who was closely connected somehow or other with the Heliopolitan sun-cult<sup>5</sup>. The incense-smoke not only purified the king<sup>6</sup>, but through its medium he was brought into communion with the four above-mentioned gods and their *kas* and also with his own *ka*<sup>7</sup>. The natron, so one of the formulae pronounced at its presentation informs us, is that of those same four gods<sup>8</sup>, indeed it has been chewed and spat out by Horus and Sēt<sup>9</sup>, and when the king himself has chewed it his mouth becomes "*like the mouth of a calf of milk on the day it was born*"<sup>10</sup>. The natron also divinized the recipient<sup>11</sup>. The king was thus regenerated, brought into contact with the gods and imbued with their unearthly qualities, and his mouth was made fit to pronounce the formulae that accompanied the various ritual acts and to chant the hymns in praise of the god<sup>12</sup>. So much for the Rite of the *pr-dwst* in so far as it concerned the living king.

Before the dead king could ascend to heaven, where he was assimilated to, or identified with, the sun-god, or else held the position of the god's son, it was thought necessary for him to undergo the same lustration as that undergone by the living king in the *pr-dwṣt*, and at the hands of the same gods<sup>13</sup>. The rite of preparing the dead king's body for burial was therefore as nearly a replica as possible of the ceremonial toilet of the living king. This comes out clearly in the scene representing the purification of the dead *Dhuthotpe*<sup>14</sup>, whose place in the archetype of that scene would have been occupied by a figure of the Pharaoh; cf. also the passage already quoted on p. 148 which speaks of the deceased as being "*purified in the pr-dwṣt of the king*,"—a statement which suggests that *pr-dwṣt* could be used to denote the embalmer's workshop, viewed as the place in which the body was

to the statement of the historian Appian about a certain Volusius, who escaped arrest by assuming the garb of a priest of Isis, which consisted of a long linen garment and a mask in the form of a dog's head (FRAZER, *Adonis Attis and Osiris*, vol. II, p. 85, note 3).

<sup>1</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 88 foll.; especially note the lustration formula quoted from JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, p. 67, and referred to in note 8, p. 153 of this article.

<sup>2</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 87 foll.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>1</sup> KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>5</sup> See “*His majesty proceeded to Heliopolis upon this hill of Kherchehu,*” SCHAFER, *op. cit.*, p. 37; see also VON BISSING, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. 53, p. 145.

<sup>6</sup> SCHAFER, *op. cit.*, p. 38, line 16; KEES, *op. cit.*, vol. xxxvi, pp. 12 foll.

<sup>7</sup> *Pyr.*, § 17 foll.; cf. §§ 376 a—378 a; BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 126.

<sup>s</sup> KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 9; *Pyr.*, § 27.

<sup>9</sup> *Pyr.*, § 26 c, d.

<sup>10</sup> KEES, *loc. cit.*; *Pyr.*, § 27, d.

<sup>11</sup> *Proc.*, § 25 *a, b.*

<sup>12</sup> The purification undergone by the priests before they entered upon their course comprised the "drinking" of natron. Likewise the wailing women who bemoaned Osiris not only purified themselves four times but also washed their mouths, chewed natron, and fumigated themselves with incense, so that both they and the lamentations with which they "beatified" the dead god might be pure (see the writer's art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 480b).

<sup>13</sup> BLACKMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 foll.; see also above, p. 117 with note 5.

<sup>14</sup> See above, Pl. XVIII, pp. 117 foll. and pp. 123 foll.

washed before or during embalmment. This suggestion is possibly further supported by part of an inscription that accompanies one out of the numerous representations of funerary ceremonies in the tomb-chapel of Rekhmirê<sup>1</sup>. Some of these ceremonies may well have taken place while the body was being prepared for burial; they do not appear to be arranged

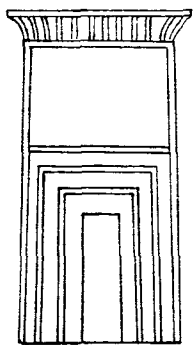


Fig. 1. The funerary *pr-dwst* in the Tomb-Chapel of Rekhmirê<sup>2</sup>.

with any particular regard for the order of their actual occurrence<sup>2</sup>. Beside a lector, standing book in hand, are the words in question:—“*Going on land by the lector in front of the pr-dwst.*” Beyond the inscription stands a group of mortuary officiants, consisting of a *sem*-priest, a father-of-the-god, an *imikhaunt*, the two female mourners who impersonated Isis and Nephthys, and lastly the lector himself. Immediately in front of them is a building which the two female mourners are fumigating with incense. This building is doubtless the *pr-dwst* mentioned in the neighbouring inscription. The embalmer’s workshop is usually called *wc̣bt*, the Place of Purification, or *pr nfr*, the Good House, or else more fully the Place of Purification of the Good House<sup>3</sup>. It is perhaps worth pointing out that the representation of the funerary *pr-dwst* in this scene in Rekhmirê’s tomb-chapel (Fig. 1) closely resembles the representation of the *wc̣bt* in a scene in the tomb-chapel of the youngest of the three Pepi<sup>4</sup>onkhs at Mêr<sup>5</sup> (Fig. 2).

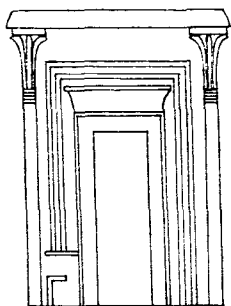


Fig. 2. The *wc̣bt* in the Tomb-Chapel of Pepi<sup>6</sup>onkh.

Through the lustral washing, so we learn from a number of religious texts, the dead like the living king was reborn and acquired solar qualities and characteristics<sup>7</sup>. He was supposed, however, to be reborn not only once, *i.e.* before his body was buried, but, like the sun-god himself with whom he was closely associated, he was believed to undergo lustration and be reborn every day<sup>8</sup>. Accordingly one would expect the performance of a rite based upon that of the *pr-dwst* to have taken place daily in the chapel or temple attached to the king’s tomb. Apparently this is exactly what did occur.

But it was impossible to wash the corpse itself at this daily performance, as it lay inaccessible in the vault at the bottom of the burial-pit. Accordingly a libation of water poured out in the cultus-room of the tomb-chapel or pyramid-temple took the place of the lustration (see below, pp. 161, 163). When the corpse decayed, or if it were destroyed, the rite would have lacked reality; it would have been felt that there must be an intact body to which the officiants might direct their thoughts and acts<sup>9</sup>,—indeed if the body were not intact the daily rebirth, and therefore the continuance of the posthumous existence, of the deceased would have been regarded as seriously imperilled if

<sup>1</sup> VIREY, *Le Tombeau de Rekhmirê*, Pl. XXV foll., bottom register; see also KEES, *Recueil de Textes*, vol. XXXVI, p. 14.

<sup>2</sup> DAVIES-GARDINER, *The Tomb of Ankhnesneferibre*, pp. 55, 57.

<sup>3</sup> See the writer’s art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 301<sup>b</sup>, § XIV, (b).

<sup>4</sup> See DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 45, note 4; BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, vol. I, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XI, pp. 62 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 61 with note 39 and p. 63.

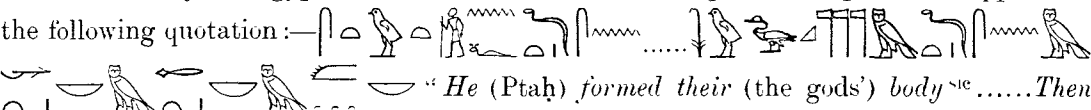
<sup>7</sup> For a somewhat similar idea see W. S. BLACKMAN, *The Magical and Ceremonial Uses of Fire*, in *Full-Lore*, vol. XXVII, pp. 376 foll.

not rendered impossible. Hence, perhaps, originated the practice of artificially preserving the body<sup>1</sup>. But the early mummies were extremely perishable and also had a most un-lifelike appearance. These circumstances prompted the making of a new body for the deceased, more durable and more lifelike than the corpse, *viz.* a portrait-statue<sup>2</sup>.

The statue had to be identified with the body of the dead king. The rite by which that was accomplished was the so-called Opening of the Mouth, which, apart from certain episodes, was, like the rite performed on the corpse itself, based upon that of the *pr-dwšt*. The Opening of the Mouth was supposed to take place in the sculptors' workshop (the House of Gold) where it had been fashioned<sup>3</sup>. The statue was first washed and then, after its mouth had been purified with natron, it was fumigated with incense<sup>4</sup>. After a number of episodes of doubtful significance, followed by the slaughter of an ox and the presentation to the statue of its heart and foreleg, came those from which the whole performance derived its name. To the accompaniment of appropriate formulae the mouth and eyes of the statue were touched with adzes and other implements and thereby opened<sup>5</sup>. After this interruption the episodes based upon the royal toilet continued<sup>6</sup>. The proceedings terminated in presenting the king, now immanent in the statue, with a meal.

The practical identity of the Rite of the Opening of the Mouth with that of the *pr-dwšt* was fully realized by the Egyptians themselves. Thus in an inscription of the Nineteenth Dynasty the name *pr-dwšt*, House of the Morning, is assigned to the place in which the Opening of the Mouth of an Apis-bull was performed<sup>7</sup>.

How closely the Egyptians connected a statue with the person it represented appears in the following quotation:—

 “He (Ptah) formed their (the gods’) body<sup>8c</sup> ..... Then the gods entered into their body<sup>8c</sup> of every kind of wood, every kind of stone, every kind of metal (?)”

<sup>1</sup> The view that mummification was of Solar rather than Osirian origin finds some support in the tradition that it was the sun-god Rē who sent Anubis to embalm Osiris (BREASTED, *Development of Religion and Thought*, p. 26). Again according to *Pyr.*, §§ 721c, 1500—1504, Osiris was raised to life by Rē, and a passage in a text published by JUNKER, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, p. 57, connects the mummification and burial of Osiris with the gods of Heliopolis.

<sup>2</sup> See ELLIOT SMITH, *The Migrations of Early Culture*, p. 36: *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, vol. 4, p. 211.

<sup>3</sup> *Egyptian Statues in the Brit. Mus.*, Part II, Pl. 8, line 10; BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, p. 1; DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 57 foll.

<sup>4</sup> According to the version on the coffin of *Buthšman* incense was also burnt before the lustration (BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 2).

<sup>5</sup> BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. I, pp. 66 foll.; vol. II, pp. 23 foll.; DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, pp. 58 foll.


<sup>6</sup> BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 40 ff. It is significant that the toilet ends with the burning of incense to the uraeus, *i.e.* the royal diadem (*ibid.*, p. 66).

<sup>7</sup> CHASSINAT, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXI, p. 72.

<sup>8</sup> ERMAN, *Ein Denkmal memphitischer Theologie*, in *Sitz. d. kon. preussisch. Akad. d. Wissenschaften*, vol. XLIII [1911], pp. 942. JUNKER, *Götterdekret über das Abaton*, pp. 42 foll., quotes a text in which is mentioned a ceremony for making a god enter an image. See also JUNKER, *Stundenwachen*, p. 6; *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. I, p. 253; ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, pp. 43, 134—136; BLACKMAN, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, p. 253 with note 2. A model mummy of Osiris was, of course, used in the annual rite of re-enacting his embalmment,—the rite which forms the subject of JUNKER's *Die Stundenwachen in der Osiris-mysterien*. Through the ceremonial bandaging of the model mummy to



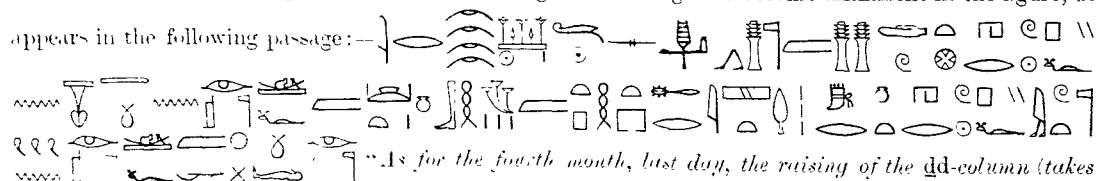
In Old Kingdom times the portrait-statue (there were often several statues) was placed for safety's sake in a walled-up chamber that generally adjoined the cult-room<sup>1</sup>. No doubt this practice dates from the time when portrait-statues were first employed in the funerary cult. The only communication between the statue-chamber and the cult-room was a narrow slit or squint; sometimes, as in the mastabeh of Ti, there were as many as three squints. As to the purpose for which the squint served see the writer's article in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 253 foll.

Infinitely older than the Heliopolitan theory of the daily rebirth of the dead king identified with the sun-god, was the idea that somehow or other the dead continued to exist and that in order to maintain this posthumous existence they needed to be supplied with food and drink. Accordingly the oldest Egyptian funerary rite of which we have any written record was in the form of a banquet<sup>2</sup>. It began with the pouring out of water over an officiant's hands and the burning of incense: these acts represented the washing of the banqueter's hands and his fumigation with incense-smoke<sup>3</sup>, the prelude to every Egyptian feast. Next came three acts representing the anointing of the banqueter, the giving to him of a pair of table-napkins, and a final censuring of him. The act immediately preceding the bringing in of the viands was the pouring out of a libation of water. Does this represent the washing of the banqueter's mouth before the partaking of food? The fact that the first items of the repast are called a "mouth-wash" () supports this suggestion.

When the theory was accepted that the dead king was daily reborn through lustration, the old funerary repast just described was not abolished, but, with the conservatism so characteristic of the Egyptians, the newer Heliopolitan rite was combined with it.

The earliest example of the newer rite that we possess is in the form of this combination. It dates from the end of the Fifth Dynasty, occurring in the pyramid of king Unis<sup>4</sup>. By that time the custom had long been established of setting up in his mortuary temple a portrait-statue of the dead king as a substitute for his perishable corpse. Hence the version of the Rite of the *pr-dwyt*, employed for the daily funerary liturgy, contains certain episodes, in an abbreviated form, that belong to the Opening of the Mouth. It is true that the operation of Opening the Mouth of the statue had been fully carried out in the House of Gold, but on the other hand repetition is a feature of most sacramental performances; the virtue they have imparted is liable to become impaired and therefore needs constantly to be replenished.

the accompaniment of the prescribed formulae the god was thought to become immanent in the figure, as appears in the following passage:—



"As for the fourth month, last day, the raising of the *dd*-column (takes place in Busiris, on this day of interring Osiris in the Region of Bah in the vault under the *Ished*-tree, for it is on this day that the divine body (*hꜥ*) of Osiris enters into him after the bandaging of Osiris" (LORET, *Revue de Travaux* vol. IV, p. 32).

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.* see STILINDORFF, *Das Grab des Ti*, Blatt I.

<sup>2</sup> See *e.g.* MURRAY, *Saqqara Mastabas*, Part I, Pl. XVIII, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> For the impersonation of the dead by an officiant cf. *Nature*, vol. 99, p. 491<sup>a</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> *Proc.* §§ 16 foll.

The pouring out of water over the officiant's hands and the burning of incense had become the traditional way of beginning the daily or periodical service for the dead. In the combination of the older and newer rites these two acts retained their customary position. But after them were inserted two episodes, which, as we have seen, were characteristic marks of the Rite of the *pr-dwst*, episodes representing the lustral washing of the king and the purification of his mouth with natron. The rite was performed in front of the so-called false door (through which the dead had access to the world of the living) and not, as in the case of the daily temple liturgy, in the presence of a cultus-statue<sup>1</sup>; for, as we have seen, the statue was placed in a walled-up chamber<sup>2</sup> and was almost as inaccessible as the corpse. The lustral washing, therefore, as already stated on p. 158, took the form of a libation<sup>3</sup>. The burning of incense, which usually followed directly after the lustration<sup>4</sup>, was omitted here (probably because incense had been burnt just previously), and the officiants passed straight on to the offering of natron for the purification of the mouth<sup>5</sup>. In recognition of the presence of the statues in the adjoining compartment, the officiants next produced certain implements that were used at the Opening of the Mouth<sup>6</sup>. After the presentation of food and drink, by means of which the Opening of the Mouth was completed<sup>7</sup>, the dead king, according to the texts in the pyramid of Neferkerē<sup>8</sup>, was furnished with various ceremonial garments and with royal insignia<sup>9</sup>. The next series of episodes, the offering of unguents, cosmetics, and napkins<sup>10</sup>, are preliminaries of the old funerary banquet. But, together with the acts immediately preceding, they also bear a general resemblance to what must have followed the purifying of the king's mouth at his daily toilet in the *pr-dwst*<sup>11</sup>. The rite ended with the serving up of the banquet.

<sup>1</sup> It might have been expected that when the use of a portrait-statue was introduced into the funerary cult, the rite, as in the case of divinities, would have been performed in its presence, and that the lustral water would have been sprinkled on it. But it must be borne in mind that there was this difference between the cult of divinities and the cult of dead kings: if the cultus-statue of a divinity were to have been destroyed or to have perished with age it would have been replaced, for the worship of a divinity was for the benefit of the community; the maintenance of the cult of dead kings, however, was in most cases for their own benefit only, and their successors could hardly, therefore, be expected to renew their statues if any mishap befell them, whence the only safe course was to wall them up.

<sup>2</sup> In certain mastabehs at Gizeh there was no statue-chamber, the persons buried therein apparently not being furnished with statues. Instead, a stele with a figure of the deceased carved upon it was erected in the cult-room. The continued existence of the deceased was evidently thought to be as much bound up in these cases with the stele as, in other cases, with the statue. Hence it too was walled up with blocks of stone to preserve it from damage or destruction (JUNKER, *Vorbericht über die zweite Grabung bei den Pyramiden von Gizeh*, pp. 4 foll., with Pl. III).

<sup>3</sup> *Pyr.*, § 22 foll.

<sup>4</sup> See KEES, *Recueil de Textes*, p. 8; cf. MORET, *Rituel du culte divin journalier*, pp. 171—177. In the Opening of the Mouth the statue was fumigated with incense after the presentation of the natron (BUDGE, *The Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, p. 10). For fumigation with incense as the ordinary sequel to a bath see *Pyr.*, §§ 1164 c, 1180 a—1181 b, 2066 a, b. The burning of incense, it should also be noted, is the regular accompaniment of a libation (e.g. BLACKMAN, *The Temple of Derr*, Pls. XXXVI, XLII, LVII, LXIII; JUNKER, *Gottesdekret*, p. 20, fig. 6).

<sup>5</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 26 foll.

<sup>6</sup> *Pyr.*, § 30 a, b.

<sup>7</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 31—40.

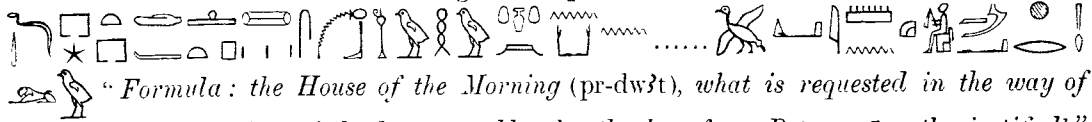
<sup>8</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 41—49.

<sup>9</sup> *Pyr.*, §§ 50—57.

<sup>10</sup> After his actual purification the king would have been anointed, clothed, adorned with his jewelled collar, bracelets, etc., presented with the *Im-sceptre* and arrayed in a wig or in the *nms-* or *hst-* head-cloth, or else crowned with the royal diadem; see above, pp. 148 and 150, and cf. BUDGE, *op. cit.*, vol. II, pp. 40—63; MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 179 foll. and 238 foll.

Journ. of Egypt. Arch. v.

We can now understand why in the tomb-chapel of Petamenōpe the formulae written above the so-called "List of Offerings" are prefaced by the following line of text:—



The reason is that into the "List of Offerings," which is really a collection of directions for the due celebration of the funerary banquet, has been incorporated a version of the Rite of the *pr-dw3t*².

Thus when Dḥutnakht of El-Bersheh prays that the southern and the northern *itrt* may make for him a *pr-dw3t*, he is merely asking for a regular performance of the mortuary service in his tomb-chapel, *i.e.* the presentation of offerings preceded by episodes that represent what was originally the daily royal morning toilet.

The Rite of the *pr-dw3t* closely resembles the daily service performed in all Egyptian temples in historic times. After certain preliminaries, which included opening the doors of the shrine and making prostrations³, the officiating priest took the cultus-image out of the shrine. He first sprinkled it with water, fumigated it with incense⁴, and purified its mouth with natron⁵; after which he arrayed it in various coloured wrappings⁶, decked it with ornaments⁷, crowned it⁸, and finally presented it with a meal⁹. The fact is, as I propose to show in a future article, that the daily temple liturgy, as we know it, is based upon the rite that was performed every day on behalf of the cultus-statue of the Heliopolitan sun-god. Indeed the purificatory performances in the *pr-dw3t* are themselves derived from that rite,—the king identified with the sun-god being treated in the same manner as the god's image. After undergoing lustration, the image of the sun-god was robed, anointed, and crowned etc., because the god was regarded as a king, or rather as the prototype of all Egyptian kings. Accordingly, both in the case of the king and of the sun-god, the toilet-episodes that followed the lustral washing were practically identical.

As we have seen, several of the local divinities were identified with the sun-god. Now the king in one aspect was regarded as the son of the sun-god¹⁰; he was therefore regarded as the son of the gods identified with the sun-god. This idea of sonship would soon affect the relationship of the king with all divinities whether male or female. The king was also the high-priest of the sun-god, and he became high-priest of the local divinities by the same process as that by which he came to be regarded as their son. The local high-priesthoods also, of course, devolved upon the Pharaoh as the supreme head of the centralized government of Egypt, in whom were united all the political and religious

¹ DUMICHEN, *Der Grabpalast des Petamenop*, Pl. V.

² Offerings of food and drink were also regarded as purificatory in a secondary sense, viz. they imbued the recipient with mysterious vital force and divine qualities. See the art. PURIFICATION (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, pp. 478<sup>a</sup>, 479<sup>b</sup> = § v. 1, d), and 3. Hence the priest in the daily temple service *e.g.* MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 19, 37 and *passim*⁵, prefates the constant assertion "I am pure" with the words "An offering which the king gives,"—a formula to which at an early date great magical potency was ascribed and which mysteriously brought into existence offerings of food and drink for the person on whose behalf it was repeated; see DAVIES-GARDINER, *op. cit.*, p. 92.

³ MORET, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—66.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, pp. 171—177.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 202 foll.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, pp. 178 foll.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 238 foll.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 238, 240.

⁹ ERMAN, *Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, p. 46.

¹⁰ BLACKMAN, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XL, pp. 60 foll.

functions that once belonged to the local chiefs<sup>1</sup>. As their son and high-priest he, or his deputy<sup>2</sup>, would naturally have performed the same rite on behalf of the local divinities as in the first instance on behalf of the sun-god.

When the dead king was identified with Osiris the posthumous lustration and the funerary cult in general acquired a different significance, though there seems to have been little change in the exterior forms, which had doubtless become stereotyped. The significance of the Osirianized washing of the dead in the embalmment and other funerary rites is sufficiently set forth in my previous article on p. 118 of this volume of the *Journal*.

The cult of Osiris, whether this god is to be regarded as actually a dead king or as the personification of dead kingship, would have been the same in form as that of any dead Egyptian king. Now the living king was Horus, and Horus according to the myth was the son of Osiris, with whom, certainly by the end of the Fifth Dynasty, every dead king was identified. Since the living Pharaoh Horus was regarded as the son of all Egyptian divinities, his relationship with them naturally enough came to be regarded as that of Horus with his father Osiris, especially as the rite celebrated by him on behalf of these divinities so closely resembled that celebrated by him on behalf of his dead father. Accordingly for cult-purposes every Egyptian divinity came to be regarded as an Osiris, the king or his deputy the priest, playing the part of Horus. Thus the daily temple liturgy, that was based upon that performed for the Heliopolitan sun-god, underwent the same process of Osirianization as the funerary rites based upon the Rite of the *pr-dwst*. Naturally the Opening of the Mouth was Osirianized, for by it the portrait-statue was identified with the body of the dead king, *i.e.* the body of Osiris. Lastly the Osirianization of the rites derived from that of the *pr-dwst* led to the Osirianization of that rite itself, as we see in the texts attached to the representations of it that date from the Ptolemaic epoch<sup>3</sup>.

It would be as well, perhaps, to give a few examples of the Osirianization of these originally solar rites.

The daily service on behalf of the dead king had, as is shown by *Pyr.* §§ 16 foll., been completely Osirianized by the end of the Fifth Dynasty. Accordingly the water used for the libation which preceded the offering of natron and which was substituted for the lustral washing of the king's body, is not identified with the water of a sacred solar pool nor associated with Horus, Thôth, Sêth, and Sepa, but is said to be the moisture that has exuded from Osiris<sup>4</sup>. By means of this water the dead king identified with Osiris receives back his vital fluid and his heart is no longer still (*wrd*), but beats again. That this libation actually does represent the old Heliopolitan lustration is shown by the fact that it is followed by the offering of natron (which act represents the purification of the mouth by the chewing of that substance), and also by the fact that the formulae pronounced when the natron was offered are the same as those recited when natron was offered after lustration in the Rite of the *pr-dwst*, and in the closely connected Opening of the Mouth and daily temple liturgy. In these two last-mentioned rites, and in the version of the Rite of the *pr-dwst* preserved at Edfu, the formula pronounced during the lustration was likewise Osirianized. The water used for sprinkling the living king and the dead king's portrait

<sup>1</sup> See the writer's art. PRIEST, PRIESTHOOD (Egyptian), in HASTINGS, *op. cit.*, p. 293<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 294<sup>b</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> *E.g.*, KEEs, *Recueil de Travaux*, pp. 7 foll.; CHASSINAT, *Mammisi d'Edfou*, pp. 69, 85; BÉNÉDITE, *L'Île de Philae*, pp. 9, 82 foll.



<sup>4</sup> *Pyr.*, § 22 foll.

statue, is still associated with Horus, Thōth, Sēth, and Sepa<sup>1</sup>, but it is also said to unite the bones, adjust the head to the bones, and make the person, statue or divinity "complete" (*tm*) in every particular<sup>2</sup>. Thus, to the Heliopolitan formula that ascribed the washing of the king etc. to divinities associated with the sun-cult, was tacked on an Osirian formula which represented the object of the lustration as a dismembered corpse that was being revived. A similar Osirian formula was repeated at the lustral washing of the dead king, as I have shown on p. 119 of this volume of the *Journal*.

There are a few more points that I want to draw attention to before bringing to a close what is, I fear, a rambling and disconnected article.

The Old Kingdom Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* not only officiated at the Pharaoh's daily morning toilet, but also, I would suggest, (a) at the performances in the temple *pr-dwšt*, and (b) at the washing of his royal master's corpse.

(a) We have seen that the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* is closely associated with that of Unique Friend (var. Friend). In the relief referred to on p. 155, which depicts the washing of king Nuserre's feet in the *pr-dwšt* of his sun-temple, it is a Friend who holds the can for feet-ablutions. Khnemhotpe (no. 7), a Friend, Controller of the Palace, Keeper of the Crown etc., was an Inspector of the *wꜥb*-priests of Userkaf's sun-temple, while Enkheftka (no. 8), also a Friend and Controller of the Palace, besides being a Superintendent of the king's linen, the king's adornment, and the bath-room of Pharaoh, was a *wꜥb* priest of Sahure's sun-temple. Again Ti (no. 13) in addition to being a Unique Friend, Controller of the Palace, and the courtier responsible for the care of the Pharaoh's wigs and diadem, was Superintendent of the sun-temples of Sahure, Neferirkere, Nefrurere, and Nuserre. It is most probable, therefore, that these three functionaries not only supervised the mysteries in the *pr-dwšt* of the palace, but those in the *pr-dwšt* of the temples to which they were attached. Lastly Emrōri of Denderch (no. 25), apart from that of Nomarch (*hꜥtj-ꜥ*), bears no titles that are not priestly, most of them being connected with the cult of Hathor. A purely local notable, as Emrōri appears to have been, could hardly have officiated at the toilet of his sovereign in distant Memphis or Herakleopolis. In his case, therefore, Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* possibly means that he took part in the ceremonies of the *pr-dwšt* in Hathor's temple at Denderch, when the Pharaoh came to visit the goddess and to exercise before her his high-priestly office.

(b) Kenōfer (no. 1) certainly assisted the king at his daily morning toilet, as the association of the title Supervisor of the *pr-dwšt* with those of Unique Friend and Controller of the Palace indicates. But his being a Superintendent of his father king Snefru's pyramid suggests that he also officiated at the funerary Rite of the *pr-dwšt*. The same funerary function may also be assigned to Enkheftka (no. 8; see also above under a), who was a *wꜥb*-priest of the pyramid of Sahure; Kenrōmet (; no. 11), a prophet of the pyramid of Nuserre; Ti (no. 13), superintendent of the pyramid of Neferirkere, superintendent of the prophets of that pyramid, and superintendent of the pyramid of Nuserre; Isēsikha (no. 21) an official of the pyramid of Piōpi I; Sēsi (no. 22), an inspector of the prophets of the same pyramid; Mereruka (no. 18), an inspector of the prophets of Teti's pyramid; and above all to Sekhemkerek (no. 9), who bore the title of  Anubis the Embalmer, i.e. he was the chief officiant at the Rite of Embalmmnt.

<sup>1</sup> BUDGE, *Book of Opening the Mouth*, vol. II, pp. 3 foll.; KEES, *op. cit.*, p. 8.

<sup>2</sup> *Loc. cit.*; MOREL, *op. cit.*, pp. 171 foll.

The above-mentioned Kenōfer and Sekhemkerē, also Iunmin (no. 4) and Sethu (no. 17), were sons of kings, in which connection it should be remembered that it is his sons who are represented as assisting at the washing of the dead *Dhuthotpe* of El-Bersheh<sup>1</sup>, and who, on the analogy of the procedure followed at the court, would have acted in the same capacity when he was alive.

It would appear, therefore, that the same courtiers who assisted the king at his daily morning toilet in the *pr-dwst* of the palace, assisted both at his purifying, robing etc., in the *pr-dwst* of the temple and at the derived performance that took place at the embalmment of his corpse.

It will be observed that Meriteti (no. 19), the son of the great noble and official Mereruka, is entitled in the latter's tomb-chapel, Lector of his father, Supervisor of the Mysteries of the *pr-dwst*. The addition of the words “of his father” to the title Lector, and the close association of this title with that of Supervisor of the Mysteries of the *pr-dwst*, suggest that the *pr-dwst* here mentioned is not that of the king, but that the mysteries of the *pr-dwst* denote in this case the lustral washing etc. of Mereruka's corpse.

It is highly probable that the posthumous washing of the deceased to ensure his rebirth had ceased to be an exclusively royal funerary rite by the beginning of the Sixth Dynasty, the period when Mereruka flourished. The closely connected Rite of Opening the Mouth was performed on statues of subjects as early as the end of the Third Dynasty, as we learn from reliefs in the tomb-chapel of Methen<sup>2</sup>. Moreover by the end of the Sixth Dynasty<sup>3</sup> portions of the *Pyramid Texts* were inscribed on the coffins of subjects, thus ensuring for them the celestial destiny that, according to the earlier conception, viz. that of the Heliopolitan priesthood, was reserved for the dead Pharaoh.

N.B. The title “Supervisor of the Mysteries of the House of the Morning,” when quoted in this article, is generally, for convenience sake, abbreviated to “Supervisor of the House of the Morning.”

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 118, 123.

<sup>2</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part II, Pl. 4 foll. Methen's statue is in the Berlin Museum, as are also the reliefs from his *maštabeli* (LEPSIUS, *loc. cit.*, and MASPERO, *The Dawn of Civilization*, ed. 1894, p. 293).

<sup>3</sup> See MACE-WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, pp. 50 foll. and 114 foll.

## THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART AT CLEVELAND, OHIO

BY CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS, PH.D., D.LITT.

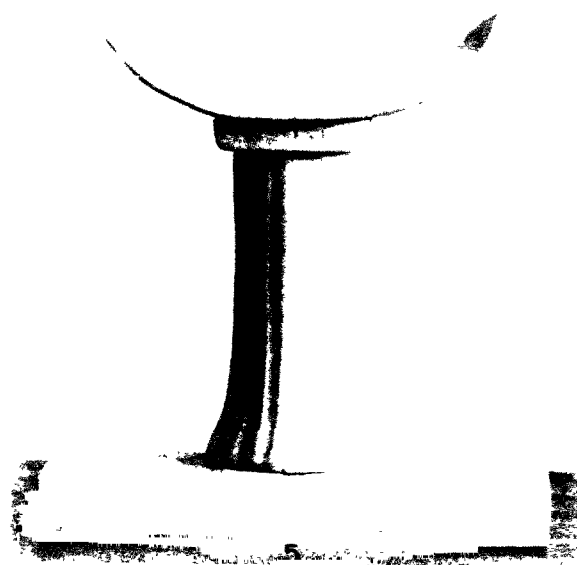
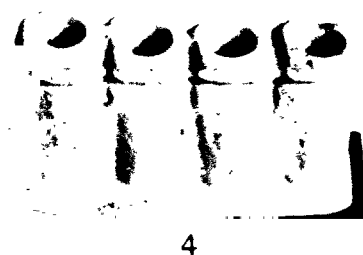
WHEN in June 1916 the Cleveland Museum of Art opened its doors to the public, one gallery of Egyptian objects, about five hundred in number<sup>1</sup>, was included in the inaugural exhibition. These objects had been acquired in Egypt in 1913 by a special agent of the Museum and were thus a part of its permanent collections, which even then were very creditable, considering the youth of the institution. Through the courtesy of the Director of the Museum, Mr F. Allen Whiting, I have had opportunity to study the collection and am now permitted to publish certain pieces selected to show the quality of the material and to illustrate its range of interest. I wish to acknowledge my indebtedness also to Mr J. Arthur MacLean, Curator of the Museum, for answering various questions which developed with reference to the material in the course of writing this paper.

Of vessels in the collection, those of stone are the most varied and representative; among them is an entire large tomb group from Sakḥāreh of the Early Dynastic period. The pottery vessels, although numerous, are not so well distributed through the different kinds of wares, being largely Middle Kingdom specimens from Harageh: the collection contains, however, one excellent large pot (141.14) of the so-called Decorated, or Red-lined, Pre-historic ware, an XVIIIth Dynasty storage vessel with head of Hathor in relief (142.14), an interesting Empire vase of fine red pottery imitating a leather bag (391.14), and a few late pieces. Two bronze vessels, some good early glass vases, a few pieces of faience, and several XVIIIth Dynasty dummy vases of painted wood (388-390.14) complete the number of the vessels. Three of the later stone pieces and a tiny group in faience are selected for notice here.

No. 1 (see figure on next page and Plate XXVI. top, left). Vase (78.14). Alabaster. XVIIIth Dynasty? Ht., 9¼ in., diam. at top, 5¼ in. Pieces lost from the rim and from the body near the base.

This unusual form suggests a type of vase, with and without handle, which is familiar

<sup>1</sup> The total number is now five hundred and seventy-five, including material from Harageh presented by the British School of Archaeology in Egypt, and some gifts from individuals. This total does not include material recently purchased in Egypt of which word has just come to me. The new purchases will fill some lacunae indicated in these pages and add a number of unique objects to this interesting collection.

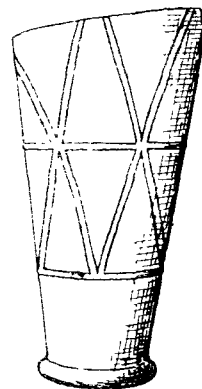


THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART  
AT CLEVELAND, OHIO (I)






in Cretan paintings and originals<sup>1</sup>, and is included among the foreign vessels known to the Egyptians<sup>2</sup>. The resemblance lies in the straight sides tapering downward. The Cleveland vase is less slender than the majority of the Cretan vessels, but nevertheless its proportions can be paralleled among them. A ring-stand made in one piece with the vase, as here, is unusual if it occurs among examples from the Aegean regions, but among the vessels brought by the foreign tribute-bearers in the tomb of Rekhmirê are represented not only vases of the common Cretan form, pointed at the bottom, but others which have low ring-stands, united with the vase, as is evident in one carried by its handle. Our vase is carved in relief to represent a network of cords such as might have been used to suspend it. Another peculiarity is that the rim is not in the same plane with the base but slants sharply (see the cut). Possibly this slant was occasioned by the shape of the block of alabaster available for making the vase. As no record of the finding of the vase has been preserved and as complete parallels apparently fail, one is at a loss to date it, unless the general resemblance to the foreign forms which have been cited warrants pronouncing it an XVIIIth Dynasty piece of native workmanship influenced by imported models<sup>3</sup>.



No. 2 (Plate XXVI, top, centre). Ointment jar (73.14). Alabaster. XIIth or XVIIIth Dynasty. Ht.,  $2\frac{3}{8}$  in., diam. at top,  $2\frac{3}{16}$  in.

Small toilet vases of the shape of this one extend over a considerable period but are commonest in the XIIth and XVIIIth Dynasties. The Cleveland vase was no doubt once furnished with a flat cover. Its special interest lies in the inscription  "ointment," "salve," incised on the exterior, which must have been intended to indicate the contents of the jar<sup>4</sup>.

No. 3 (Plate XXVI, top, right). Dish on a stand (79.14). Alabaster. XVIIIth or XIXth Dynasty. Ht.,  $5\frac{1}{4}$  in., diam. at rim,  $7\frac{1}{4}$  in. Parts of base and lip missing.

This form of dish with its three ribs about the body was introduced in the XVIIIth Dynasty and is found with and without the stand raising it from the ground. When the bottom is rounded, as here, we may infer that the vase originally had a stand, even when the latter is not preserved. Other pieces intended for use alone have a low foot. It is perhaps uncertain whether the present two parts belonged together originally, but at least the form resulting from their union is a normal one. Some related dishes have only two ribs and are thus shallower.

In the Cairo catalogue of stone vessels examples are published and cited which vary

<sup>1</sup> For instance, PERROT ET CHUPIEZ, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, Vol. VI, p. 919, Fig. 473; HAWES, *Gournia, Vasiliki and other Prehistoric Sites in Crete*, Pl. VII, Nos. 26 and 29.

<sup>2</sup> See WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Vol. I, Pl. II A, painting in the tomb of Rekhmirê.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. the blue-glazed Egyptian vase of similar proportions, but with handle and pointed bottom, given in HALL, *The Oldest Civilization of Greece*, p. 186, Fig. 53; this clearly imitates a Cretan type.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the Middle Kingdom toilet jars found at Dashûr with covers bearing inscriptions in hieratic writing particularizing their contents, DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour*, Mars-Juin, 1894, p. 110.

in date from the reign of Tuthmosis III to that of Ramesses II<sup>1</sup>. Reference is made in the text to similar vases found on the island of Cyprus, but no examples are quoted. Four such vessels from Cyprus are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, contained in the Cesnola Collection, *viz.*, No. 1637, a dish similar to the one in Cleveland, but smaller and with stand and bowl worked out of one piece of alabaster<sup>2</sup>, No. 1636, a larger, similar vessel without stand, also of alabaster<sup>2</sup>, No. 1579 without stand, made of green faience, decorated in the interior with a lotus flower (*Nymphaea lotus*) seen from below, as the sepals partly cover the petals<sup>3</sup>, and No. 1538 of black steatite with stand and dish in one piece<sup>4</sup>. All these vases appear to be local imitations of Egyptian products, rather than importations from Egypt, to judge by the unpleasing quality of the alabaster and faience, the thick walls, and somewhat clumsy workmanship. The faience vase from Cyprus is placed by Prof. Myres in the "late Bronze Age, 1500—1200 B.C.," the black steatite one in the period 1200—1000 B.C.<sup>5</sup> The latter, at least, according to Prof. Myres' reckoning, is later than the dated pieces found in Egypt. Although extant Egyptian dishes of this class made of stone<sup>6</sup> are fairly abundant, the form seems absent from Theban tomb-paintings, so far as publications show; yet these same tomb-paintings contain numerous high-stemmed drinking-cups of the form pictured in WILKINSON-BIRCH, *Manners and Customs*, Vol. II, Fig. 268 on p. 2<sup>7</sup>, which agree in general proportions with the vases under discussion, but have bowls of different outline. The available material does not settle the question whether our vase is of foreign or native design, but at least the Cypriote examples mentioned do not suggest a foreign origin for it.

No. 4 (Pl. XXVI, middle). Four miniature jars on a common base (1281.16, on loan). Light green-blue faience. XXVIth Dynasty or later. Length, 1½ in.

The Cairo Museum contains numerous miniature faience vases, among them, besides those which occur singly, six groups of two jars on a common base, eleven of four jars forming a square on plan, and one of four jars in a row as here<sup>8</sup>. This last, No. 3800, is somewhat larger than our piece, being m. 0.052 long. The extant groups are not confined, however, to the twos and fours represented in the Cairo catalogue; a group of six is among the types which were prevalent at Abydos<sup>9</sup>, and a group of eight is contained in the Leyden

<sup>1</sup> VON BISSING, *Steingefässe*, Nos. 18210, 18215—218, Pl. VII and p. xxi. A close parallel to our piece, not included in Dr von Bissing's examples, is in the Leyden collection, see LEEMANS, *Monuments égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-bas à Leide*, Vol. II, Pl. LVI, 170; related forms on this plate and Pl. LV. Cf. also PEIRIE, *Labyrinth, Gizeh, and Mazghuneh*, Pl. XVI, 3, and ENGELBACH, *Riqqeh and Memphis VI*, Pl. XI, 5.

<sup>2</sup> MYRES, *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection*, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> MYRES, *op. cit.*, p. 274, published DI CESNOLA, *A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. III, Pl. CVIII, 3. Diam., 7¼ in.

<sup>4</sup> MYRES, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

<sup>5</sup> So on museum label dictated by Prof. Myres.

<sup>6</sup> See also a toilet box of wood without stand, *Bulletin de l'Institut Franç. d'Arch. Orientale*, Vol. I, pp. 227—231, and Plate II, 4a and b, late XVIIIth Dynasty. I am unable to cite any Egyptian examples of faience, although they probably exist.

<sup>7</sup> WRZESINSKI, *Atlas zur altägyptischen Kulturgeschichte*, text to Pl. 90, reproduces one of the Leyden vases of our type à propos of a scene in the tomb of Rekhmirê, but his parallel is not precise; the vessel held by the slave-girl in the painting has a different bowl.

<sup>8</sup> VON BISSING, *Feuiergefässe*, Nos. 3732, 3733, 3782—93, 3798—800, 3803, with p. xxviii.

<sup>9</sup> MARIETTE, *Catalogue général des monuments d'Abydos*, No. 1369, p. 526.


museum<sup>1</sup>. The forms include various wide-mouthed vessels, the *hes*-vase, and the low water-jar with spout. A group of four, square on plan, in the Art Institute, Chicago (No. 94.646), is sufficiently large to have been used for liquid in small quantity<sup>2</sup>. The majority of the jars, however, have so little capacity that one is forced to agree with the opinion expressed long ago by Mariette that they were not intended to hold anything. Presumably they served the dead mystically in the place of vessels of normal dimensions. The finding of two silver groups at the foot of the mummy and still others within the Canopic jars of the same burial is reported in the *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte*, Vol. III (1902), p. 211. Apparently it was felt that the parts of the body placed in the Canopic jars must have their provision of model vases, too. Dr von Bissing dates the Cairo pieces to the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, perhaps judging from their glaze, as he states that all record of the circumstances of their discovery has been lost; the appearance of the Cleveland group would not necessitate so late a dating.

Among the miscellaneous objects of stone and faience is one of alabaster (127.14) shaped like the wooden plasterer's float, found with mortar on it, which is published in PETRIE, *Kahun, Gurob and Hawara*, Pl. IX, 9. The Cleveland piece, in view of its material and smaller size (length,  $5\frac{7}{16}$  in.) is perhaps a ceremonial float<sup>3</sup>.

Another object is a blue faience pomegranate (59.14) of the style of the nineteen or more examples discovered in the tomb of Amenophis II<sup>4</sup>.

We may here consider also the following numbers :

No. 5 (Plate XXVI, bottom). Head-rest of "the King's *špšt*, Yerwet" (80.14). Alabaster. Late Vth or VIth Dynasty. Ht.,  $7\frac{11}{16}$  in.; base,  $7\frac{3}{8}$  by  $2\frac{1}{8}$  in.

This number is an excellent example of a type of Old Kingdom head-rest which satisfies the aesthetic sense by its good proportions and vigorous lines. A plain space equal to about two and one-half flutes was reserved on the front of the stem for a vertical inscription which, however, never was added, as the head-rest was eventually bought for a woman with a short name and only one short title, and her inscription  was readily accommodated on the edge of the block below the curving head-piece. The title, which was frequent only from the end of the Vth through the VIth Dynasty, is of significance for the date of the head-rest. Its meaning, in common with that of many other Egyptian titles, has not been defined. It has been rendered "Royal Noblewoman"<sup>5</sup> and "Royal Lady"<sup>6</sup>, but why should the wife and daughters of provincial grandees be thus called? Did the title indicate blood relationship with the king? Was it a rank conferred by him

<sup>1</sup> LEEMANS, *op. cit.*, II, Pl. XCIV, 227.

<sup>2</sup> For data with respect to material in the museums of Chicago and for various suggestions and corrections, I am indebted to Dr T. G. Allen.

<sup>3</sup> Miniature mason's floats were put in foundation deposits, see THEODORE M. DAVIS, *The Tomb of Hôtshopsîtu*, Pl. XV, 2, p. 105. In addition to the actual floats found at Kahun, see WILKINSON-BIRCH *op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 391, 3, p. 175.

<sup>4</sup> DARESSY, *Fouilles de la Vallée des Rois*, Pl. XXX, Nos. 24508—24525.

<sup>5</sup> PETRIE, *Deshasheh*, p. 20.

<sup>6</sup> DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of Sheikh Saïd*, p. 30.

<sup>7</sup> See especially *Annales du Service*, Vol. III (1902), pp. 256 and 257.

on the women of the families he desired to propitiate, and sometimes also on the sons<sup>1</sup> of the family?

In the use of a head-rest instead of pillow the Egyptians are linked with the Orient and differ from the peoples to the north of the Mediterranean; indeed in no other country of the Orient can the head-rest be traced to so remote a date. The assumption is generally made that it came in as a means of preserving elaborate coiffures during the hours of sleep. M. Capart, being unable to cite very much evidence for elaborate hair-dressing among the early Egyptians, argues<sup>2</sup> that they must nevertheless have practised the art because they made use of head-rests! Prof. Petrie adheres to the usual view, but observes<sup>3</sup> that the shape, long and wide, of the uppermost member of the Egyptian head-rests is not specially suited to complicated coiffures, contrasting in this respect with the wooden pillows of modern African tribes, which are narrow at the top, doubtless to accommodate elaborately dressed hair. In view of the Egyptian custom of cutting short the natural hair and wearing wigs, the usual explanation of the purpose of Egyptian head-rests is not convincing. It necessitates assuming, with Prof. Erman<sup>4</sup>, that the Egyptians slept in their wigs; yet in the day-time, to judge by the mastaba reliefs, they shifted freely from a wigless state to one of formal embellishment with now a short, now a long, perruque. Is it not possible that the head-rest had its origin in a different conception of comfort<sup>5</sup> from that of the western world, and that the Egyptians in their hot climate did not care to embed their heads in pillows?

No. 6 (Plate XXVII, top). Reel for thread? (250.14.) Pale blue faience. About XXIIInd Dynasty. Diam.,  $1\frac{1}{8}$  in.

Small disks similar to this one, made of faience of varying shades of blue and green and ornamented on both sides, are fairly numerous. The most probable explanation which has been offered for them is that they are reels for thread<sup>6</sup>, a view which probably is based on their general resemblance to plain reels with ancient thread in position, such as the one of wood in the Leyden museum<sup>7</sup>. It is not apparent why some have two opposed holes through the groove for the thread<sup>8</sup>, others have holes in the middle of the two sides<sup>9</sup>, and the Cleveland piece is without any opening into the interior, although each side has a deep depression in the centre. They differ, too, in form: some, like the one in Cleveland and the examples in New York, are flat on one side and convex on the other; others are convex on both sides, usually, however, in a differing degree<sup>10</sup>. I do not know of any which are flat on

<sup>1</sup> DAVIES, *The Rock Tombs of Deir el Gebrawi*, Vol. II, Pl. XVIII; *Annales du Service*, Vol. III, p. 256. Another instance of the title borne by a man, CAPART, *Une rue de tombeaux à Sakkarah*, Pl. CII.

<sup>2</sup> *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 42.

<sup>3</sup> *Heliopolis, Kafr Ammar, and Shurafa*, p. 22.

<sup>4</sup> *Life in Ancient Egypt*, p. 185.

<sup>5</sup> PETRIE, *op. cit.*, p. 22, gives evidence that the Egyptians ameliorated by more or less padding the hardness of the headrests.

<sup>6</sup> So PETRIE, *Tools and Weapons*, p. 53, § 148.

<sup>7</sup> WILKINSON-BIRCH, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, No. 392, p. 176.

<sup>8</sup> So a specimen in the Art Institute, Chicago, No. 94. 478, which is of a darker blue than the majority.

<sup>9</sup> No. 31012 in the Field Museum, Chicago, of dark gray-blue colour, 15. 3. 871 and 872 in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, from the Museum's excavations in the village of the XXth—XXIIInd Dynasty at the North Pyramid of Lisht. All these have the pattern worked *à jour* on one side.

<sup>10</sup> So the Chicago pieces and the one published in GAUTIER-JÉQUIER, *Fouilles de Licht*, p. 106, Fig. 142.



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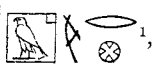




both sides like the Leyden wooden reel. The ornament in many instances consists, on the one side of a large rosette, on the other of concentric patterns of petals, small rectangles, leaf-like motives, and, rarely, as here, the Greek maeander. Prof. Petrie suggests that they date from the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, and the two from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Lisht cannot be later than that date.

The class of seals and signet-rings is well represented in the Cleveland collection. The rings include a few fragile ones of bright blue faience, which are signet-rings only in form, a good illustration of the swivel type in No. 252.14, namely a bronze ring set with scarab of Ramesses II, and several with solid bezel made of cornelian and lapis lazuli. Among the seals are examples of the "button" type, a goodly number of scarabs, including one of gold of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty (258.14), and some attractive fancy forms, such as one having a small ibis (248.14), and another a cat, in the round, on the top. Three of the seals are described in the following paragraphs:

No. 7 (Plate XXVII, centre). Cylinder-seal of Mycerinus (16.656). Basalt? IV<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Length,  $\frac{1}{8}$  of an inch.

A photographic view of the seal itself and of an impression of its device are given in the Plate. The formula "King X, beloved of Hathor, beloved of the gods," found here, is the sole device on some other royal cylinder-seals of the Old Kingdom; both epithets occur also as a part of longer royal cylinder inscriptions. The somewhat unusual *t* filling in the space under the *mr*-sign is probably a mere distortion of, or mistake for, *r*. As a parallel-in thought, also testifying to Hathor as special patroness of the king at this early time, the place-name,  <sup>1</sup>, may be cited. Indeed the cult of this goddess must have flourished greatly, judging by the number of lay priests and priestesses she had among the nobility of the time. The known cylinders of Mycerinus are not fewer than ten<sup>2</sup>. They were used, of course, not by the king himself, but by those in his service.

No. 8 (Plate XXVII, bottom, right). Seal (259.14). Blue-glazed steatite. XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Diam.,  $\frac{9}{16}$  of an inch.

This seal is a lovely example of its class. The bright blue glaze is well preserved and both designs are cleanly cut. On the bottom the stalks of two papyrus umbels are coiled into spirals and the remaining space is filled with two hieroglyphs (*nfr* and *t*) twice repeated. The top design falls in the category of "pure ornament." The exquisite sense of balance and spacing exhibited in this tiny object is characteristic of Egyptian ornament of the Twentieth Century B.C., which deserves more attention from modern students of design than it receives.

<sup>1</sup> BORCHARDT-SETHE, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sâhu-re*, Vol. II, Text, p. 106.

<sup>2</sup> NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, Pl. V, Nos. 2, 3, and 4; PETRIE, *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names*, Pl. IX, 4. 1, 1 (= *History* I, Fig. 34) and 2; SCHÄFER-MÖLLER, *Goldschmiedearbeit*, p. 15, No. 7 (of gold); LEGRAIN, *Annales du Service*, Vol. IV (1903), p. 134; MACE, *The March Collection of Egyptian Antiquities* (Supplement to the Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Jan. 1911), Fig. 3, 1; *A Catalogue of the Scarabs Belonging to George Fraser*, 1900, p. 2, No. 10.



No. 9 (Plate XXVII, bottom, left). Scarab-seal of the "Keeper of the Palace-Storehouse, Userkerē-Cankhu" (287.14). Green-glazed steatite. Early XVth Dynasty? Length, 1 in.

This scarab belongs to the class of seals of officials that is abundantly illustrated in NEWBERRY, *Scarabs*, Pls. XIII—XVII. Its special interest lies in the personal name compounded with that of a king<sup>1</sup>, Userkerē, about whom little is known and who has been assigned to the XIIIth Dynasty and again to the opening of the XVth Dynasty<sup>2</sup>. The name Userkerē occurs also on another scarab, belonging to the Fraser collection, the genuineness of which was once doubted by Dr Max Pieper; he must, however, have felt reassured about it when he later cited it in the handbook of Egyptian kings' names, which he and the late Dr Burchardt issued jointly<sup>3</sup>. The present scarab is additional evidence for the existence of a king Userkerē in the period following the decline of the Middle Kingdom.

The personal ornaments in the collection include, besides the Middle Kingdom jewelry described below, the following numbers: 307—311.14, five tiny recumbent lions of silver and electrum of a type found at Dashûr<sup>4</sup>; 364.14, a glass "divider" from a bracelet or anklet with three frogs in the round on top; a small, but characteristic, assemblage of corn-flowers, persea fruits, sepals, petals, leaves, etc. of faience, dating from the XVIIIth Dynasty; a fair representation of beads, amulets, and pendants of different periods and materials, in particular No. 374.14, consisting of eleven gold and two green felspar long beads, with one end rounded and larger than the other, which remind one of the beads worn by the Theban worthy Khaemhêt in the well-known Berlin relief (No. 2063), where each long bead<sup>5</sup> alternates with two ball beads and the strings, three in number, hang over the wide collar and serve to suspend a heart amulet.

No. 10 (Plate XXVIII, top, right). Four rosettes from a wig, eight beads (?), and two pendants (372.14). Silver. XIIIth Dynasty. Diam. of rosettes,  $\frac{1}{2}$  in.; length of pendants, exclusive of eyelet,  $\frac{7}{8}$  of an inch.

The four rosettes and a fifth broken specimen, accessioned under No. 373.14 and illustrated in the Plate, are of the type of the gold wig-rosettes found in the burial equipment of the lady Senebtisi, recently handsomely published by the Metropolitan Museum<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> There is no cartouche, to be sure, but the form of the name calls for either a god's or king's name in composition with *Cankhu*. Cf. HOFFMANN, *Die theophoren Personennamen des älteren Ägyptens*, pp. 1—4, and numerous combinations with king's names to be found in MURRAY, *Index of Names and Titles of the Old Kingdom*, pp. ii—iv, vii, viii, xi, xiv, and xv.

<sup>2</sup> For the occurrences of this king's name and the literature discussing his identity and date, see GAUTIER, *Livre des rois*, Vol. II 1912, pp. 138—139.

<sup>3</sup> *Königsnamen*, 1912, p. 44, No. 220.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. MORGAN, *op. cit.*, p. 61, Fig. 130 and Pl. XVII.

<sup>5</sup> Similar beads were found at Dashûr, see Dr. MORGAN, *op. cit.*, p. 63, No. 35, Pl. XVIII.

<sup>6</sup> MACE AND WINLOCK, *The Tomb of Senebtisi*, Pls. XV B and C, XXI, XXVIII D and F, with pp. 18, 59—60. Cf. the later silver rosettes with eight bars, 7 mm. in diameter, of similar, but less good, workmanship, now No. 15562 of the Berlin Museum, SCHAFFER-MÖLLER, *Goldschmiedearbeit*, Pl. II, and p. 68 = MACIVER AND MACE, *El Amrah and Abydos*, Pl. 52, p. 91. It is not unlikely that these rosettes and the larger one of PETRIE, *See Temples at Thebes*, p. 5 and Pl. III, 7, were sewn on cloth, rather than on wigs, in view of the frequent representation in the Decadence, from which they date, of drapery strewn with rosettes: cf. BUDGE, *The Mummy*, Fig. opposite p. 216.





Special interest attaches to these rosettes, because at the time Senebtisi's set of ninety-eight were discussed, the authors stated that "wig-rosettes such as these have not, so far as we know, come to light anywhere else in Egypt." Unfortunately the provenance of the pieces in Cleveland is unknown, but their agreement in size and technique with the rosettes found at Lisht leaves no room to doubt that they are of the Middle Kingdom and were used for the same purpose. Eighty-five of the Lisht rosettes are pierced twice for threading and thirteen have eyelets made of a separate strip of metal soldered to the back of the rosette; two types, one with sixteen, one with twelve, bars, are represented in the number. All the Cleveland pieces correspond with those from Lisht, having eyelets and sixteen bars or petals composing the rosette.

The two pendants have much the form of the lower ends of the front locks in a style of hair-dressing popular with women in the Middle Kingdom<sup>1</sup>; as such, they could have been derived only from a statuette with head-dress of silver. Probably, however, the eyelets indicate that they were parts of some collar or necklace. The pendants have a filling to render them more substantial; the beads, if such they were, at least have no filling at present, but consist each of a thin strip of silver bent into cylindrical, or nearly cylindrical, form and soldered; several have a greater diameter at one end than at the other.

No. 11 (Plate XXVIII, top, left). Nine cowry shells of silver; one cowry shell of electrum (373.14). Seven pendants of cornelian set in silver (361.14). XIIth Dynasty. Length of silver cowries 1—1 $\frac{1}{16}$  in.; of electrum cowry,  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch: of pendants, varies slightly, the largest  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an inch.

The characteristic cowry shells have been found widely distributed on Middle Kingdom sites<sup>2</sup>. The present examples have a filling and are pierced twice longitudinally for double stringing.

Probably the outline of the pendants was suggested by that of shells such as are represented unmistakably in Senebtisi's gold shells<sup>3</sup> and in a single gold shell of the Cleveland Museum (No. 15.25). The gold shell-pendants of the Senebtisi burial were combined with three strings of tiny beads of semi-precious stones, separated at short intervals by gold multiple beads, through which the threads of each string passed. This necklace, of which the design was quite accurately recovered, gives a hint of the way in which the pendants of the Cleveland collection may have been used. Good parallels to their technique are among the Dashûr jewelry<sup>4</sup>.

Included in the Cleveland collection are a number of objects which were said by the dealers to have come "from the Monkey tomb"! There seems small question, judging

<sup>1</sup> Discussed MACE AND WINLOCK, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> At Dashûr, DE MORGAN, *op. cit.*, Pls. XVII, XXIII, XXIV, with pp. 60, 5: 65, 7; 66, 11. At Illahûn, *Ancient Egypt*, Vol. I (1914), p. 98; *Journal of Eg. Arch.*, Vol. I (1914), Pl. XXIX, p. 186, and the *Illustrated London News*, June 20, 1914. At Beni Hasan, GARSTANG, *Burial Customs of Ancient Egypt*, p. 222, tomb 287, "cowries of silver"; note also the finding of "one cowry shell" in tomb 65 (p. 214), and "two cowry shells" in tomb 61 (p. 213), Pl. I and p. 4. At Thebes, *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. IX (1914), p. 17, Fig. 8.

<sup>3</sup> MACE AND WINLOCK, *op. cit.*, Pl. XXII and XXIII, and p. 60.

<sup>4</sup> DE MORGAN, *Fouilles à Dahchour* 1894—1895, Pl. V, Nos. 31, 32, and 33.

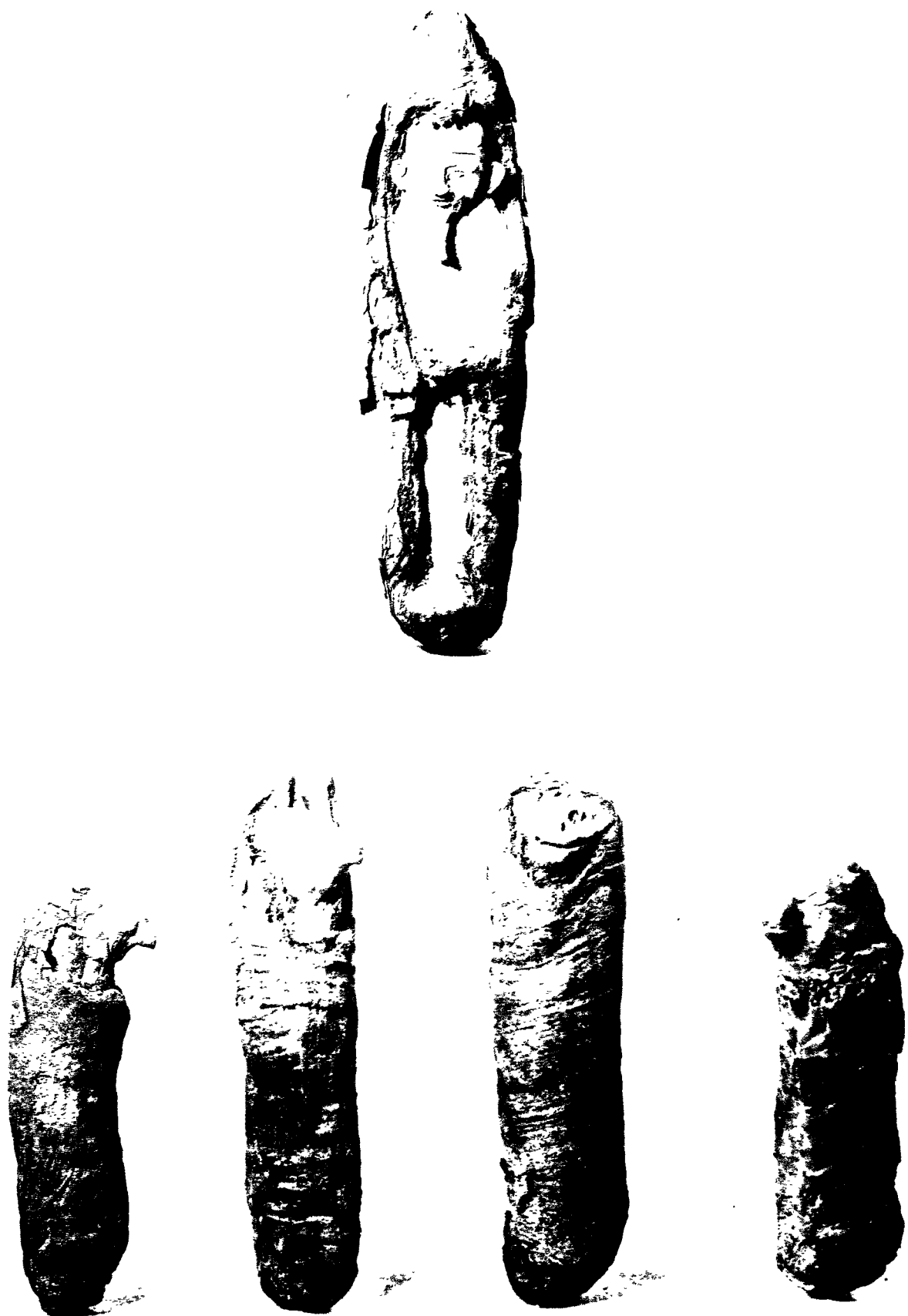
from the nature of the material and the time when it was acquired in Egypt, that it comes from the Wādy Gabbānet el-Ḳirūd to the west of Thebes, about which Mr Howard Carter wrote in Vol. IV of this *Journal*, pp. 109 and 110. The graves of apes at the mouth of the valley no doubt suggested the confused statement of the dealers. The material in question consists in part of mimic burials found under boulders. The figures are somewhat like *ushebtis* in size and in their manner of deposit, wrapped in linen, but they were not placed with human burials and do not, so far as I have been able to learn, bear the *ushebti* charm. It is very desirable that more of this material should be made known. The Cleveland Museum possesses from this source three pottery figures (38—40.14) and one mud figure (41.14), of which three are definitely characterized as Osiris by the head-dress, and two of the three further by the ceremonial fly-flap and the *hka*'-sceptre held in the hands. The fourth (39.14) wears the wig-cover with front shoulder-tabs, and might, so far as its appearance goes, be an ordinary *ushebti*. The figures are a trifle over six inches in height, they are exquisitely modelled and are painted in red, yellow, black and white; No. 40.14 arrived wrapped in very fine linen. In passing, mention may be made of an apparent parallel to No. 38.14, a statuette from Thebes in the Abbott Collection, New York. This mummiform figure, 6 $\frac{3}{8}$  inches in height, has the head-dress of Osiris, but not the fly-flap and sceptre; it is of Nile mud, and with it is preserved its anthropoid coffin, also of Nile mud; a peculiar feature of the coffin is a serpent's head rudely modelled on the cover in the place of a human head. This example was found in the middle of the last century and it seems that mimic burials, with mummy in the form of the god Osiris, have come to light from time to time elsewhere at Thebes than in the Valley Gabbānet el-Ḳirūd<sup>1</sup>.

Mr Carter, in the passage referred to above, mentioned, in addition to the mimic burials, the finding of packages of viscera to which head, arms and hands "exquisitely wrought in bronze" had been attached. The Cleveland collection contains the following detached bronze pieces: 334 and 335.14, two male heads (1 $\frac{1}{4}$  and 1 $\frac{7}{16}$  in. high), wearing a style of elaborately-curved wig seen in works of art from the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty until into the XXIInd Dynasty; apparently belonging with the heads, a pair of arms, one hand holding the feather  $\beta$  (340.14), the other a scribe's palette (341.14); a pair of arms crossed holding a *ba*-bird against the breast, wrought out of one piece of metal (337.14); two pairs of feet (339 and 343.14); finally, No. 333.14, a small bronze head of a falcon, with stripes of the head-cloth delicately inlaid in gold (1 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. high).

There are other pieces unaccessioned and in storage in the Cleveland Museum, which I suspect may have come from the same source: a small cartonnage, 18 in. long, containing animal(?) remains, with head-dress of Osiris, the face modelled in wax laid over the cartonnage, the collar and some details of the head-dress drawn in black line on the cartonnage, the whole heavily wrapped in resin-soaked bandages, which have been partially cut away to expose the face and breast of the cartonnage (Plate XXIX, top<sup>2</sup>); accompanying the foregoing larger cartonnage, four smaller packages similarly composed of a linen-wrapped

<sup>1</sup> See CARNARVON AND CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, Pl. XLII, No. 1 and p. 50, No. 8.

<sup>2</sup> The photographs reproduced in Pl. XXIX, which we owe to the courtesy of Mr F. Allen Whiting, Director of the Cleveland Museum, reached us only at the last moment; for this reason it was impossible to provide the objects they depict with running numbers, like the rest of the antiquities published in this article.—ED.



THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART AT CLEVELAND, OHIO (IV)



cartonnage with head partially wax-covered: these presumably contain the viscera of the creature in the larger cartonnage, and the heads suggest the Sons of Horus (Plate XXIX, bottom)<sup>1</sup>. As these heads are in animal form, the pieces are unlikely to be earlier than the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty, when animal heads for the Sons of Horus first appeared on Canopic jar covers. Perhaps the wax masks to be described next were stripped from cartonnages such as the larger one mentioned above. Their size and the absence of any parts of shoulder- or breast-covering would suggest this view.

Nos. 12 and 12 *a* (Plate XXVIII, middle and bottom). Fragmentary Masks of Wax (344—351.14). Probably from the Wādy Gabbānet el-Kirūd, Thebes. Close of the XVIIIth Dynasty, or later. Ht. of piece marked 12 *a*, 2½ in.

Bits of gold leaf still adhering to the faces indicate that they were once entirely covered with gold. They wear the beard of the gods, plaited, long, and turned up at the tip; the straps holding it in place are rendered by incised lines. The masks are sketchily modelled and present considerable variety of facial expression. The most interesting is the one on the extreme right of Plate XXVIII, middle, of which two other views are given at the bottom of the same Plate. The upper lip has an unusual length, found only occasionally in Egyptian portraits<sup>2</sup>. The eyes reveal a subtly humorous, yet somewhat shrewd expression, suggestive withal of a man of poise and cheerful outlook on life, capable on occasion of driving a good bargain.

The four Egyptian coffins in the Cleveland collection are excellent examples from the Middle Kingdom, the Decadence (two), and the Classical period. The Empire period is not represented among them. Two of these, with the head of a cartonnage inner coffin accompanying one of them, may now be considered.

No. 13 (Plate XXX, bottom). Coffin of the "Scribe of the Royal Records, Senbi" (356.14). Wood. XIIth Dynasty. From Mēr. Ht., 27½ in.; width, 21¾ in.; length, 7 feet. Cleats missing from the bottom. At each end of the cover, the short poles by which it was manipulated until in place have been sawn off flush with the face of the coffin.

This coffin and the head to be described below under No. 14 are said to have been acquired in Assiūt. The inscriptions on the coffin, including the title and name of the deceased, correspond so closely to the inscriptions published by Ahmed Bey Kamal in the *Annales du Service*, Vol. XII (1912), pp. 120—125, as to render it probable that this piece is the second of the three coffins found together at Mēr in the season of 1910–11 completely filling one small tomb-chamber and each bearing the name of a Senbi. Kamal's description of the exterior, his statement that the interior is without inscriptions, and the dimensions given by him fit the Cleveland piece. He does not, however, mention an inner coffin, and there is no definite proof that the coffin and head of cartonnage belong together.

<sup>1</sup> I believe the four form a set and belong with the larger cartonnage because of the similarity of material and colour in the cartonnages and of style in the heads. The set is somewhat irregular, however, as follows: package with jackal head, length 7¼ in.; package with baboon head, 7¼ in.; package with baboon (?) head, 6½ in.; package with falcon head, 5¾ in.

<sup>2</sup> So in the reliefs of a XIIth Dynasty prince found at Dashūr, see MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 4th English ed., Nos. 217—218, Fig. 31 and p. 110.



The coffin belongs to the Middle Egyptian, or Heracleopolitan, type discussed by Messrs Mace and Winlock<sup>1</sup>, a type which had its beginnings in the VIth Dynasty, its greatest vogue in the Transitional Period, and which survived into the XIIth Dynasty. Although the high, narrow box form, the horizontal bands of short religious texts and the eye-panel are found also on contemporary coffins of Upper Egypt, the elaborate examples of which specialized in exterior texts and scenes, the division, as here, into large panels by means of a few vertically-written short texts is peculiar to the Middle Egyptian class. This coffin, however, lacks the distinctive interior decoration of the typical coffins of Middle Egypt, which as late as the XIIth Dynasty was becoming rare.

No. 14 (Plate XXX, top). Head from an inner anthropoid coffin (421.14). Cartonnage: beard of wood, eyes of limestone and obsidian. XIIth Dynasty. Ht., 10 $\frac{3}{4}$  in. The lower part, on which were represented the shoulder-tabs of the wig and the broad collar, is lacking, the bridge of the nose, the left side of the face, and the forehead were so crushed that some rebuilding was necessary. The eyebrows are repainted except about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch nearest the nose over the right eye; the right eye has lost a part of the iris.

The probability that the plain interior anthropoid coffins, such as the one of which this head originally formed a part, were derived from the masks of the Transitional Period and were the precursors of the later, large decorated coffins of the Empire (*cf.* No. 15), has already been set forth<sup>2</sup>. That the head is really from a coffin rather than from a Transitional mask<sup>3</sup> is rendered practically certain by the style of the face, which lacks the crudity of the masks, also the moustache always associated with the beard on masks. This head is closely similar in style to the head of the inner anthropoid coffin of Nephthys in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, a XIIth Dynasty example which is made of cartonnage and comes from Mên<sup>4</sup>.

The beard is of the style, short and spreading, which was worn in life and was characteristic of masks and coffins until the dead became so identified with the god Osiris that the head was no longer essentially a portrait of the deceased, but represented him in the character of the god, and accordingly with the beard given to divine beings. The face is yellow in colour, not as an exception to the general convention whereby a man's skin is painted some shade of red or brown-red, although there are such exceptions<sup>5</sup>, but as a substitute for the gold-leaf popular in all periods for the faces of the masks<sup>6</sup> and anthropoid coffins. Eyebrows, beard, and the upper part of the head are of a blue colour; blue for hair is a well-recognized convention<sup>7</sup>, and it was equally appropriate for the upper part of

<sup>1</sup> MACE AND WINLOCK, *op. cit.*, pp. 50—51.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 53—56.

<sup>3</sup> SCHAFER, *Priestergraber*, pp. 60—61, Fig. 86; LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Supplementary vol., Pl. XLIV, and Text, Vol. I, pp. 148 and 151; STEINDORFF, *Grabfunde*, Vol. II, p. 32; CHASSINAT-PALANQUE, *Fouilles d'Assiout*, Pls. II, III, XXI, XXVI, and XXVII; GARSTANG, *Burial Customs*, Figs. 70, 176, 178, and 182.

<sup>4</sup> No. 11, 150, 15 B; see *Handbook*, Fig. 32 and p. 68; also MACE AND WINLOCK, *op. cit.*, p. 54, note 1, for the mention of two other early anthropoid coffins of stucco and cloth, found at Lisht.

<sup>5</sup> See MURRAY, *Saggaru Mastabas*, Vol. I, pp. 45-6; BLACKMAN, *The Rock Tombs of Meir*, Vol. I, p. 17; BORCHARDT-SETHE, *Sû'hu-ret*, Vol. II, Pl. V., p. 19, for Sopdu with yellow skin; Pl. 20, p. 38, for god "Magic"; Pl. 25, p. 41, yellow as appropriate to the god of grain.

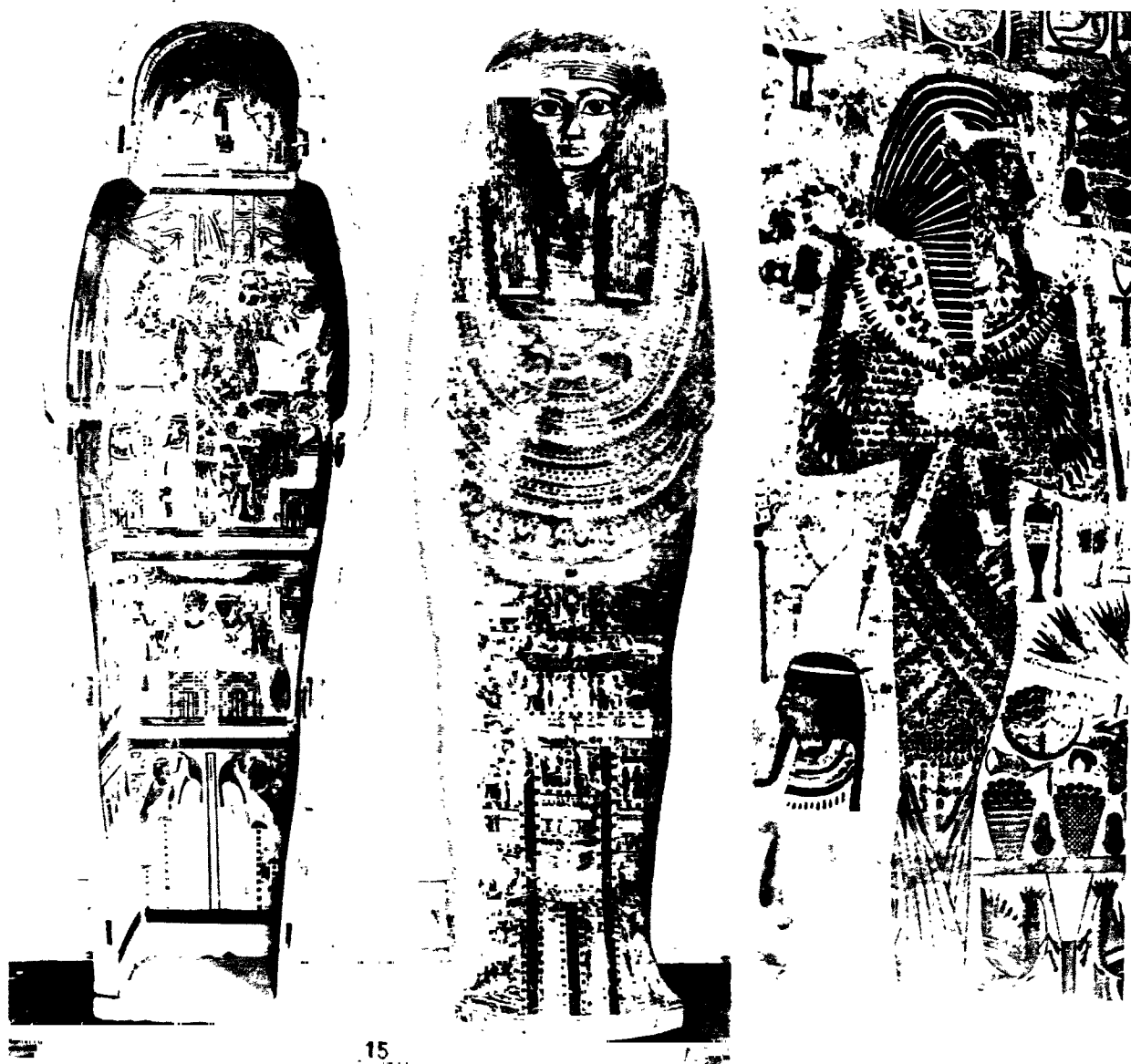
<sup>6</sup> See on this point STEINDORFF, *Grabfunde*, Vol. II, p. 32.

<sup>7</sup> On the comparatively late introduction of blue into the Egyptian painter's palette and its first use as an alternative for black, see the Metropolitan Museum brochure *The Tomb of Perneb*, p. 79. The alternative use of blue and black for hair is well illustrated in the mask published by Professor Schäfer (see note 3 above, in which the eye-lashes and chin-beard are black, the eye-brows and moustache blue.









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the head, whether we suppose an uncovered wig or a head-cloth worn over the wig to be represented, as the Egyptians also certainly dyed linen blue. Indeed the Metropolitan Museum of Art possesses an actual Egyptian head-cloth of blue linen<sup>1</sup>.

The head is marked among extant specimens by its wonderfully life-like, alert, and amiable expression, as if this old Egyptian had lived but yesterday, instead of nearly four thousand years ago! The vivid look is in part due to the preservation of the inset eyes and to the archaic device of raising the corners of the lips to lend a smile to the countenance.

No. 15 (Plate XXXI). Coffin of the "Divine Father of Amen-Rē, Bekenmūt" (353.14). Wood. Probably XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty. From Thebes. Length, 7 ft. 9½ in.; greatest width, 27¾ in. The clenched hands from the cover, which were of separate pieces of wood, are now missing.

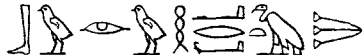
The coffins of this period, closely covered inside and out with figures and accompanying legends and texts, present an almost unworked mine of material for the iconography of the Egyptian religion. They testify to the liveliness of the Egyptian imagination which peopled the Netherworld with supernatural beings, many of them grotesque in appearance, but, so far as included among the coffin pictures, beneficent and trusted to confer benefits on the deceased. Some of the scenes of the decoration, too, reflect the life of the deceased on earth, as those in which he is represented officiating before the gods.

The large size of this coffin indicates that it originally contained an inner coffin and cartonnage in which the mummy was enclosed. Its scheme of decoration is a typical one—the flat bottom unpainted, the head-dress of the style commonest on *ushebti*s, coffins, statuettes of gods, etc., namely a sewn, protective covering over a wig, the collar one of elaborate pattern and great depth, reaching down half-way from the shoulders to the feet, the exterior below the collar and around the sides crowded with registers of small-scale figures, which at a distance present only a somewhat mottled look; the interior, on the contrary, painted in a bold, clear style, often, although mere artisan's work, attaining to considerable beauty of line, as may be seen in the detail to right of the Plate.

This coffin has many interesting details. On each side of the exterior of the box, at the foot, is the scene normally found there, the deceased officiating before "Hathor, Mistress of the West"; it includes the usual representation of the western cliffs, the architectural façade, the Hathor cow, and accessory to the main action, high in the cliffs, the soul of the deceased as a human-headed bird with human arms raised in adoration to the Sun's disk, which is represented just sinking into the hills; the accompanying legend reads: "*Adoration of Rē-Harakhte-Atūm.*" The scene of the weighing of the heart of the deceased also occurs on the exterior and, adjoining it, the deceased and a priestess (his wife?), hand in hand, are led by a cat-headed god before the enthroned judge. But most curiously, in several other scenes where the priest Bekenmūt, each time identified by a legend, is performing some ritualistic act—burning of incense, pouring a libation, offering a jar of ointment—before the statue of an enthroned god, we have the royal pair present. They stand, one at each of the extremities of the scene, the queen behind the god's statue, with the identifying words "*god's wife, king's wife*" written beside her figure, and the king wearing the crown of the North and a mantle reaching down to his knees. Did Bekenmūt

<sup>1</sup> Accession, No. 69. 184. 217. The three linen head-kerchiefs in the collection were recognized as such and discussed by Mr H. E. Winlock in the Museum Bulletin, Vol. XI (1916), pp. 238—242.

thus commemorate some proud occasion in his life when he officiated in the temple in the presence of the king and queen?

A somewhat unusual feature of the interior is the figure of the deified king, Tuthmosis III (recognizable by the legend), which occupies the main register of the floor of the coffin; before him kneels a priest, probably Bekenmūt himself. The king wears the royal head-cloth, his form is wrapped about with wings and he carries the attributes associated with Osiris, as with the kings of earth; more usual in this position is a figure of Osiris or of some goddess. The representation of the king Amenophis I in the next register below has, on the other hand, many parallels<sup>1</sup>. Here, on the one side, the mummy of Bekenmūt stands before Amenophis I; on the other side, before another enthroned figure of the same king, is seen the mummy of a female relative of Bekenmūt. Her name, as written on the coffin, lacks the last syllable and her relationship to Bekenmūt is not designated there, but from her papyrus in the Cleveland collection (377. 14) we learn that she was Bekenmūt's daughter and that her name in full was  Buarhura<sup>c</sup>mūt.

(To be continued)



<sup>1</sup> Cf. MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 4th English ed., p. 283. Also on a coffin of the XXIst Dynasty, No. 30000, in the Field Museum, Chicago.







(4) The treaty between Ramesses II and the Great Chief of Khatti was ratified on the twenty-first day of the fifth month of the 21st year, when the Hittite ambassadors reached Pi-Ramesses and presented to Pharaoh a silver tablet on which the terms were graven. The event is thus commemorated upon the famous Karnak stele: "*On that day, behold,*

(5) A stele of the 35th year of Ramesses II at Abu Simbel sets forth in high-flown language the various benefits accorded to that king by Ptah-Tanen, the god of Memphis. So far from these being confined to gifts of local interest, they range over the whole field of the spiritual and material advantages which a god could bestow upon his favourite son. It is unlikely, therefore, from the outset, that the Pi-Raḥmesse included in the gifts of Ptah-Tanen could be the relatively unimportant settlement of Abu Simbel, even though that settlement, as we have seen (p. 133, K), did actually bear the name of Pi-Raḥmesse. Any lingering doubt on this score is dispelled when we recollect that a close duplicate of this stele was set up by Ramesses III in his Theban temple of Medinet Habû, see below no. 24; add to this the fact that the author of the benefits was the god of Memphis, and it will appear a plausible conjecture that the original of both these stelae was one made to be set up in the temple of Memphis, whence copies of it were taken for other temples on account of the poetical beauty with which it was credited by contemporaries. The passage relating to Pi-Raḥmesse reads thus: "*I have made for thee (?) a noble Residence* ( ) *in order to*

(6) No mention has so far been made of the great dedicatory inscription inscribed by Ramesses II on the walls of his father's temple at Abydos, since it is generally agreed that

<sup>2</sup> Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft, 1902, no. 5: *Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II und des Hittiterkönigs*, p. 8, footnote 6.

<sup>3</sup> Full bibliography in BREASTED, *op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 175, footnote *b*.


this, though referring to events in the first year of his reign, was actually engraved towards its middle or end. The commencement relates how Ramesses, after tarrying in Thebes in order to restore the monuments of his father Sethos I, left the Southern City and “*made a start and set sail, the royal barges illuminating the flood, and directed his face downstream*





*to the mighty place House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Great-of-Victories.*” The text then proceeds to describe a visit to Abydos

made *en route*, and the problem which there presents itself in connection with the unfinished temple of Sethos I develops into the sole theme of the rest of the inscription, the ultimate goal of the voyage being entirely lost sight of. The reference to Pi-Raḥmesse has clearly been introduced merely to explain how the Pharaoh came to visit Abydos, and forms, therefore, excellent evidence that Pi-Raḥmesse was the northern Capital at this date; Ramesses touched at Abydos in the course of a journey between his two Capitals. It has been necessary to dilate on this somewhat obvious point, since M. Gauthier, the latest editor of the inscription, notes on the name Pi-Raḥmesse: “une construction de Ramsès II, située probablement à Abydos même ou dans la région<sup>1</sup>.” This view leaves the designation “*mighty place*” and the epithet “*Great of Victories*” completely unexplained.

(7) We do not know in exactly what year of Ramesses II the complicated litigation relating to the estates of Neshi was inscribed upon the walls of the tomb of his descendant Mōse at Sakḥāreh. One of the principal episodes in that litigation was a lawsuit in the 18th year before the Vizier at Heliopolis; the documents produced by the rival claimants proved so contradictory that the Vizier ordered the official tax-receipts to be fetched from

the northern Capital: “*They took us downstream*  *to House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn, and they entered into the Treasury of Pharaoh and likewise into the office of the Granary of Pharaoh, and they brought the two registers before the Vizier in the Great Kenbet.*”

(8) An official who was sent to Pi-Raḥmesse, apparently by the High Priest of Memphis, to collect taxes or dues of some sort, kept a journal of events and accounts that is preserved on the *verso* of *Pap. Leyden* 350<sup>2</sup>. The voyage, which took place in the 52nd year, was made by boat. The return-journey began on the first day of the seventh month, when anchor was weighed from Pi-Raḥmesse at nightfall. On the third there was a strong south-wind, the mention of which is doubtless intended to explain the small distance covered on that day; the otherwise unknown village of  Thedeḥ seems to have been the starting-point, but the mooring-place reached the same evening is kept from our knowledge through a blank space in the papyrus that was never filled up. The travellers reached Heliopolis on the evening of the fourth of the month. The name of Pi-Raḥmesse is written  throughout.

(9) Allusion has already been made (above p. 137) to the Abydos stele of the Vizier

<sup>1</sup> *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, vol. IV: H. GAUTHIER, *La grande Inscription dédicatoire d'Abydos*, p. 58.

<sup>2</sup> GARDINER, *The Inscription of Mes*, in SETHE, *Untersuchungen*, vol. IV, part 3, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> See SPIEGELBERG, *Das Geschäftsjournal eines ägyptischen Beamten in der Ramsesstadt aus der Regierung Ramses' II*, in *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XVII, pp. 143–160. The account here given is based on my own transcript: Spiegelberg failed to read the name of Heliopolis in col. V, l. 22.





town, analogous to the eulogy of Memphis on the back of *Pap. Sallier IV*. It was composed in the actual reign of Ramesses II, as the allusions to him in 3, 4, 9 show. For the way in which the name of Pi-Ramesses is here written, see section II above (p. 137). There are duplicate texts in a carelessly written and certainly later papyrus in the Rainer collection at Vienna<sup>1</sup> and on a fine unpublished limestone ostrakon in the library of Queen's College, Oxford; these are quoted in the footnotes below as V and Q respectively. There have been many previous renderings<sup>2</sup>; the following, which is based on my own original collations, as in the case of almost all the hieratic texts used in this article, owes its motley and un-English appearance to our ignorance of the meaning of many of the words employed, as well as to the interjectional and jerky style of the writer. My annotations make no claim to completeness, and lexicographical points are left without discussion.

"The scribe Pibēsa greets his master the scribe Amenemope. In life, prosperity, good health! It is a letter to give information to [my] master.

Another greeting<sup>3</sup> to my master, to the effect that I have arrived at House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-(living, prospering, in health)<sup>4</sup> and find it flourishing exceedingly. (It is) a fair<sup>5</sup> spot, there is not the like of it; resembling Thebes, it was [Rē who founded it]<sup>6</sup> himself. The Residence<sup>7</sup> is agreeable to live in, its fields are full of all good things<sup>8</sup>; it is {furnished} with abundant provisions every day; its backwaters(?) are (full) of fishes and its pools(?) of birds; its meads are verdant with herbage<sup>9</sup>, the greenery(?) is a cubit and a half (in height), the fruit is like the taste of honey in the cultivated(?) fields; its granaries are full of wheat and spelt, they draw near to the sky; onions and leeks in<sup>10</sup> the....., clusters of flowers in the grove(?)<sup>11</sup>; pomegranates(?), apples and olives; figs from the orchard; sweet wine of Kenkēme surpassing honey; red wd-fish from the lake of the Residence(?); [one lives on]<sup>12</sup> lotus; btin-fish from Hri; br-fish together<sup>13</sup> with bg-fish;.....-fish from Phrt<sup>14</sup>; d-fish from Hb(?) of-Ba'al; hwtn-fish<sup>15</sup> from the (waters of) Nt-pt-db of Great-of-Victories. The Waters-of-Horus (Shi-Hūr) yield salt and Phr natron. Its ships fare forth and return to port. Abundance of food is in it every day<sup>16</sup>; one rejoiceth to dwell within it, no wish (is left) by it to be spoken<sup>17</sup>. The small in it are like the great.

<sup>1</sup> *Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer: Führer durch die Ausstellung*, part I, Vienna 1892, Pl. II (=edition of 1894, Pl. V); description and translation by J. KRALL, under no. 72 (pp. 20 and 32 respectively in the two editions).

<sup>2</sup> HEATH, *The Exodus Papyri*, p. 68 and pp. 73-5; CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, deuxième série, pp. 131-4; GOODWIN in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, pp. 11-16; BRUGSCH, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, 1st edit., 1877, pp. 547-9; ID., *Steinschrift und Bibelwort*, pp. 189-192; MASPERO, *Genre Epistolaire*, pp. 103-106; ID., *Histoire Ancienne des Peuples de l'Orient Classique*, vol. II, pp. 388-9.

<sup>3</sup> V begins at this point with the words: "Another topic: to the effect that," etc.

<sup>4</sup> For the variant of V, see above, p. 137.

<sup>5</sup> V omits "fair."

<sup>6</sup> *An.* has a lacuna; V is corrupt, but affords a good basis for the restoration in [Rē gr̄y sw] ds f.

<sup>7</sup> V "its town."

<sup>8</sup> V "all seed."

<sup>9</sup> V inserts: "its banks bear dates, its plantations(?) abound in..."

<sup>10</sup> n strictly "to," "belong to": it has been found convenient to render "in" here and often below.

<sup>11</sup> V omits these phrases, beginning with "its granaries."

<sup>12</sup> So V.

<sup>13</sup> V ends here.

<sup>14</sup> Brugsch *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 222 compares "the dogs of P-hwtot" in the *Leyden Magical Papyrus* (col. 14, l. 15 in GRIFFITH-THOMPSON, *Demotic Magical Papyrus*, p. 100), but this equation rests solely on the consonantal resemblance.

<sup>15</sup> Q begins here, and reads "hwt-fish."

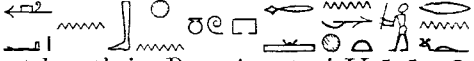
<sup>16</sup> Q here inserts several sentences found lower down in *An.*; see below, p. 186, footnote 2.

<sup>17</sup> Q ends here.



azure and emerald<sup>1</sup>, the marshalling place of thy cavalry, the rallying-point of thy soldiers, the harbourage of thy ships' troops—they bring to thee tribute. Praised be thou, when thou comest amid thy regiments of archers, (men) of fierce looks and burning fingers; who advance(?) when they behold the Prince standing and fighting, and mountains cannot stand before him. They are afraid [at] thy awfulness, O Binerē-Beloved-of-Amūn. Thou shalt exist, even as eternity exists! Eternity shall exist, even as thou existest, being established in the place of thy father Rē-Harakhte!"

Brugsch rightly used this passage as proof that Pi-Raḥmesse lay quite close to the sea, and could therefore not be situated in the Wādy Tumilāt<sup>2</sup>.

(17) The papyrus *Anastasi IV* is to be attributed, in all probability, to the end of the first year of Sethos II<sup>3</sup>. It contains three passages that are of interest to us in our present quest. One of these (6, 1—10) is the description of  "a castle called Great-of-Victory," which is repeated at length in *Pap. Anastasi II*, 1, 1—2, 5, a manuscript dating from the reign of Meneptah<sup>4</sup>. The name "Great-of-Victory" so closely resembles the designation "Great-of-Victories" of the city of Residence that a doubt as to the identity of the two is scarcely possible. The term *bḥnw* "castle," or, as I here venture to translate, "citadel," may possibly have increased the scruples against the identification that seem to have been felt; but the content and whole character of the poem make it evident that a place of considerable importance can alone be meant—a town with a numerous population and several temples, and one where Ramesses II received the ambassadors of foreign potentates<sup>5</sup>.

#### BEGINNING OF THE RECITAL OF THE VICTORIES OF THE LORD OF EGYPT.

*His Majesty has built himself a citadel whose name is Great-of-Victory. It lies betwixt Zahi and Timuris<sup>6</sup>, and is full of food and provisions. It is like to On of Upper Egypt<sup>7</sup>; its duration is like that of Memphis. The sun arises in the horizon thereof, and sets (again) within it. Everyone hath left his town and settled within its territory. Its western part is the house of Amūn, its southern part the house of Sētekh. Astarte is in its Orient, and Buto in its northern part. The citadel that is in it is like the horizon of heaven. Raḥmessemiamūn is in it as god; Monthu-in-the-Two-Lands as Informant; Sun-of-Princes<sup>8</sup> is the*

<sup>1</sup> Lit., "of lapis lazuli and of turquoise."

<sup>2</sup> *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 421–2.

<sup>3</sup> See MOLLER, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup> Previous translations: CHABAS, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, deuxième série, pp. 151 foll.; ID., *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 2nd edit., pp. 277–8; MASPERO, *Genre Épistolaire*, p. 102; BRUGSCH, *Steininschrift und Bibelwort*, pp. 192–4; ERMAN, *Aegypten*, pp. 242–3.

<sup>5</sup> CHABAS, *Mélanges (loc. cit.)*, p. 143, makes much use of a passage in *Pap. Leyden* 348, where (6, 6) mention is made of "the *ḥprw*-people who drag stones to the great castle (*bḥn[t]*) of...Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Beloved-of-Truth." But there is a lacuna before the cartouche which is by no means necessarily to be restored [House-of] as would be necessary if the town of Ramesses were meant. The epithet Beloved-of-Truth suggests rather that some temple is meant. Thus Chabas' belief that this passage referred to the actual building of Raamses by the Hebrews rests on but poor grounds; scholars generally do not now accept the view that the word *ḥprw* means Hebrews.

<sup>6</sup> *T3-mrl*, Greek Timuris, was a name of Egypt.

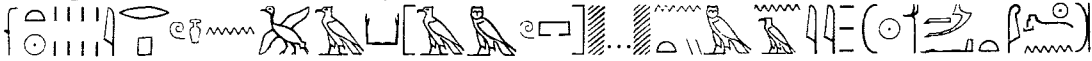
<sup>7</sup> Hermonthis in Upper Egypt.

<sup>8</sup> "Monthu-in-the-Two-Lands" and "Sun-of-Princes" are occasional epithets applied to Ramesses II; for the former see *Anastasi III*, 3, 4, 8, and for the latter LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, part III, Pl. 192, *b*; *Anastasi VIII*, 7; *Tandon Search*, 2295; NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, p. 34.





The entire drift of the passage seems to me to make it essential that *r* "to" should be emended in the place of *m* "from" before the name of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe; *Anastasi IV* is one of the most incorrectly written of all the school-copybooks belonging to this series of manuscripts, and such a slip of the pen is easily imaginable. On this supposition, Na-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe will have been the name of a place where Sethos II had vineyards, distinct from Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe. With this agrees the fact that the fragment of a wine-jar from the Ramesseum bears the legend



“Year 8, wine of the vineyard.....which is in Na-Usimar<sup>c</sup>-setpenamūn...<sup>1</sup>”

Na-Usimar<sup>c</sup>-setpenamūn, compounded with the *prenomen* of Ramesses II instead of the *nomen*, is in all probability identical with Na-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn; where it was situated is unknown, except that it must be inferred from the word *hd* "to sail down" in the sentence from *Anastasi IV* already quoted that it lay southward of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe.

The mission envisaged in the letter must be interpreted, accordingly, as follows. An official of the funerary temple of Sethos II at Thebes<sup>2</sup> travels down with several river-craft to Na-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe on the Pety-canal, where the vineyards of Pharaoh lay. Having inspected the *personnel*, he receives and takes on board the wine and other produce of the vineyard, then sailing down to the Residence-city of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe, where he hands over his cargo to the controllers or agents of the funerary temple. Their task will presumably have been to despatch the wine to Thebes in due course. The Residence-city here again appears as the centre of the Ramesside revenue administration (see above nos. 7, 8, and below no. 23). Without emending as I propose to do, it is difficult to see how the official could "sail downstream," *i.e.* northwards from Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe, since we have every reason for believing Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe to have been close to the sea. Moreover, it is obviously necessary that we should be informed where the produce was handed over to the controllers: both Chabas and Brugsch evade the issue by slurring over the specific meaning of the verb *hd*, which they translate by "*partir*," "*repartir*."

(19) On the *verso* of *Anastasi IV*, 11 are the fragments of a memorandum similar to those of which we have already discussed several examples: "(Pharaoh was) in House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn, the Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon, doing what his father Ptah-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn praised."


(20) *Pap. Anastasi VI* dates probably from the beginning of the reign of Sethos II, and is a school miscellany like many of the *Anastasi* and *Sallier* papyri. It begins with six lines of very large writing containing the stereotyped titulary and introductory formulae that might be prefixed to various official documents, and therefore had to be practised by the youthful scribe<sup>3</sup>. "*Under the Majesty of the King of Upper and Lower*

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. XIX, no. 145.


<sup>2</sup> For this Theban temple, the site of which does not seem to have been discovered, see the stele of Bilgai, published by me in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. I (1912), pp. 49—57, where two officials are named who were employed to collect the revenues in the same way as the official in *Anastasi IV*. In the stele of Bilgai the temple is simply named "House-of-Sethos-Meneptah in the estate of Amūn," *cf.* a wine-jar naming "the vineyard of House-of-Sethos-Meneptah" found in the deposit of Queen Tewosret (PETRIE, *Six Temples at Thebes*, Pl. XIX, no. 3).—Brugsch has further complicated the problem in *Anastasi IV* by imagining that a temple in the neighbourhood of Diospolis Parva in the Delta is here referred to.

<sup>3</sup> Previously translated by Chabas in *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de la XIX<sup>me</sup> Dynastie*, p. 121.

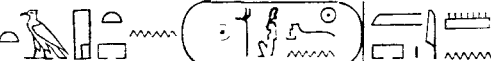


is a similar note, in which the words "year 1" are prefixed to the date "nineteenth day of the first winter month." The new king appears from a subsequent reference to be the very rarely named , Skhaṣnrē-setpenrē

Raṣmesse-si-Ptah, formerly classed as Ramesses IX. M. Daressy now proposes to call him Ramesses III, the effect of this being that the numbers of all the kings named Ramesses between Ramesses III and Ramesses IX would have to be advanced by one. M. Gauthier, on the contrary, accepts the view previously advanced by Sir Gaston Maspero that the cartouches of the supposed Ramesses IX are really only the names used by Meneptah-Siptah in the first, and at all events not later than the second, year of his reign<sup>1</sup>. There is something to be said for the latter point of view, though I am unable, for my part, to regard it as altogether certain. At all events, it is inadvisable, on so doubtful evidence, to change the numbers of the Ramessides from Ramesses III onwards; if, with M. Daressy, we prefer to distinguish Raṣmesse-Siptah from Meneptah-Siptah, these kings may be designated as Siptah I and Siptah II respectively.

We have wandered far from *Pap. Anastasi VII*, but this discussion has been needful both in order to show that there is no reason for refusing to assign the date of year 6 in that papyrus to Sethos II, and also in order to settle our nomenclature of the subsequent kings. A scrap of new evidence may here be added with regard to the actual day of Sethos II's accession. This must have fallen, as M. Daressy's ostrakon shows, somewhere between the nineteenth day of the first month of winter and the sixteenth day of the second month of summer. Now the late Mr Harold Jones lent me for study a limestone ostrakon found by him in Mr Theodore Davis' excavations at Bibân el-Molûk, which once contained specific evidence on this point. The text is a journal of accounts connected with the workmen engaged upon the tomb of Sethos II and dating from the thirteenth day of the third month of inundation (of the first year) onwards. By way of explanatory preface the accounts are preceded by the note  "Year X, month Y of winter, day 16, the scribe Pesûr came with the good tidings that Userkheprurē-setpenrē (i.e. Sethos II) had arisen as Prince." Combining this with M. Daressy's data, it is clear that Sethos II must have ascended the throne somewhere about the middle of the second, third or fourth month of winter. It is most regrettable that the regnal year should have flaked away, since this would have acquainted us with the exact length of the reign of Sethos' predecessor.

Sir Gaston Maspero, commenting on the memorandum about House-of-Ramesses in *Pap. Anastasi VII*, makes the curious suggestion that the Theban Ramesseum is meant in this and the various similar examples which we have encountered...or shall encounter<sup>2</sup>. M. Gauthier<sup>3</sup> has pointed out the falsity of this view: the name of the Ramesseum was

 "The-Castle-of-Usimarē-setpenrē in the estate of Amûn," and the evidence already set forth is absolutely decisive that the addition "the-Great-Spirit-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon" is an attribute of the Pi-Raṣmesse in the Delta.

<sup>1</sup> GAUTHIER, *Livre des Rois*, vol. III, p. 141, footnote 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Hymne au Nil*, in *Bibliothèque d'Étude*, vol. v, pp. vii—x.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 63, footnote 1.



I have made use of a passage from a Turin papyrus<sup>1</sup> which provides the basis for the restorations in the El-Kâb text: "*Year 29, fourth month of winter, day 28. The Vizier To sailed northwards, after he had come to take the gods of the Southern Province to the Jubilee festival.*"

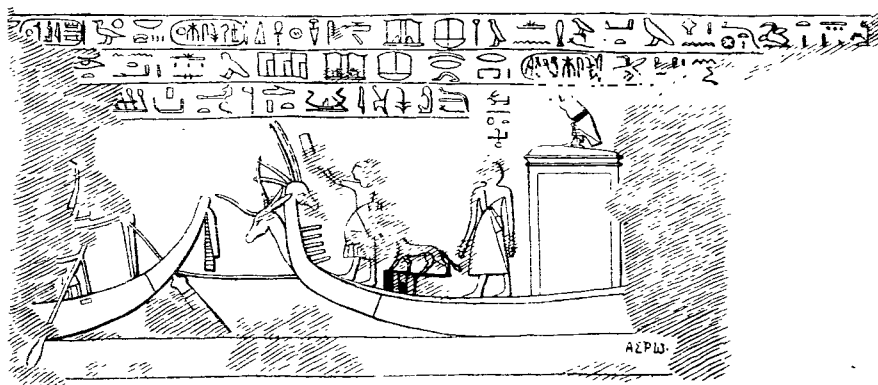


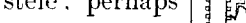



Fig. 2

Was then the Jubilee festival of Ramesses III celebrated at Pi-Raḥmesse? This question has to be answered in the negative, for *Pap. Harris* 49, 10—12 definitely states, in the long declaration addressed by Ramesses III to the Memphite Ptah, “*I made for thee the first Jubilee of my reign as a great, vast festival for Tanen.....I restored thy temple and the chapels of the Jubilee festival that were ruined of old.....*” Professor Sethe has shown that some of the central rites of the festival—the circuit of the walls and the erection of the Ded-symbol ()—were specifically Memphite ceremonies<sup>2</sup>; he might also have quoted the decree of Ptah-Tanen at Abu Simbel and Medīnet Habū, where the passages relating to Pi-Raḥmesse (above nos. 5, 23) are immediately followed by a reference

to Memphis as the scene of the Jubilee festival:  (var. Ramesses III, Medînet Habû ) ".....in which are houses of the Sovereign(?) (var. "*I built Wall-town, in which is my seat*), that thou mightest celebrate the Jubilee which I celebrate within it. I fastened thy crown with my own hands<sup>3</sup>, thou appearing upon the great double dais, gods and men rejoicing at thy name, like me when I celebrated Jubilee festivals." The first words in the Abu Simbel stele are obscured by a lacuna followed by a puzzling variant, but it cannot be doubted that the sense was substantially the same as that of the Medînet Habû stele: perhaps  "[I built Wall-town], in which are houses of the Sovereign" should be emended. "Wall-town" is a well-known name of Memphis<sup>4</sup>, and the thought running through these sentences is that

<sup>1</sup> PLEYTE-ROSSI, *Papyrus de Turin*, Pl. 44, ll. 18—19.

<sup>2</sup> *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens*, vol. III, pp. 135-7.


<sup>3</sup> This means, of course, that the high priest of Memphis performed the actual rite of coronation. So, under Ptolemy Neos Dionysos, the high priest of that time, Pshenptah boasts: "It was I who placed the uraeus-ornament on the brow of the king on the day when the two lands were united to him, and who performed for him all the usual rites in the chapels of the Jubilee festival" (*op. cit.*, p. 135).

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.*, pp. 131-3.

Ptah-Tanen claims to have built his seat and city expressly in order that Ramesses II (or III) might there celebrate the Jubilee festival as he himself had done of yore. Professor Breasted has been misled by the lacuna into connecting the passage referring to Wall-town with the preceding passage that deals with Pi-Raḥmesse, thus conveying the impression that the Jubilee festival was celebrated there<sup>1</sup>.

But if such was not the case, what is the meaning of the El-Kāb inscription? Here we are reduced to guesswork. For my own part I would conjecture that it merely confirms the view that Pi-Raḥmesse was the Residence-city at this period. To that city the Vizier and high officials of the land will have thronged, together with the high-priests of the provinces and their sacred barks bearing the shrines of the gods. Then, all together in one solemn and stately procession, with the Pharaoh in their midst, they will have proceeded down-stream to Memphis, there to celebrate the Jubilee under the patronage of its ancient god Ptah-Tanen.

(26) The great *Harris Papyrus*, enumerating the benefits conferred on the gods of Egypt by Ramesses III, contains several important references to the Delta Capital. In the section devoted to the wide-spread estates and foundations consecrated to the Theban Amūn, there is a long passage describing the town with its vineyards and orchards, and subsequently the temple of Amūn there and the gardens and property connected with it. The name of Pi-Raḥmesse is slightly disguised by the substitution of the *nomen* of Ramesses III for that of Ramesses II. This substitution carried with it, however, the retention of the original epithet "Great-of-Victories" applied to Ramesses II in the name of his town, so long as he lived; we have seen that this epithet applied only to a ruling Pharaoh, but when Ramesses III represented himself, and not Ramesses II, as the author of the city there was nothing to prevent him annexing also its original founder's epithet. The passage is interesting enough to translate in full (8, 2—12):—

"I made for thee a noble domain in a Delta city, established as a heritage to thee for ever;  House-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis-Great-of-Victories,' is the name by which it shall be called unto all eternity. I assigned to it Timuris with its produce; men of every land are collected within it; it is equipped with great gardens and promenades and all kinds of fruit-bearing bushes loaded with their fruit; a sacred avenue is bright with the flowers of every land, reeds and papyrus and reemet-plants (plentiful) like sand.

"I made Kenkēme for it, inundated like (?) the two lands, with great olive-lands (?) bearing vines and enclosed with a wall all around them for miles (?), planted with great trees on all their sides, and the oil from them is more plentiful than the sand of the shore; in order to present them to thy ka in Victorious Thebes—wine like running streams, unlimited—and in order to offer them in thy presence as perpetual offerings.

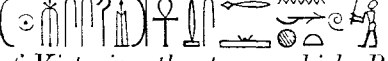
"I built for thee thy temple within its territory, embellished with fine work in stone of Ḳayn, its door and its doorposts of gold mounted with copper; inlay-figures of all kinds of precious stones like the two gates of heaven.

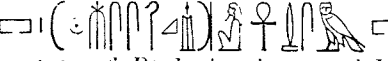
"I fashioned thy noble image with which (festal) appearances are made like Rē when he illuminates the earth with his beams. Its great, noble name is Amūn-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis. I filled his house with male and female slaves whom I brought from the lands of the Asiatics. The lay-priests of the temple were.....bearers and children of

<sup>1</sup> *Ancient Records*, vol. III, § 406.

*magnates, whom I had educated. His treasures overflow with the riches of every land; his granaries draw nigh to heaven; his herds are multiplied more than sand; cattle-stalls are devoted to his ka; perpetual offerings full and pure are before him; the fattening-shops contain fat (?) geese, and the poultry-yards fowl of the air; gardens with wine, equipped with their fruit, vegetables and all manner of flowers."*

The vineyards of Kenkēme have come before our notice above in no. 15 and provide the definite proof that the Delta Residence of Ramesses II is here meant; numerous fragments of wine-jars which once contained wine from Kenkēme were found by Mr Quibell in the Ramesseum<sup>1</sup>. That the god Amūn in Per-Raḥmesse was specifically named Amūn of Ramesses is confirmed by nos. 1, 4, 17, 20, 27, 30, 31 and 39.

(27) In the catalogue of the possessions of Amūn there is an entry (10, 12) giving the number of persons in Pi-Raḥmesse whom Ramesses III "placed in the house of his noble father Amen-rē, king of the gods, Mut, Khons and all the gods of Thebes as a heritage for ever" (10, 1—2):— "The House-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis-Great-of-Victories, the town which Pharaoh made for thee in the northern country upon the foundation of the house of Amen-rē, king of the gods, saying 'Thou prevaiwest, according as (?) thou causest it to be established for ever and ever': 7872 heads." It is not to be supposed that Ramesses III actually provided all these persons for the service of Amūn in Pi-Raḥmesse; on the contrary, most or at all events many of them will have belonged to the foundation of Ramesses II. Nor is it possible to judge what percentage of the population they formed; probably they were quite distinct from the officials, craftsmen and slaves attached to the royal administration and to the personal service of Pharaoh himself.

(28) The Heliopolitan section of the *Harris Papyrus* contains no reference to Pi-Raḥmesse, but there is a possible allusion to that city in the Memphite portion. It is clear from passages already quoted or still to be adduced that Ptah possessed a cult in Pi-Raḥmesse under the name of Ptah-of-Ramesses. In the catalogue of the estate of Ptah there is the following entry (51 a, 8): "Ptah-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis-whose-place-is-found, in the estate of Ptah, in charge of the deputy Ptahmōse; 7 persons." It is quite conceivable that this may refer to the particular cult-statue of Ptah dedicated by Ramesses III himself, and placed in the temple of Ptah built by Ramesses II in Pi-Raḥmesse. The latter might in that case possibly be meant in the indefinite reference found a few lines previously:  "House-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis, in the estate of Ptah, in charge of Huy who was major-domo; 16 persons" (51 a, 6; cf. also 51 b, 5). Taking this view, we should have to suppose that the *nomen* of Ramesses III is here again substituted for that of Ramesses II, an assumption that presents no difficulty.

(29) The seemingly over-speculative suggestions made under (28) above win a certain degree of plausibility from the similar, but fuller, references made in the section concerning the lesser temples of Egypt as to Ramesses III's gifts to the Sētekh-of-Ramesses in Pi-Raḥmesse; Sētekh-of-Ramesses, like Ptah-of-Ramesses, is often mentioned in con-

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraca*, nos. 140, 142, 156, 162, 166, 191, 192, 199, 214, 219, 256; also WIEDEMANN, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXI (1883), p. 34.





[illegible]

□ “House-of” (l. 44). The writer makes allusion to a ship

sentence (ll. 9—10) “As to the s<sup>c</sup>rt-wool (?) of the god

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. XIII, no. 114.

<sup>2</sup> R. W. REID, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

made of glaze like the present one, there are serious difficulties in the inscription. What

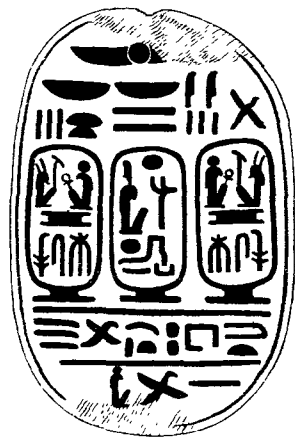






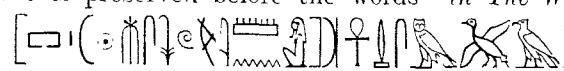



Fig. 3

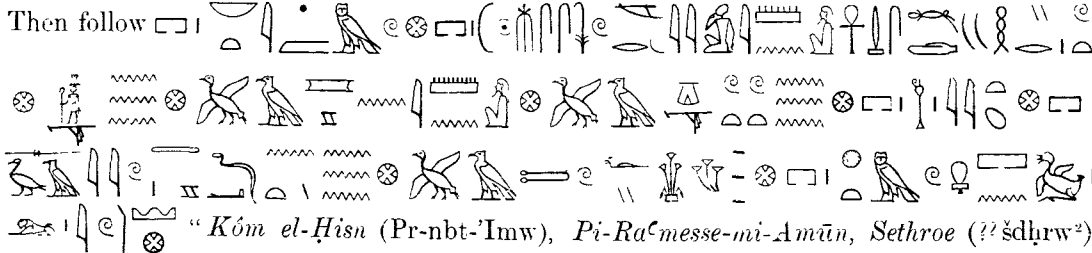
in the first place, is , the formative element in the place-name to which the cartouche of Ramesses is added.<sup>1</sup> No such formative is known to me, though  (see above, p. 138) might possibly be quoted as a distinct analogy. So far as I can see, the only possibility that presents any likelihood is to regard  *py* as a phonetic writing of ; the philological aspect of this interpretation has been discussed above (p. 138), and here all that has to be considered is the translation and interpretation of the inscription as a whole. The indeterminate house-like sign might be understood as , since the feminine definite article precedes. The

two shapeless holes following were certainly meant for , so

that the place-name, together with the words qualifying it, ought probably to be rendered "*Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, in the Castle (?) on the shore of The-Waters-of-the-Sun.*"

(37) Even less certain is a possible reference to Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe contained in the hieratic inscription on a fragment of a wine-jar from the Ramesseum<sup>1</sup>. Here only the end of a cartouche is preserved before the words "*in The-Waters-of-the-Sun*"; it is tempting to emend  "[*Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn*] *in The-Waters-of-the-Sun.*"


(38) The geographical list in the Golénischeff' glossary (Dyn. XXI) is very defective in the material which it provides for the cities of the Delta; nor are these arranged in any intelligible order. After some towns that do not here concern us come the three river-arms  "*the Western River, the Great River, The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" (5, 10): the last name is written as a rubric.


Then follow  "*Kôm el-Hisn (Pr-nbt-Imw), Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe-mi-Amūn, Sethroe (??šdhrw<sup>2</sup>), Busiris<sup>3</sup>, Balamân, ..... (p<sup>3</sup>-gww<sup>4</sup>), Buto (Pr-w<sup>3</sup>dyt), ..... (pr-s<sup>3</sup>y-t<sup>3</sup>), Tanis (ḏ<sup>c</sup>nt), the*

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraca*, Pl. XXXI, no. 254.

<sup>2</sup> This conjecture, which is due to M. Golénischeff (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XL [1902], p. 105), is based solely on the resemblance of the consonants.


<sup>3</sup> For the same spelling see *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXV, p. 41.

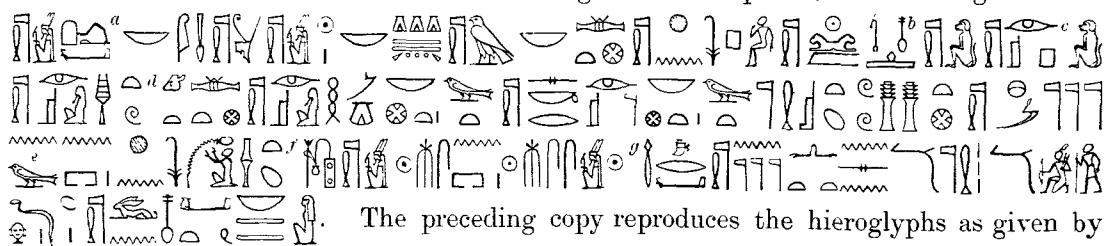
<sup>4</sup> M. Daressy has recently attempted to prove that this was a name of Xoïs, *Annales du Service*, vol. XVII, pp. 46-8. May this not be the town of  Gu, mentioned in the narrative of Sinuhe's flight





(*Sinuhe* R 13)? On the stele from Sakha published by M. Daressy the name is written .





<sup>5</sup> See BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 661.





*Papyrus-city* (p<sup>3</sup>-t<sup>2</sup>wf)<sup>1</sup>, *the<sup>2</sup> fortress of Thel.* Here the list of towns ends and is followed by an enumeration of kinds of buildings. An elaborate commentary would be required to explain and justify the identifications suggested in the above rendering. For our purposes all that matters is to observe that Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe, Tanis and the fortress of Thel are all distinguished from one another, and separated from one another by one or more names.

(39) In the Cairo Museum there are two statues bearing very similar titles and each belonging to a general named  Teōs, which nevertheless, owing to the difference in the names of the parents indicated in either case, must represent two different personages; the date is possibly the fourth century B.C.<sup>3</sup> On the statue of Teōs, son of the priest Onnophris, found at Tanis in 1861, occur, among other inscriptions, the following titles:—

 The preceding copy reproduces the hieroglyphs as given by

M. Daressy: Brugsch diverges at some points: *a*,  rightly; *b*, ; *c*,  instead of .

*d*, ; *e*, a lacuna in place of ; *f*, ; *g*, omits . Translation: "Priest of Amūn the warrior lord of triumph, priest of (sic), priest of Amen-Rē lord of Thrones of the Two Lands, priest of Horus lord of Mesen, priest of Khons-the-child, priest of Tum (?), priest of Thoth, priest of Osiris-Thoth, priest of Osiris powerful (?) in Mesen, priest of Osiris h<sup>m</sup>sg lord of Great-Town, priest of Sokaris-Osiris lord of Great-Town, priest of Isis of Dedet, priest of the ennead of.....of House of Khons, wēb-priest of Sakhmet, scribe, priest of Amūn of Ra<sup>c</sup>mes (sic) of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe and of Amen-Rē the helper, prince of the gods who have no director of priests, the great general Teōs, son of the priest Onnophris, whose mother was Nebtauī."

It was this text which definitely decided Brugsch to identify Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe with Tanis<sup>4</sup>. Not only was the statue itself found at Tanis, but the references upon it to  Mesnet with its god Horus, and to the divine and priestly title  "warrior lord of triumph" pointed unmistakably to the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt, which Brugsch now identified with the Tanitic nome, abandoning his former view that  Thel, its capital, was the same as Heroonpolis of the Greeks<sup>5</sup>. This identification seemed to him to be proved by the fact that the *other* statue of Teōs not only contains such epithets as  "entering into

<sup>1</sup> See above p. 186, footnote 1.


<sup>2</sup> For the writing of the definite article here, see above, p. 138.


<sup>3</sup> Part of the inscriptions is published by BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 303, 418; a complete edition is given by DARESSY, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xv, pp. 151-6.

<sup>4</sup> *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 417-8, incorporating the results of the article *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. x (1872), pp. 16-20.

<sup>5</sup> *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I, pp. 262-4; vol. III, p. 21.

the sanctuary of the lord of Thel, giving ointment and perfuming the limbs of the noble ones (the gods) in (the nome of) Khant-yeb," but also actually appeared to give the name of Tanis

itself in the title  "he who is in the regions of Field-of-Za<sup>c</sup>anet."

Now the name of Tanis had not previously been encountered in hieroglyphs, but that it was to be recognized in the element za<sup>c</sup>anet of this expression was rendered practically certain because "*Field-of-Za<sup>c</sup>anet*" at once recalls the Hebrew בִּזְרֵה-צֶן "in the *Field-of-Zoun*," where, according to Ps. 78, 12. 43 Moses performed his wonders, and where the Septuagint has ἐν πεδίῳ Τάνεως, cf. Sah. ܕܢ ܬܥܘܨܥ ܡܬܥܕܢܐ, Boh. 𐤍𐤏𐤓𐤏𐤓 𐤐𐤕𐤁𐤏𐤏: and, on the other hand,  "*Field-of-Za<sup>c</sup>*" appears in the Graeco-Roman temples as the name of the pe<sup>h</sup>u or "Hinterland" of the XIVth nome. Despite the divergence between "*Field-of-Za<sup>c</sup>anet*" and "*Field-of-Za<sup>c</sup>*," and although he overlooked the fact, later pointed out by Daressy, that the two statues of Teōs belong to two different persons<sup>2</sup>, Brugsch had thus quite a strong case for his view that Tanis was the metropolis of the XIVth nome, a good case for his identification of that city with Thel and Mesen—for it is a familiar fact that the old Egyptian towns often bore several names—and some case at least for his conjecture that Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe was yet another designation of the same place; this conjecture was, of course, sub-consciously backed by the knowledge that many important Ramesside monuments had been discovered by Mariette on the site of Tanis. Nevertheless, Brugsch later abandoned<sup>3</sup> all these views, at times defended by him with quite unnecessary acrimony; in his book *Die Aegyptologie*<sup>4</sup>, published in 1891, there is no mention of Tanis or Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe in the brief paragraph devoted to the XIVth nome. No reasons are given for the change of opinion; perhaps he had been convinced by the arguments of Dümichen, who had always insisted that the XIVth nome lay in the extreme east of the Delta, in immediate contact with the desert<sup>5</sup>.

(To be continued)

<sup>1</sup> There is other good evidence, of course, for the identity of the Biblical Zoan and Tanis; see *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, s.v. Zoan. Hieroglyphic D<sup>c</sup>nt for Tanis was subsequently found in other contexts.

<sup>2</sup> This I myself also failed to notice in my discussion of the position of Avaris, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, p. 101. The titles on the two statues are, however, so similar that for geographical purposes they may be quite justifiably utilized as though they were derived from a single document.

<sup>3</sup> This is pointed out by DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie de la Basse-Égypte*, pp. 100–1.

<sup>4</sup> *Die Aegyptologie*, p. 451.

<sup>5</sup> Dümichen's final views are set forth at length in his posthumous work *Zur Geographie des alten Aegypten*, pp. 31–33.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY: CHRISTIAN EGYPT

By W. E. CRUM, M.A.

THE following notes obviously cannot, in the present circumstances, pretend to anything like completeness. Nor have they this year been confined within the limits of 1917 and 1918. I am under obligations to several friends, both here and in Egypt, for references I should otherwise have missed.

1. *Biblical*. Among the earlier of extant Coptic MSS. is the parchment volume, whereof part is now in Vienna, while the remainder has been lost sight of, and which contains the Achmimic version of the Minor Prophets. The parts now lost were published by Bouriant from a copy; together with the Vienna leaves, these are reproduced by WESSELY<sup>1</sup>, who had the help of some preliminary work done on the at times almost illegible text by Krall. The MS. may be as late as the 5th century and is reputed, like the Achmimic *Apocalypse of Elias*, to have been found at the White Monastery. But place of (alleged) finding and place of origin are not necessarily identical. The publication is, from all points of view, highly important and welcome. SPIEGELBERG<sup>2</sup> has suggested a large number of emendations to Wessely's readings.

A further addition is promised us to the Bible texts in this, the oldest of Coptic idioms. STEINDORFF has announced the forthcoming edition, by himself and C. SCHMIDT, of the Berlin papyrus of Proverbs<sup>3</sup>. The MS. is said to be of the 3rd century. Its acquisition was announced as early as 1907<sup>4</sup>.

An appreciative review of Worrell's Sa'idic Psalter (*v. Journal* III, 226) has been written by TORRY<sup>5</sup>; another by I. GUIDI<sup>6</sup>.

A hitherto unutilized text of Sa'idic Matt. vii, 4—27 is reproduced by DELAPORTE<sup>7</sup> from a papyrus facsimiled in Cailliaud's *Voyage* (1821).

To his previous edition of the Freer Greek Gospel MS., H. A. SANDERS has now added that of the Pauline MS., a very fragmentary codex of the 6th (I should suggest the 7th) century<sup>8</sup>. Whatever may have been the statements of native dealers, I cannot but think that this MS. at least came originally from Upper Egypt. It is notorious that certain of the Curzon MSS., though acquired in Nitria, had been previously brought from the White Monastery.

<sup>1</sup> *Studien zur Paläographie*, xvi (1915).

<sup>2</sup> *Or. Litt. Z.* 1918, 22.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Z.* 1917, 1060; *Or. Litt. Z.* 1917, 251.

<sup>4</sup> Berlin *Sitzungsber.* 1907, 155.

<sup>5</sup> *Amer. Journ. of Theol.* xxi, 461.

<sup>6</sup> *Rev. Stud. Or.* vii, 723.

<sup>7</sup> *Rec. Bibl.* 1916, 560.

<sup>8</sup> *Univ. of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series, vol. ix, New York, 1918.

*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* v.

K. LAKE, though bringing new evidence to support an Egyptian origin for the Codd. Vaticanus and Sinaiticus, yet seems not to wish it to be taken as pointing in that direction<sup>1</sup>. There can be no doubt that a comparison—not easily feasible as yet, since the necessary MSS. have not been reproduced—between the scripts of these two codices and of certain early Sa'idic fragments would go far to convince sceptics that the former were the work of Egyptian scribes.

From a Sinuthian fragment of 8 leaves D. P. BUCKLE has collected over 60 biblical quotations<sup>2</sup>. On a number of these he has textual notes, as also observations upon the habit of Bible quotation by Coptic homilists.

R. SCHUMACHER has written upon Apollos the Alexandrine (Acts xviii, 24). H. WINDISCH notices the work<sup>3</sup>, saying that it merely sums up the results of previous investigations.

In his study of the story of Dives and Lazarus<sup>4</sup> H. GRESSMANN discusses the name *Nineuê* given to the former in Egypt. He would derive it ultimately from *Minaios* = *Bar Ma'in*, the wicked publican in a Jewish legend, curiously parallel to the Gospel story. He does not mention Rendel Harris's suggestion (*v. Report* 1900–01, 66).

2. *Gnostic and Magical*. In a study of Gnosticism, based upon de Faye's work (*v. Report* 1912–13, 52, *Journal* II, 26), P. MONCEAUX has much to say about the Egyptian sects and their books<sup>5</sup>. His estimate of the latter is low: "*d'une médiocrité décourageante et d'une obscurité invraisemblable*," "*ouvrages illisibles, qui défient la patience du lecteur*." He approves de Faye's opinion of their authors: "*leur pensée...n'a servi en rien aux progrès des idées*," "*fort au-dessous de la pensée du temps*," "*de braves gens, sans idées personnelles, sans talent, très ennuyeux*." Their originality and value lie in the moral purity and elevation they display.

These same books are very differently valued by F. B. BOND and T. S. LEA<sup>6</sup>, who claim to have recognized therein a species of 'code' cryptogram, whereby the gnostic author aimed at expressing "a mathematical theory of the origin of the universe." A similar key to knowledge is to be discovered in the New Testament, but the writers say that the application of this *geometria* in criticism of the Greek text has "barely yet begun." The second author had already written on these subjects (*v. Journal* II, 26). Review: *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 1918, 350.

The "anonymous" gnostic work contained in the Bruce Papyrus (*ed.* C. Schmidt, 335 ff.) is translated, from Amélineau's French translation, by F. LAMPLUGH<sup>7</sup>, with a preface on *gnosis* in general and notes which show much "gnostic" reading.

In a review of Legge's book (*v. Journal* IV, 48) F. GRANGER<sup>8</sup> declares that the real importance of the *Pistis Sophia* lies in its knowledge of the Odes of Solomon. He further regards the *Poimandres* as a commentary on the *Pistis*.

KROLL's work on Hermes Trismegistus (*v. Journal* III, 51) is reviewed twice<sup>9</sup>.

Conti Rossini had, a few years ago, edited the Ethiopic translation of the story of the sojourn of the Holy Family at Koskâm in Upper Egypt (*v. Journal* III, 52). MICHELANGELO

<sup>1</sup> *Harvard Theol. Rev.* XI, 32.

<sup>2</sup> *Theol. Lit. Z.* 1917, 158.

<sup>3</sup> *Journ. des Sac.* 1918, pp. 78, 79.

<sup>4</sup> *A Prelim. Investig. of the Cabala, contained in the Coptic Gnostic books*, Oxford, 1917.

<sup>5</sup> *The Gnosis of Light*, London, 1918.

<sup>6</sup> *Z. f. Kirchengesch.* 1916; *Theol. Stud. u. Krit.* 1917, 144.

<sup>7</sup> *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, IV, 312.

<sup>8</sup> *Berlin Academy, Abhandl.* 1918, no. 7, pp. 6, 29.

<sup>9</sup> *Hibbert Journal*, XVI (1), 171.

GUIDI now prints the Arabic version<sup>1</sup>, whence the Ethiopic was derived. There is as yet no trace of the inevitable Coptic original. The story is told by the patriarch Theophilus, yet at its close, his nephew and successor, Cyril, appears to have become the narrator. A translation will doubtless follow.

M. R. JAMES discusses<sup>2</sup> certain apocryphal features in Budge's last volume (*v. Journal* IV, 47 ff.): the heretic monk in the 2nd text and the Gospel of the Hebrews; the Prayer of Athanasius and its relation to Steindorff's "anonymous" apocalypse in the 15th; a book of Prochorus (?) mentioned in the 16th; the critical value of the Sa'idic Apocalypse of Paul.

In a Coptic magical papyrus (*Zeitschr. f. äg. Sprache*, 1895, 48) the charm works by the recitation of the story of Horus sending subservient spirits as his messengers to Isis. This ERMAN compares<sup>3</sup> with an incident in the medieval Faust Book.

3. *Liturgical.* The Berlin Papyrus 13,415 presumably contains liturgical matter, since TH. SCHERMANN has used it in an article on early forms of the prayers preparatory to baptism, which I know only from a review<sup>4</sup>.

A pocket edition of the Anaphora of St Basil, with a short historical introduction, has been issued by FARAH GIRGIS, on the authority of the Patriarch<sup>5</sup>. Its pieces differ somewhat in sequence from those in the editions both of Tuki and of Philotheus (1887). Alternative prayers, etc. from the Liturgy of St Gregory are here and there added; also the hymns proper at certain stages. After the Anaphora a series of occasional Prayers of Fraction are printed; finally the liturgy of Evening and Morning Incense (*cf.* the beginning of Tuki's *Missale*).

Mercer's Ethiopic Liturgy is somewhat severely criticized by PRAETORIUS<sup>6</sup>, who doubts the translator's competence at present to decide as to the ultimate sources—whether from the Greek direct or through Coptic channels—of the rite.

The same editor is stated<sup>7</sup> to be engaged on the so-called *Anaphora of Jesus Christ*.

The primitive form of invocation—the Person of the Trinity invoked—is the subject of J. W. TYRER's study of *The Eucharistic Epiclesis*<sup>8</sup>. Evidence from Egypt is represented by Serapion of Thmuis and Athanasius. He concludes that the earlier, certainly the more general, form invokes the Holy Spirit, not the Word. Review: *Ch. Quart. Rev.* 1918, 170.

G. GRAF, who has long made a speciality of Christian Arabic literature, has an article on the communion ritual of the Copts<sup>9</sup>.

Another ostrakon, with a fragmentary Greek hymn, is edited by EVELYN-WHITE<sup>10</sup>, who suggests that the piece may relate to Easter.

A Sa'idic Hymn on the Cross, edited by H. MUNIER<sup>11</sup>, refers to the legend of Eusignius (*cf.* Zoega, p. 241). But its chief interest lies in its being, I think, the sole example in this dialect of an alphabetically acrostical composition. A second hymn addresses Peter I of Alexandria.

The second volume (pp. 481—704) of the Cairo *Psalmodia* or *Theotokia* for the month of Kihak (*v. Journal* II, 27), edited by the late Claudius LABÎB (*v. below*), has been issued<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Rendic. Accad. Lincei*, XXVI, 381.

<sup>2</sup> *Orient. Studien f. F. Hommel*, II, 301.

<sup>3</sup> *Tiamphora ethwab.* Cairo (Tawfik Press), no date.

<sup>4</sup> *Rev. Crit.* 1917 (2), 225.

<sup>5</sup> *Der Katholik*, N.F. XVIII, 11.

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. du Serv.* 1918, 65.

<sup>7</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 163.

<sup>8</sup> *Theol. Lit. Z.* 1918, 81.

<sup>9</sup> *ZDMG.*, LXX, 263.

<sup>10</sup> London, 1917.

<sup>11</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVII, 171.

<sup>12</sup> *Kitâb el-Abşalmudîyah* etc. Cairo, A.M. 1627.



The text is apparently eclectic, being based on several MSS., one (p. 517) of A.D. 1443. Variant readings are often given and mistakes emended. In some cases the author of the hymn is named (pp. 506, 628). A number of pieces are introduced which do not figure in copies hitherto described. A third volume is in the press.

A pamphlet issued by the Coptic Young Men's Society<sup>1</sup> gives a sketch of the history of music in the native church, treating especially of the work and influence of Abûna Takla as reformer and teacher, of bishop Agapius Bishai, of the introduction of western notation by the Jesuits, and discussing the question of female singing and instrumental music in church. Appended is the programme of a "National School of Oriental Music," established at Cairo.

4. *Church Literature.* The sources drawn upon by Philo and by Clement of Alexandria are the subject of a book by BOUSSER<sup>2</sup>. As to the latter, B. concludes that he made use of a "gnostic" document, ascribable probably to Pantaenus; also of other, less precise sources. B.'s investigations owe much to the initiative of Collomp, in *Rev. de Philologie*, 1913. G. HOENNICKE, in a review<sup>3</sup>, doubts whether B.'s theories allow of demonstration.

G. W. BUTTERWORTH examines the story told by Clement of Alexandria, in his *Quis Dives*, about St John and the Robber Chief<sup>4</sup>, and concludes that John is there most probably the writer of the 3rd Epistle, but not the Apostle.

As a contribution towards the knowledge of Clement's acquaintance with the classics, W. GEMOLL examines certain quotations of Xenophon and shows that they are not made at first-hand<sup>5</sup>.

The Coptic *Catena* published by Lagarde contains the comments of Irenæus upon John xix, 34 and, in quoting that text, has the reading "water and blood." B. KRAFT points out<sup>6</sup> that nothing is thereby proved as to Irenæus' own Bible-text, but merely as to that used by the compiler of the *Catena*.

In 1904 an edition of the remains of Dionysius of Alexandria was published by C. L. FELTOE. He now gives us translations of a selection of the Letters and Treatises<sup>7</sup>, preceded by an introduction dealing with the writer's career, the controversies in which he was involved, his place as a dogmatic writer and so on. The translations are provided with frequent notes and an index.

A. PAPADOPOULOS has written a series of articles on Dionysius of Alexandria in the *Ἑκκλησιαστικὸς Φάρος*, in 1916-17, which I have not been able to see.

L. BAYER's dissertation on Isidore of Pelusium, in his relation to classical writers, is noticed by Belser<sup>8</sup>.

E. WEIGL's study (1914) of the Christology of Athanasius, its forerunners at Antioch and in Apollinarian circles, is well reviewed<sup>9</sup>.

Of an investigation by A. STEGEMANN of Athanasius' 4th Oration against the Arians, which he decides to be spurious, F. LOOFS says<sup>10</sup> that this conclusion had already been accepted and that the proposal to ascribe it to Apollinarius can scarcely be maintained.

<sup>1</sup> *Alḡân al-kunâsah al-kibfiyah*, Cairo (Ramses Press), 1917.

<sup>2</sup> In Bousset-Gunkel, *Forschungen*, N.F. VI, 1915.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Z.* 1917, 48.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 141.

<sup>5</sup> *Hermes*, 1918, 105.

<sup>6</sup> *Biblische Z.* XIII, 354.

<sup>7</sup> *St Dionysius of Alexandria*, SPCK, 1918.

<sup>8</sup> *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1916, 270.

<sup>9</sup> *Theol. Lit. Z.* 1916, 57.

<sup>10</sup> *Theol. Lit. Z.* 1918, 129. V. also *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1916, 227.

P. ZOEPFEL has written upon the pseudo-Athanasian homily on John xii, 1—8<sup>1</sup>.

A Greek fragment from Egypt of the 32nd Oration of Gregory Nazianzene, in a 9th—10th century minuscule, is edited by L. DE STEFANI<sup>2</sup>.

The additions to the Kempton series of patristic translations now include various treatises of Athanasius, his Life of Antony and also the (Greek) Life of Pachomius<sup>3</sup>.

G. L. MARRIOTT has been occupied with further investigations as to Macarian and pseudo-Macarian literature (*v. Journal* IV, 51). In one instance<sup>4</sup> a homily attributed to Macarius is shown to be based on a passage of the Lausiac History; in another<sup>5</sup> it is argued that one bearing the name of Gregory Nyssen is but a *réchauffé* of old ascetic materials, among them again a letter of Macarius. M. elsewhere points out<sup>6</sup> that Symeon Metaphrastes drew upon Macarius' homilies for his Tractates on Perfection.

R. H. Connolly's demonstration that the so-called "Egyptian Church Order" is in fact the *Paradosis* of Hippolytus (*v. Journal* IV, 50) has been accepted by competent critics: *e.g.* C. H. TURNER<sup>7</sup>, J. H. SRAWLEY<sup>8</sup>, E. C. BUTLER<sup>9</sup>, A. D'ALÈS<sup>10</sup>. See too the author's own additional notes<sup>11</sup>.

G. MERCATI shows<sup>12</sup> that the homily no. 6 in Crum's *Theological Texts* is strikingly similar in phraseology to pseudo-Chrysostom on the Nativity (*PG*. LXI, 763).

A collection of 34 of Chrysostom's Homilies in Arabic, published at Aleppo in 1707 and reprinted in 1872, had become rare and the Rev. ḤABĪB GĪRGIS has again reprinted it, with sundry emendations and with patriarchal sanction, at Cairo<sup>13</sup>.

There is naturally no prospect of P. NIKITIN's edition of the *Apophthegmata* being printed at present (*v. Journal* IV, 50), but I learn from Russia that his papers were handed over by the Academy to the epigraphist Nikitski, who may, it is hoped, some day be able to publish them.

Crum's edition of the Phillipps Papyrus (*v. Journal* III, 52) has been reviewed several times, *e.g.* by LEIPOLDT<sup>14</sup>, who regards the texts as an important document of early popular piety. The dialogues he regards as hardly genuine. A review by I. GUIDI<sup>15</sup> proposes certain variants in text and translation.

The first volume has appeared of a composite commentary on the Psalter, edited by YŪSUF BEY MANḲARIUS, rector of the Clerical College, Cairo, and ḤABĪB GĪRGIS, instructor in religion at the same<sup>16</sup>. It consists, for each Psalm, of (1) the 11th century Commentary of Abū 'l-Farag 'Abd Allah b. aṭ-Taiyib (on whom *v. Rieu's Supplem.*, no. 15), (2) of extracts from the 8th century Expositions of Daniel of Ṣalāh, and (3) of "Spiritual reflexions" by the two editors. Both these Syrian commentaries are so far unedited and the book is therefore of considerable interest.

The lessons appointed in the Coptic church for Sundays and festivals throughout the year have been provided with lengthy commentaries (with patriarchal approval) by

<sup>1</sup> *Theol.-Prakt. Monatshefte*, 1916, Oct.

<sup>2</sup> Pubbl. della Soc. Ital., *Pap. Gr. e Lat.* v, no. 550.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliothek d. Kirchenväter* (Kösel), 1917.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 68.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* XIX, 326.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.* XVIII, 71 and XIX, 331.

<sup>7</sup> *Ch. Quart. Rec.*, Oct. 1917 (and in *The Early Church and the Ministry*, p. xx).

<sup>8</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 229 ff.

<sup>9</sup> *Downside Rev.* XXXV, 118 ff.

<sup>10</sup> *Recherches de Sc. Relig.* 1918, 132 ff.

<sup>11</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XIX, 132.

<sup>12</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 315.

<sup>13</sup> *Kitāb ad-Durr al-Muntahab*. Cairo (Al-Karmah Press), 1912.

<sup>14</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Z.* 1917, 1. Also *ibid.* 1915, 52. *Lit. Z. Bl.* 1916, 29.

<sup>15</sup> *Riv. Stud. Or.* VII, 724.

<sup>16</sup> *Al-Rawḍ an-naḥl fī tafsīr al-Muzāmir*. Cairo (Tawfiq Press), no date.

PHILOTHEUS AL-MAKÂRI and YÛSUF BEY MANËARIUS<sup>1</sup>. As Introduction they print a Dissertation on commentaries in general by Peter of Sedment (on whom *v.* Rylands, *Catal. Copt. MSS.* no. 467).

The Rev. ḤABIB GIRGIS, assisted by Wahaby Bey, has, at the Patriarch's bidding, issued an interesting collection of some 40 Arabic sermons, appropriate to Sundays and Festivals throughout the year<sup>2</sup>. Twenty are by Shams ar-Riâsah b. Kabr (Abû 'l-Barakât), ten by Aṣ-Ṣafî b. al-ʿAssâl, the two most eminent of medieval Coptic scholars. The precise date and occasion of several by the first-named are given. Two pieces (7, 31) are taken from ancient MSS. in Cairo churches, the remainder reprinted from a recently published collection (! that noticed in *Report* 1911-12, 65). A Charge by the present patriarch, issued in 1907, closes the volume.

5. *History, Legends, etc.* HOLL's investigations<sup>3</sup> as to the origin of the festivals of Epiphany and Christmas and their coincident celebration by the early Church on Jan. 6 lead him to the conclusion that both can be traced to the calendar of pagan Egypt, which at that date celebrated both the birth of a god (Αἰών) and a Nile-water ceremony. This (by recalling the equation Osiris = Dionysus) he further regards as explanatory of the original commemoration of the Marriage at Cana on the same date.

Under the title "An Anti-Arian Apocryphon," ET. DRIOTON edits, with textual commentary<sup>4</sup>, the Coptic version of the correspondence of Christ and Abgar. In a discussion of its historical and dogmatic value D. maintains that it was put together under stress of Arian persecution, between 359 and 362 and by an Upper Egyptian monk.

Some of the MSS. belonging to the great find which became Mr Pierpont Morgan's property remained in Cairo. One of these, the Martyrdom of Isidore of Antioch, is edited and translated by H. MUNIER<sup>5</sup>. The story of his tortures and successive deaths, a passage from which had been published by O. von Lemm, is less interesting than the idiom in which it is told and which, besides various rare words, shows the curious mixture of dialects not uncommon with scribes from the Fayyûm. The village whence this one came is named *Ptepouhar*.

Another fragment from the same find is published by the same editor<sup>6</sup>. It contains part of the Martyrdom of Philotheus, likewise of Antioch, and is this time in pure Fayyûmic.

A third text comes from the same source and the same editor: a Saʿidic fragment of the Martyrdom of one Shnoube (Shenoufe)<sup>7</sup>, carried out apparently at Bubastis, on the 6th Paône. With him died 96 others and a virgin named Sophia. They do not figure in the *Synaxarium*.

MUNIER gives us finally a fourth fragmentary martyrdom: that of Nabraha (Naberho, Νεφερώς), who however was not actually slain, but survived the accession of Constantine.

WESSELY translates the incident of the god Kothos, from the so-called *Memoirs of Dioscorus* and speculates as to how the name reached Egypt<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Kitâb tahfah 'l-ungûd* etc., 1st vol., Cairo (St Macarius Press), 1914.

<sup>2</sup> *Al Gaudour an-Nafisah fî Khutûb al-Kanîsah*. Cairo, *Al-Karnah* Press, 1914.

<sup>3</sup> Berlin Academy, *Sitzungsber.* 1917, 402.

<sup>4</sup> *ROC.* xx, 306.

<sup>5</sup> *Bull. Inst. Fr.* xiv, 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Ann. du Serv.* 1916, 247.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* 1917, 145.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. Inst. Fr.* xv, 227.

<sup>9</sup> *Stud. z. Palaeogr.* xvii, 52.

C. H. TURNER returns to the study of the early episcopal lists<sup>1</sup> and examines the evidence of Eusebius. Of Alexandria he has little to say.

Though belated here, notice must be taken of R. REITZENSTEIN's views as to the Life of Antony<sup>2</sup>, the Athanasian authorship of which is now generally conceded—as here by R., who is concerned rather with the writer's object in composing the biography and the literary models he imitated. Striking no doubt are certain verbal coincidences with Porphyry's Life of Pythagoras, though such occur, it seems, only in the introductory sections. "The philosophic ideal of the perfect sage is here transplanted by Athanasius into Christianity."

While speaking of Antony a curious point raised by H. I. BELL should be noted<sup>3</sup>. A British Museum papyrus letter of the 4th century is written by an Antony to his spiritual son, named possibly Ammon. Could the "father of monks" be its author? Dates would suit; but was not Antony illiterate and ignorant of Greek? He might indeed be employing a scribe.

R. REITZENSTEIN, in pursuance of his studies of the sources and character of early monastic literature (*cf. Report* 1905-06, 70), has now taken as his theme the *Historia Monachorum* and the *Historia Lausiaca*<sup>4</sup>. He aims at ascertaining, primarily by philological investigation, the ideals and schools of thought represented in these works: how far are they influenced by neo-pythagorean and how far by gnostic speculation and terminology? What was the monkish interpretation of the terms *γνωστικός*, *πνευματικός*? R.'s book is as usual packed with interesting matter; but its contents are so formless and confused, that it makes difficult reading. He treats of the monkish novel with a didactic purpose, of ascetic 'perfection,' of Egyptian influences in early monasticism, of the main divisions and several of the chief characters in the *H.L.*, of the evolution of monasticism towards the official church, of the gnostic systems (as against Harnack) and incidentally of much else besides.

G. KRÜGER, in a long review<sup>5</sup>, declares this to be the most important work on the subject since Weingarten; although he by no means admits that all in these stories is invention, nothing based on fact. Both R. and K. have some criticisms to make as to E. C. Butler's choice of MSS. in forming his text. A review by A. HAUSRATH<sup>6</sup> regards such anecdotes as at first mere types, which only later on became attached to particular individuals.

The composition of the Lausiak History is likewise the subject of analysis by W. BOUSSER<sup>7</sup>. He seeks to identify Palladius's own share in the book by the occurrence of the terms *γνώσις* and *πνεῦμα*. The Egyptian chapters he holds to be perhaps from *Apophthegmata*, worked up by the author with narratives of his own experiences. As to Palladius's trustworthiness as an eye-witness B. will not commit himself. A mixture of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Personal narratives are used as mere decoration for materials from the following sources; (1) Scetic anecdotes, (2) Pachomian traditions, (3) a list of Syrian saints and (4) perhaps a collection relating to holy women.

It is strange, seeing how popular at various times ascetic literature has been in England, that LOWTHER CLARKE's translation of the Lausiak History<sup>8</sup> should be the first

<sup>1</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 103.

<sup>2</sup> Heidelberg Academy, *Sitzungsber.* 1914, 8. Heft.

<sup>3</sup> *Greek Papyri in Br. Mus.* v, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> Bousset-Gunkel's *Forschungen*, N.F. VII, 1916.

<sup>5</sup> *Theol. Rundschau*, 1917, 70 and *Lit. Z. Bl.* 1917, 285.

<sup>6</sup> *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1916, 1360.

<sup>7</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1917, 173.

<sup>8</sup> *SPCK.* 1918.

in the language. Perhaps the unsatisfactory state of the text previous to Butler's labours may be in part the reason. The translation is carefully done and reads well, the notes and introduction are adequate.

In the above review of Reitzenstein, Krüger refers to a new discussion of the *κρόχοι* problem (*v. Report* 1903-04, 79, *Journal* II, 106, *Jahresb. d. Geschichtswiss.* 1913, I, 109) by H. DIEHLS<sup>1</sup>.

Five of the anecdotes in D. C. HESSELING's selection from the *Pratum Spirituale*<sup>2</sup> concern Egypt, while many of his notes deal with points relating thereto and John the Almoner and the church of Alexandria in the 7th century figure largely in the Introduction. Migne's print of the text is often criticised, yet there are still no signs that any one contemplates a better edition (*v. Report* 1903-04, 80). A reviewer appears to think that H.'s is the *editio princeps* of the text<sup>3</sup>.

Another valuable text edited by MUNIER and already referred to (*v. Journal* IV, 57) is a long Sa'idic fragment of the story of the royal ascetes, Maximus and Dometius<sup>4</sup>, whose "Roman" origin is commemorated in the name of the monastery of El-Baramûs. The text is considerably longer than the corresponding Bohairic. The point of view from which such publications should *not* be estimated may be seen in *Ancient Egypt* 1917, 72.

ET. DRIOTON concludes his study<sup>5</sup> of the doctrinal discussion between the anthropomorphite Aphou of Oxyrhynchus and the patriarch Theophilus (*v. Journal* IV, 52), developing his thesis that the former was an important agent in effecting the conversion of the latter from Origenism.

In GASELEE's collection of nine stories attractively translated or retold from the hagiography of the Eastern churches<sup>6</sup>, two are from the Coptic, though the first of these does not relate to Egypt: *viz.* the history of Eustathius Placidus and that of Dorotheus and Theopiste. Both are taken from Budge's publications. A third is the Nubian tale of St Menas and the Egg.

The patchwork "Revelations" ascribed to Methodius of Olympus became popular in all Christian languages and influenced various similar prophetic productions: among them, F. NAU believes<sup>7</sup>, the Epistle of Pesynthius of Keft (*v. Journal* III, 52, IV, 52).

A. BAUER (the editor, it will be remembered, in 1906, of Golénischeff's "Alexandrine Chronicle") has written upon Alexandria and the spread of such universal chronicles<sup>8</sup>; but I have not seen his article.

Koulakowsky's History of Byzantium is reviewed at length by L. BRÉHIER<sup>9</sup>, who has a good deal to say of Heraclius and Egypt and of the Mokaukis = Cyrus, whom he regards not as a traitor, but as the victim of imperial incapacity.

In an article on Theodora's ecclesiastical *protégés*<sup>10</sup> DUCHESNE describes the internal schisms among the Monophysites of Alexandria and discusses the history and influence of Severus.

CHARLES's long-expected translation of the Chronicle of John of Nikiu (*v. Journal* IV, 53) has appeared<sup>11</sup> and answers all expectations. The editor has taken great pains to

<sup>1</sup> Berlin *Sitzungsab.* 1916, 78.

<sup>2</sup> *Journ. Th. St.* XVIII, 250.

<sup>3</sup> *ROC.* XX 1917.

<sup>4</sup> *Journ. As.* 1917, 415.

<sup>5</sup> *Journ. des Sav.* 1917, 451.

<sup>6</sup> Published for the *Text and Transl. Soc.*, London, 1916.

<sup>7</sup> *Bloemlezing uit het Pr. Sp.*, Utrecht, 1916.

<sup>8</sup> *Bull. Inst. Fr.* XIII, 93.

<sup>9</sup> *Stories from the Christian East*, London, 1918.

<sup>10</sup> *Z. d. Hist. Ver. Steiermark*, 1917, 1.

<sup>11</sup> *Mélanges d'Arch. et d'Hist.* XXXV (1915), 57.

identify corresponding passages in the parallel chronicles (so far as this was not already done by Zotenberg) and to improve the obscure readings of the proper names. The text itself he freely emends, thereby often making a reasonable translation possible. CRUM in a review<sup>1</sup> has tried to demonstrate what was intrinsically probable: that the Arabic behind the Ethiopic version was itself the translation of a Coptic (not of a Greek) original.

As is well known, the canonical "Visions," into which the Greek Daniel is divided, have in the Bohairic version a highly apocryphal addition, wherein the future of Egypt and the domination of the "Turks" are foretold. C. H. BECKER has published an interesting study of this piece<sup>2</sup>, which, however, he despairs of interpreting satisfactorily. At most the king, whose death is foreshadowed, would appear to be Merwân II (*ob.* 750). If so, a *terminus* for composition would be gained. One important observation of B.'s needs criticism. He applies the statement of a scribe's note, found on the first p. of Daniel in both MSS., to the *whole* Coptic text of the prophet, which is thereby made to be but a retranslation from an intermediate Arabic translation—a unique and improbable procedure, as ERMAN, who contributes valuable notes on the Coptic text, saw. In reality the note in question applies *solely* to ch. i, 1—3 of Daniel in the LXX version, which it follows and which are here introduced as a preface to the normal (Theodotion's) text.

Samuel, abbot of the Monastery of Calamôn and a witness of the arrival of the Moslems in Egypt, was credited (like his contemporary, Pesynthius of Keft) with a deathbed prophecy as to the subsequent fate of the Copts. It dates evidently from the period when Coptic was falling into disuse. The writer inveighs vehemently against the intruding Arabic. The Arabic version is edited and translated by the abbé ZIADEH<sup>3</sup>.

In the course of a review of Evetts's and Seybold's (*CSCO.*) editions of the Patriarchal History<sup>4</sup> A. R. GUEST emphasizes the incidental importance of the work for the secular history of Egypt and sketches the course of the relations between the Coptic church and the Muslim authorities. He gives a number of emendations to the Arabic text of both editions and commends E.'s as decidedly more valuable than S.'s.

In a second *Festgabe* for A. Knöpfler, G. PFEILSCHIFTER writes on the information to be gathered from the Oxyrhynchus papyri as to the local ecclesiastical and monastic matters and especially the calendar (*v. Journal* III, 51), and promises to deal more fully and generally with this subject later on. I have only seen a review<sup>5</sup>.

The medieval history of the Sinaitic monasteries is recounted by B. MORITZ<sup>6</sup>, who incidentally analyses one of Mahommed's supposed edicts in favour of the Copts. M. holds it to be the work of the Copts themselves. One of its stipulations is that the monasteries (? of Nitria) should entertain passing Muslims returning westward from the Pilgrimage.

The handbook of canon law relating to persons, by the late Hegumenus Philotheus (*ob.* 1904), has been re-edited with additional comments by G. Ph. AWAD<sup>7</sup>, who gives facsimiles of two 13th century MSS. used: one of the Nomocanon of Ibn Al-ʿAssâl, the other of the Canons of Cyril b. Laqlaq.

In a comprehensive history of Catholic propaganda in the East K. LÜBECK<sup>8</sup> describes the various stages of the work in Egypt, from the Franciscan mission in the 17th century,

<sup>1</sup> This *Journal*, IV, 207.

<sup>2</sup> *ROC.* XX, no. 4.

<sup>3</sup> *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1918, 422.

<sup>4</sup> *Al-Khilâṣah al-Kānūniyah fī ʿl-aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyyah* etc., Cairo (Egyptian National Press), 1913.

<sup>5</sup> *Görres Gesellsch. (Vereinsschrift)*, 1917.

*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* v.

<sup>6</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1916, 7.

<sup>7</sup> *Journ. R. As. Soc.* 1917, 837.

<sup>8</sup> Berlin Academy, *Abhandl.* 1918, no. 4.

followed by Louis XIV's Jesuits and a subsequent return of Franciscans, to the rival hierarchy instituted by the Pope in the second half of the 18th century. Leo XIII's activities resulted in a fruitful counter-revival on the part of the Coptic church (the Tawfik Society). Nevertheless, despite the unfortunate policy of Cyril Makâr (1906), the Uniates *plus* Latins numbered over 89,000 before the war.

Instead of the name of Cyril of Alexandria, invoked now and then on medieval European bell-inscriptions and in some MSS. against bad weather, G. STOLZ proposes<sup>1</sup> to read Columba, whom he holds to be the saint properly intended.

6. *Non-literary texts.* Though chronologically out of place now, notice should be taken of MALLON's valuable article on Coptic epigraphy<sup>2</sup>, which appeared in 1914. Before dealing systematically with the various classes of monuments, their local distribution, their formulae and decoration, M. has introductory paragraphs upon the history and duration of the language, which contain many acute observations.

In H. I. BELL's recent volume of the Papyrus Catalogue of the British Museum<sup>3</sup>, as in the parallel volume (III) of the Cairo Catalogue, there are a certain number of documents relating incidentally to ecclesiastical matters, *e.g.* nos. 1704, 1782-5, 1832 and 1686, in which local monasteries or churches figure as landowners. In the last of these the monastery is named "of Zmin (? Zminis)," a name written also Smin(os), and identical, I suspect, with *Tusmine* (also *Smine*), Pachomius's first foundation at Panopolis. In no. 1776 a church at Hermopolis appears to have soldiers in its service. Various churches and monasteries are mentioned in Aphrodito, Hermopolis and elsewhere. The legal documents from Syene, which figure prominently here, give continual illustration of similar Coptic deeds. The volume indeed contains an interesting Coptic deed of arbitration, edited by Sir HERBERT THOMPSON, while on the *verso* of no. 1674 is a valuable Greek-Coptic glossary, to be published, it is hoped, by the editor and the present writer.

H. MUNIER publishes a ninth century Coptic stele<sup>4</sup>, commemorating a monk, native of Babylon (Old Cairo). The idiom is still a tolerably pure Sa'idic.

We owe to the same editor a stele, found near Minyeh<sup>5</sup> and mentioning a place Hagé, perhaps that already assumed to be in the neighbourhood of Antinoë.

He also describes a clay lamp from Thebes<sup>6</sup>, whereon are inscribed the names of the martyrs Lucius and Arsenius. It seems that the former name varies with that of Eulogius.

In BOESER's last volume of the Leyden monuments<sup>7</sup> is included the Coptic grave-stele of George, a deacon and *γραμματεὺς*.

The remains of a church at Tinnis, in Lake Menzaleh, have produced certain columns, upon one of which H. MUNIER reads<sup>8</sup> the name of a saint Procopius, presumably the martyr of Caesarea.

Two early Oxyrhynchus letters (xii, 1489, 1583), of the 3rd and 2nd centuries respectively, are discussed by C. H. DODD<sup>9</sup>, in respect of the reminiscences they exhibit of Pauline idioms.

Among the Greek papyri edited by P. MEYER<sup>10</sup> is a 6th cent. letter, addressed to an ecclesiastical superior.

<sup>1</sup> *Theol. Quartalschr.* 1916, 187.

<sup>2</sup> *Greek Pap. in the B. M.*, vol. v, 1917.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 1917, 163.

<sup>4</sup> *Beschreibung d. Aeg. Denkm.* VII, 1915, last plate.

<sup>5</sup> *Expositor*, 1918, 291.

<sup>6</sup> In Cabrol, *Dict. d'Archéol.* III, 2819.

<sup>7</sup> *Ann. du Serr.* 1916, 253.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.* 1917, 160.

<sup>9</sup> *Ann. du Serr.* 1918, 72.

<sup>10</sup> *Gr. Texte aus Aegypten*, 1916, no. 24.

SPIEGELBERG publishes an interesting Coptic papyrus from Bâle<sup>1</sup>, relating to the hire of a water-wheel, on which WILCKEN contributes a note.

In the same publication RABEL edits the Greek papyri; among them a letter which he ascribes to the first half of the 3rd century—thus the oldest known Christian letter. (It may be noted that WESSELY denies<sup>2</sup> that the letter, P. Amh. no. iii, is older than 264.)

A complete papyrus letter in Fayyûmic is printed, with a photograph, but without comment, by A. CHATZÊ<sup>3</sup>.

7. *Philology.* The relations of subject and predicate may be said to be the main matter investigated by SETHE in his important study of the Egyptian “nominal” clause<sup>4</sup>. The answer to the question, “what is a predicate?” is not always obvious. S.’s work is a large contribution towards its solution and takes constantly into account the conditions of Coptic, as well as earlier, syntax. A review has been seen<sup>5</sup>.

SETHE also investigates the survivals in the later language of Egypt of words introduced by the pre-Christian Persian occupation<sup>6</sup>. *Ertob*, *gingôr*, *hagor* (*ἄγγαρος*), *matoi* (Mede), *weienin* (Ionian) are the Coptic words discussed. Aramaic was the vehicle of their importation. Much valuable phonetic material is utilised.

SETHE, discussing the words for “hen” in hieroglyphics<sup>7</sup>, gives the Coptic forms, as found in Kircher and Peyron.

SPIEGELBERG continues his etymological and grammatical notes<sup>8</sup>. They concern the name ‘Pharaoh’ in Lower Egypt, the words *noutf*, *etnih*, *jane*, *aun mmêt*, *towe*, the suffixes *-sou*, *-se*, the *3ae infirmæ* verbal class, and a rare form of causative. In another note<sup>9</sup> he writes on the words for ‘mother’ and ‘town’ and on the apparently inconsistent vocalization of the latter (*no*, but also *ne*).

It may be mentioned that the word *sauhes*, used by Jerome (*Ep.* xxii) for a congregation of monks, and explained by SPIEGELBERG (*Recueil* xxviii, 211) as a Coptic word with Greek ending, has since (and more probably) been referred by him to the Achmimic form of the word<sup>10</sup>.

Etymological notes are contributed by H. WIESMANN, on *ji-hra-*, on *ref-* + qualitative, on *neat* (? = *n-eat*).

A large number of Graeco-Egyptian proper names, found in the papyri, are examined by K. F. W. SCHMIDT<sup>11</sup>, and Coptic etymologies are often proposed, several among which appear more than doubtful.

The use in Bohairic of the “strong” and the “weak” article is governed by rules not yet adequately defined. C. KUENTZ shows<sup>12</sup> that, in certain circumstances, an apparent *p-* is, by orthographic licence, written for *pi-*. He names the usage “graphic abbreviation.”

In a note on recent activities of the Petrograd Academy<sup>13</sup> a study by FORTUNATOFF of the origins of the Glagolitic alphabet is mentioned, wherein certain of its letters are traced to Coptic characters.

I am sorry to hear that the Dictionary, planned by G. PH. AWAD upon the basis of Bishai’s materials (*v. Journal* iv, 55), has had to be abandoned, for lack of funds.

<sup>1</sup> *Göttinger Abhandl.* 1917, no. 3.

<sup>2</sup> *Ἀρχαιολ. Ἐφημ.* 1915, 31.

<sup>3</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Z.* 1918, 180.

<sup>4</sup> *Festschr. f. F. C. Andreas*, 1916, p. 116.

<sup>5</sup> On p. 40 of Reitzenstein’s book (*c. above*).

<sup>6</sup> *Bull. Inst. Franç.* xiii, 169.

<sup>7</sup> *Deutsche Lit. Z.* 1916, 1944.

<sup>8</sup> Leipzig Academy, *Abhandl.* xxviii, 1916.

<sup>9</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1916, 112.

<sup>10</sup> *Zeitschr. f. öst. Sprache*, LIII, 130. <sup>11</sup> *Ibid.* 104.

<sup>12</sup> *Berl. Philol. Woch.* 1918, 477.

<sup>13</sup> *Journ. des Sav.* 1916, 528.



Seeing that the Coptic Dictionary for which I have made myself responsible was referred to in the preceding Bibliography (*v. Journal* IV, 55), it ought to be recorded here that all expectation of carrying it out by means of international collaboration, as projected in 1914, has by now been perforce abandoned. A compromise scheme, proposed by neutral friends in 1917, proved abortive. Not for some time yet will it be possible to see whence and to what extent foreign help can be made use of. Meanwhile such progress continues to be made as the present circumstances permit.

8. *Archæology, Art, etc.*—M. HERZ PASHA, formerly director of the Arab Museum, writes upon Babylon and *Ḳasr esh-Shama*<sup>1</sup>. The result of an inquiry as to the origin of these names shows that, at the time of the Arab conquest, there existed but a single fort, due to Trajan, who had called it Babylon. This name the conquerors eventually replaced by *K. esh-Sh.* C. H. BECKER adds a note, resuming A. J. Butler's latest views (*Babylon of Egypt*) and agreeing with them.

The Arabic "Book of Buried Pearls," *viz.* the Egyptian treasure hunter's *vade mecum*, is of course full of geographical information of a rather vague sort. DARESSY publishes<sup>2</sup> a useful catalogue of the places named, with attempts at their identification. A number of churches and monasteries occur, some apparently with double designations.

DARESSY discusses the true location of the monastery no longer extant, named Dair el-Nāhiyah, near Abū Roāsh<sup>3</sup>.

LEGRAIN describes a Christian chapel and baptistry in the so-called *forum* at Luxor<sup>4</sup>.

AHMED BEY KAMĀL gives an account<sup>5</sup> of excavations at Dair Dronkah and Siūt, and prints (quite inadequately) the texts of two stelae there found.

The British Museum has acquired about a dozen Coptic stelae with names, architectural fragments etc., from a ruined church at Edfu and from the monastery of Jeremias at Saḳḳarah<sup>6</sup>.

The Berlin collections have acquired two bronze lamps, presumably of Coptic origin<sup>7</sup>; also (from the Gaus collection) a number of gold pendants, discs etc. of the Byzantine period, from Egypt, which are described and discussed by R. ZAHN<sup>8</sup>.

BAUMSTARK describes a bracelet, in the de Béarn collection<sup>9</sup>, possibly of Egyptian workmanship and decorated with texts taken either from liturgical or from extra-canonical sources.

He likewise discusses<sup>10</sup> a representation of the crucifixion in the Bohairic Gospel MS., Paris no. 13 (12th century), which is characterized by the groups of friends and enemies depicted to right and left of the cross respectively.

Certain Byzantine textiles from Egypt in the Victoria and Albert Museum are the subject of two descriptive articles by A. F. KENDRICK<sup>11</sup>, who assigns their designs to the 6th century. While these pieces came presumably as usual from Achmīm, another acquisition is described by K.<sup>12</sup> which, like a group of Gayet's specimens, are from Damietta. Their designs are regarded as of the 4th or 5th century.

<sup>1</sup> *Der Islam*, VIII, 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Ann. du Serv.* 1918, 274.

<sup>3</sup> *Ann. du Serv.* 1916, 65.

<sup>4</sup> *Antl. Berichte u. d. Kgl. Kunstsam.* XXXVIII, 238.

<sup>5</sup> *Oriens Christ.* 1916, 49.

<sup>11</sup> *Burlington Magazine*, XXXI, 13, XXXII, 145.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Inst. Franç.* XIII, 175.

<sup>4</sup> *Bull. Inst. Égypt.* 1917, 259.

<sup>6</sup> *Brit. Mus. Return*, 1917, 35.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* XXXVIII, 1.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.* 271.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.* XXXII, 10.

The same writer discusses<sup>1</sup> the origin of the clearly foreign designs upon the silk fabrics, which in Egypt succeeded woollen tapestry. Possibly they were imported ready woven from Mesopotamia.

It may here be mentioned that in W. SCHUBART's new book a wonderfully perfect specimen (Berlin Museum) of a Byzantine robe is reproduced<sup>2</sup>; while the New York Museum has been exhibiting other fine examples<sup>3</sup>.

SOMERS CLARKE has given his collection of papers relating to Coptic monuments to the British Museum<sup>4</sup>.

A review to be noted is that by G. STUHLFAUTH<sup>5</sup> of H.R.H. John George's book (*v. Journal* IV, 55).

MORET describes<sup>6</sup> the second volume of Clédat's *Fouilles de Buouit* (issued 14 years after the excavations), which contains chapels 30 to 39. M. lays stress (as against J. Maspero) on the indigenous, pagan elements in Bawit art, especially in its hunting scenes, which recall those in the neighbouring tombs at Meir.

Any work treating of Christian iconography in the early centuries is bound to take large account of the products and influence of Egypt, and much of E. BALDWIN SMITH's book<sup>7</sup> is occupied therewith. He sets out, by the methodical examination of selected scenes, (1) to group the extant specimens by locality and (2) thence to locate certain still disputed pieces, while (3) seeking to vindicate for one group a Provençal origin. In admittedly Egyptian works he distinguishes two groups: the Alexandrine-Coptic and the Palestinian-Coptic. He does not allow much artistic sense or originality to the monastic craftsmen of Upper Egypt, who are responsible for "what we call Coptic art." He lays stress upon the Egyptian influences traceable, with others from the east, upon the sculptures of Provence. A review in *Times, Lit. Suppl.*, 19. xii. 18.

Three important handbooks, dealing *inter alia* with Christian art in Egypt, have appeared during the last few years: O. M. Dalton's, C. M. Kaufmann's, and now L. BRÉHIER's<sup>8</sup>. One cannot here do more than point out how many aspects of Christian art history are dealt with by B. in their relation to Egypt: Egyptian forms of the cross, Egyptian types of Christ, angels, Virgin etc.; the contrast between the formal and abstract tendencies in the art of Constantinople and the more realistic types favoured by monastic influences from Syria and Egypt in the 6th century; these influences as they affected western art in the 13th century; the connexion—long patent to any one who compared them—between Coptic and Irish illumination.

9. *Miscellaneous*.—Unless we except Deissmann's *Licht vom Osten*, it must be allowed that CAMDEN M. COBERN's book<sup>9</sup> is "the pioneer work" in its own field. The author has aimed at gathering together as much as possible of the evidence produced by the discoveries of the past few years which illustrates the text of the New Testament and the life of the early Church. The first part treats of the MSS., the second of the monuments. In the former Egypt of course plays the principal rôle; biblical papyri, in Coptic as well as Greek, are described, and use is also made of the published documents in both languages. Two short

<sup>1</sup> *Barlington Magazine*, xxxiii, 131.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. Metr. Mus. of Art*, xiii, 285.

<sup>3</sup> *Theol. Lit. Z.* 1916, 31.

<sup>4</sup> *Early Christian Iconography* (Princetown Monographs vi), London (Milford) 1918.

<sup>5</sup> *L'Art Chrétien*, Paris, 1918.

<sup>6</sup> *Einf. in d. Papyraskunde*, Taf. v.

<sup>7</sup> *Brit. Mus. Return*, 1915, 73.

<sup>8</sup> *Rev. Crit.* 1917 (2), 353.

<sup>9</sup> *The New Archæol. Discoveries*, 1917.

Coptic papyri are reproduced (translations by HYVERNAT) for the first time. A review has appeared in this *Journal* (IV, 283).

RAHLFS has been led, by his Septuagint project, to investigate the facts of Theodore Petraeus' life and publications<sup>1</sup> (cf. STERN, *Gramm.* p. viii). He has much to tell that is interesting. P.'s stay in London, in 1659, seems not to have been realised by previous biographers. It may be noted that the Coptic lexicon (*scalu*), brought by him from Egypt, is that now in the Bodleian, numbered Bodl. Or. 325.

D. P. BUCKLE has put together a useful statement<sup>2</sup> of the various printed "aids to the study of the [Coptic] language" available in the Rylands Library, which is unusually well supplied in this respect. The article is indeed a concise but comprehensive record of all the most notable European publications, from the first attempts in the 17th century down to the present day.

S. H. LEEDER's popular account, from his own observations, of the Copts of to-day<sup>3</sup> contains much that is interesting in regard to folk-lore and social and religious customs (birth, marriage, death), as also to daily life in a well-to-do Coptic family, whose guest the author was. An interesting chapter gives a sketch of the late bishop of the Fayyûm, a modern saint, the story of whose career is strangely parallel to that of many a worthy of the early church of Egypt. The author had valuable help in Cairo from Marcus Pasha Simaika and Dr George Sobhy. Reviewed in *Times*<sup>4</sup> and *Sunday Times*<sup>5</sup>.

I do not know how long it is since the energy and persistence of Marcus Pasha Simaika achieved the establishment, at the church of Al-Mo'allakah in Old Cairo, of a *Coptic Museum*. At any rate in a relatively short time the collection of Christian antiquities and Coptic MSS. has made remarkable progress and the Patriarch has now been prevailed on to entrust to its safe-keeping such of the older and more remarkable MSS. as can be collected from the churches. The editing of interesting texts is one of the objects of the institution and a beginning is to be made by G. Sobhy. It is also hoped to acquire, as funds permit, a library of modern works relating to Coptic studies.

M. Foucart writes that at the French Archaeological Institute likewise a *Bibliothèque de textes coptes* is about to be inaugurated. The Egyptian Museum and the French Institute between them should be able to feed such an undertaking with material for many a day, provided editors can be enlisted.

Our studies have suffered, since I last wrote here, a very serious loss. OSKAR VON LEMM died at Petrograd in June 1918. I last heard from him in February 1916: a very depressed letter, ending with the words, "There is no more room for science in the world." Lemm was among the first of contemporary Coptic scholars. Others have done more in the Egyptological side of the subject, but in profound knowledge of Coptic literature, narrowly so called, no one rivalled him. He had moreover an acquaintance with the Bible, rare (strange to say) among even his theological colleagues, and also with patristics, whereby he was repeatedly enabled to identify "acephalous" texts or to trace others to their origins. His powers of textual criticism, aided by a wonderful memory, were notorious and were exercised with salutary effect: his *Kleine Koptische Studien* have indeed long been a terror to careless editors. The long list of his Coptic publications begins in 1885. We must be grateful for all he achieved—and his health was often bad—but regrets are

<sup>1</sup> *Göttinger Nachrichten*, 1917, 290.

<sup>2</sup> *Bull. of J. Rylands Library*, IV 1, 119.

<sup>3</sup> *Lit. Suppl.* 27, vi, 18.

<sup>4</sup> *Modern Sons of the Pharaohs*, London, 1918.

<sup>5</sup> 19, vii, 18.

inevitable at the thought of the unfulfilled projects: the *Apophthegmata*, the Martyrdom of Victor, the 2nd volume of *Triadon*. These and more he had in hand, but now they must be left to the mercies of scholars less exact and less accomplished.

The death, last May, of Professor CLAUDIUS LABIB will be felt by all Coptic scholars; more especially by those interested in the growth of these studies among the Copts themselves. It was for that ideal that Labib worked, with unflagging zeal and no small success, for the past 30 years. Indeed such was his enthusiasm for the revival of his ancestral tongue, that he had actually succeeded in making Coptic the everyday language, at least in his own family. The Coptic Orthodox Faith Society has now issued a catalogue of his works (the prices of which have been considerably reduced); they number some two dozen and include several that will remain valuable. His dictionary, the most important of them, was noticed here as it appeared (*v. Reports* 1894-5, 58; 1896-7, 68; 1897-8, 64); so too his grammars and the various liturgical publications which he edited with the authority of the church—the last of these is the *Psalmodia*, described above. Labib left his dictionary unfinished. I hear that the remaining 4 letters are to be completed by G. SOBHY.

## NOTES AND NEWS

THE last number of the *Journal* was already printed, when the news of the Armistice arrived and ushered in the dawn of another and, let it be hoped, a better era. Though it had not been possible previously to embark on the actual reconstruction of the Egypt Exploration Fund, our plans had long been laid, and are now being pursued with all possible energy and despatch. Various changes in our Officers and Staff, though signifying a severance of old ties that will be very deeply regretted, yet betoken a determination on the part of our Society to equip itself with new talent in order to improve both its work and the financial basis which makes that work possible. We have been fortunate in obtaining General Sir Edmund Allenby's acceptance of the post of Vice-President, and we regard his great achievements in Palestine as setting a standard of efficiency and success which may well serve us as a pattern. The demobilization of Lieut. T. E. Peet has been secured, and pending the resumption of excavations, he will be engaged in writing the second and descriptive volume on our researches in Sinai, as well as in making propaganda for the Fund. The *Journal* has made arrangements for getting up to date, and the present very full number will be rapidly succeeded by the last part for 1918. In short, the activities of our Society are in full swing, and we face the future with confidence and enthusiasm.

At the General Meeting on the 14th February the Committee was able to present a more favourable account of its finances than for many years past. Lord Grenfell, who took the chair, alluded sympathetically to the great loss which the Society is sustaining in the retirement of Miss Paterson, who has been its Secretary for no less than thirty-one years. Miss Paterson was originally secretary to Miss Amelia B. Edwards, one of the founders of the Egypt Exploration Fund, and no one is as well acquainted as she with the past history and fortunes of the Society: happily, Miss Paterson has expressed her readiness to instruct and assist the in-coming secretary to the full extent of her power, so that we shall suffer as little as possible by the change. The proceedings of the General Meeting ended with a lecture by Miss Winifred Blackman on "The Material Culture of Ancient Egypt, with some Comparisons amongst Primitive Peoples at the Present Day." The second half of Miss Blackman's lecture will be delivered at the Royal Society's Rooms, on Friday, March 28th, at 4 o'clock.

Just as we were going to press, a powerful appeal by Sir Arthur Evans on behalf of British Egyptology appeared in the *Times* (March 3), where it was followed by a cogent letter from our President, Lord Grenfell. The Egypt Exploration Fund is represented on the Committee formed by the British Academy to deliberate on the archaeology of the Near East, and this Committee had presented to the Lords of the Treasury a memorial strongly urging the creation of an Imperial British Institute of Archaeology in Cairo, to be

subsidized by an annual grant from the Treasury at least sufficient to make our position as Protecting Power not appreciably inferior in this respect to that of other countries. Both Sir Arthur Evans and Lord Grenfell vigorously support the plea, of which indeed the necessity is self-evident to anyone not wholly ignorant of the efforts made by other countries to enhance their scientific prestige by the study of the oldest civilization in the world. Sir Arthur Evans' admirable letter is too long to quote here, but we may be excused for reprinting our President's excellent contribution, which covers much of the same ground:

To the Editor of *The Times*.

SIR,

As president of the oldest society in Great Britain devoting itself to Egyptian archæology, I desire to endorse every line of Sir Arthur Evans's very forceful letter in *The Times* of this morning. In advocating the creation of a British Imperial Institute of Archæology for Egypt, not merely subsidized, but wholly maintained on a liberal scale by the State, the discoverer of the Minoan civilization has laid his finger upon a glaring defect of our own. For a long time past Egypt has been practically under British rule; yet whereas France and Germany have made it a point of honour to sustain well-equipped schools of archæology in Cairo, and whereas the American museums and universities have vied with one another in fitting out ever more costly exploring expeditions, our own Government has been content to leave its reputation as regards the study of the antiquities of Egypt in the hands of a few enthusiasts, supported by the subscriptions of private individuals.

As Sirdar of the Egyptian Army, and latterly commanding the British Force in Egypt, and also taking the greatest possible interest in Egyptology, it was often a matter of great regret to me to note the serious disadvantages at which British archæologists were placed in comparison with those of other countries; and in the past few months I have had exceptional opportunity for observing the unhappy results of this same policy. The Egypt Exploration Fund, the society alluded to above, has striven hard in face of countless difficulties to secure the sum needful for entering the ranks during the coming winter as a competitor with the French and American excavators. Egyptologists themselves have responded well to our appeal, no less than others who, without being specialists, have long interested themselves in Egyptian archæology; nor must I forget the liberal contributions provided by some of those patriotic and wealthy fellow-countrymen who are regularly appealed to whenever any worthy and State-neglected cause is at stake. But when all is said and done, the amount we have collected as capital is less than would suffice to support for a single year an institute such as our responsibilities as the protecting Power in Egypt seem to render indispensable. The credit of the country is involved. In taking over full responsibility for the administration of Egypt, we are bound to show that we are behind no other country in our care for the intellectual interests connected with the same. Surely it is time that such debts to culture and to education should be paid, not by a handful of individuals properly sensitive to their country's repute, but by the Government acting on behalf of the community at large.

I am, Sir, yours faithfully,




GRENFELL, F.M.

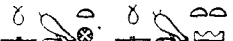

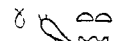
Egypt Exploration Fund, 13 Tavistock-square,  
London, W.C. 1, March 4.

## COMMUNICATIONS

### THE SUPPOSED EGYPTIAN EQUIVALENT OF THE NAME OF GOSHEN


By ALAN H. GARDINER


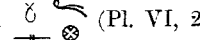






IN the course of my researches on the Residence-city of the Ramessides I have found it necessary to investigate anew several of the place-names mentioned in the Old Testament in connection with the Exodus, and among them the name of Goshen. For this name the Septuagint has in two places a significant gloss: the phrase "in the land of Goshen" is rendered in Genesis xlv, 9 by ἐν γῇ Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας and in Genesis xlv, 33 by ἐν γῇ Γέσεμ Ἀραβία. Brugsch (*Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 427, cf. too 876, 1348) seems to have been the first to propose as its equivalent the district or town , read by him QoSeM, which certain Graeco-Roman geographical texts associate with the XXth Lower Egyptian nome of Sopd . That nome had been earlier equated with the Greek nome of Arabia, the actual position of which, east of the Bubastic river and between the Sethroites and the Bubastites (Ptolemy), was fairly narrowly defined: the ground at first alleged (BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I (1857), pp. 129, 140, etc.) was the rather slender one that the god Sopd of the XXth nome often appears in the inscriptions of Sinai and elsewhere as nb ʾbbit, "lord of the East," but the subsequent identification of  Pi-Sopd, the capital of the XXth nome, with the modern Šaft el-Henneh<sup>1</sup>, finally settled this question. Thus there seemed the best of reasons for regarding QoSeM in the XXth Arabian nome as the equivalent of the Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας of the Septuagint, and this view has become an accepted dogma of our science<sup>2</sup>. It is no pleasant task to undermine old-established and comfortable beliefs, but every student worthy of the name is at the mercy of his facts; I am therefore not entitled to withhold my doubts, resting as they do on evidence that is obviously relevant to the issue but has never yet been discussed in connection with it.



The name  was encountered first of all in the geographical lists of the Graeco-Roman period: examples are (1) the words describing the action of Ptolemy XI in offering the nome of Sopd to Horus of Edfu, "He brings to thee the nome of Sopd with what comes forth from it, and  with what is in it; thou art the elder god....." (DE ROUGÉ, *Inscriptions et Notices recueillies à Edfou*, Pl. CXI=DUMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I, Pl. LXV, no. 20), and (2) a similar legend from Denderah beginning with the words "He brings to thee the eastern  with [the products of.....]" DUMICHEN, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Pl. LXVIII, no. 20 and more completely vol. III, Pl. XXV)<sup>3</sup>. Brugsch (*Dictionnaire*


<sup>1</sup> BRUGSCH, *Die Götter des Nomos Arabia* in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XIX (1881), pp. 15—18, where use was made for the first time of the inscriptions on the famous shrine of Nektanebos at Šaft, later to be published and discussed by Prof. Naville (*Goshen and the shrine of Šaft el Henneh*, 1887, fourth memoir of the Egypt Exploration Fund).

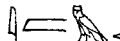
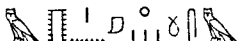
<sup>2</sup> Besides the work by Professor Naville referred to in the last note see especially GRIFFITH, art. Goshen, in *Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible* and W. MAX MÜLLER, art. Goshen, in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

<sup>3</sup> In the later publication Dumichen gives the first sign as  which, if correct, would be a strong argument in favour of the reading *Gism*; but the earlier edition shows the sign cross-hatched as though indistinct, and the subsequent reading is therefore probably mere interpretation.

*Géographique*, p. 427) implies that the designation "*QoSeM de l'Est*" occurs elsewhere besides in the passage last-quoted, but I have failed to unearth in the Ptolemaic temples any instances of the supposed name of Goshen except those mentioned above. From (1) it seems natural to suppose that  was a name of the capital of the nome; it will not, however, have been the most ordinary name, since in the parallel legends of the other nomes all the town-names are unusual and indeed for the greatest part quite unknown. This conclusion is borne out by the inscriptions on the shrine of Šaft el-Henneh, where that place is not only described as Pi-Sopd (Pl. III, 4), but also appears under the form  (Pl. VI, 2 "*When His Majesty proceeded to — in order to propitiate this noble god Sopd, lord of the East*"; *ibid.* 3. "*It was the king himself who caused these figures of the gods of — to stand upon this shrine*"). The writing on the shrine of Šaft is read by Prof. Naville *Kes*, and he takes the curious standpoint that the place-name read QoSeM by Brugsch is "only another form" of it; this position enables him further to combine *Kes* with the second syllable of the name Phacusa, which Ptolemy mentions as the metropolis of the Arabian nome<sup>1</sup>. The ultimate association of Goshen and Phacusa thus obtained may be very satisfactory from a topographical point of view, but it is certainly not an example of sound philological method. For my own part I have no doubt that  must be read in the same way as , that in fact  is here, not a "determinative of sound" as the reading *Kes* assumes, but that it is a biliteral sign for *mt*; in late hieroglyphic the "tongue"  is used as a biliteral sign not only for *mr* but also for *mt*, and in all probability  is a graphic confusion for the sign of the "tongue," just as that sign itself is often substituted for the "serpent" .

We have thus three examples of the supposed Egyptian prototype of the name Goshen where it appears as an alternative name of Pi-Sopd, the original capital of the XXth nome and the ancient town that stood on the site of the modern village Šaft el-Henneh. In the fourth passage, where "*the eastern*"  is named, the determinative  suggests rather that a district bordering on the desert is meant, and this fits in well with the conjecture that the *land* of Goshen was thus indicated. Now what

appears at first to be a startling confirmation of this view is the occurrence of the place-name  in the Hymn to Sesostri III (Dyn. XII) published by Mr Griffith among the papyri found by Professor Petrie at Kahun<sup>2</sup>. The Pharaoh is described in a number of different metaphors, of which the one here in question is thus transcribed and translated by Mr Griffith: "*Twice great is the lord of his city;*

 "it is as it were a stronghold of walls and sharp stones(?) of Kesem (Goshen)." In an additional note<sup>3</sup> Mr Griffith conjectures the meaning "spikes," for the doubtful word *spdw*(?), and quotes with approbation the comment of Sir Gaston Maspero that "these fortifications of Goshen" may well be the "Wall of the Prince" mentioned in the Story of Sinuhe and, as we now know, also in the Petrograd prophetic papyrus. A better sense can, however, be obtained if the last words, as is palaeographically quite admissible, are read  and are translated: "*He is a stronghold (of defence) even as a wall of copper of Shešem*"; the comparison of a strong character with a wall or mountain of copper is a commonplace of the Egyptian texts<sup>4</sup>. But if the word "copper" is correct



<sup>1</sup> Prof. Naville expresses himself as follows (p. 16): "The Dutch scholar Van der Hardt had already remarked that this name (*i.e.* Phacusa) must be considered as being composed of two parts, the name itself being *cusa*, preceded by the syllable *Pa* or *Pha*, which may be either the definite article, or the word 'Pa,' meaning 'house' or 'temple.' Champollion fully endorsed this view, adding that the Coptic name was *κωϥ*." The last sentence is very misleading; there is no evidence that *κωϥ* was the Coptic name of Phacusa, and all that Champollion says (*L'Égypte sous les Pharaons*, vol. II, p. 76) is that the name *κωϥ*, which is found as the name of several towns in Upper Egypt, is clearly the same name as enters into the composition of Phacusa. As I am pointing out elsewhere, Phacusa is not Šaft el-Henneh, but the modern Fakūs some distance to the north of it; this is an additional reason why the name on the shrine of Šaft cannot be identified with it.



<sup>2</sup> GRIFFITH, *The Petrie Papyri*. Pl. II, l. 14. with p. 3.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 100.

<sup>4</sup> *E.g.* SETHE, *Urkunden* IV, 1087.



then  $\delta$    must be the land from which the copper comes, and can therefore not be Goshen; it will be more natural to read the first sign  $\delta$  *ss* instead of  $\delta$  *g* (or *gs*), and to conjecture that Shešem is the name of a region farther afield, perhaps in Sinai or in Syria. There are additional linguistic scruples which render the new interpretation preferable<sup>1</sup>.

The comparison of the name  $\delta$    with Γέσεμ of the Septuagint is, in point of fact, unsuitable both topographically and phonetically. The topographical difficulty is the less important, but it will clear the ground to deal with it first. The conception of "the land of Goshen" revealed by the Biblical narrative is that of a region near Egypt, suitable for grazing cattle, but not inhabited by the Egyptians themselves, see especially Genesis xlii, 34; Exodus viii, 22; ix, 26. Now this description would evidently not apply to the district round about Šaft el-Henneh, though it might to a certain extent do so to the Wādī Tūmilāt, cf. especially the often quoted passage from *Pap. Anastasi VI* with regard to the admission of certain pastoral tribes to the neighbourhood of Theku, i.e. Maskhūteh or the neighbourhood. If it be argued that the gloss Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας points to the Arabian nome, and consequently to Šaft el-Henneh, the answer is that there is no necessity at all to construe the term Ἀραβίας in the narrow sense of the *nome* of Arabia, for this term is regularly used in the wider sense of the eastern border of Egypt generally. But even should the intention of the Septuagint translators have been to use it in the narrow sense of the *nome* of Arabia, the Wādī Tūmilāt may nevertheless still have been meant, for Strabo 805 seems to stand alone in making this a separate nome, the Phagroriopolites<sup>2</sup>. There is definite evidence that the Septuagint translators were thinking of the Wādī Tūmilāt in connection with the land of Goshen, for in Genesis xlii, 28-9 Goshen is definitely equated by them with the town of Pithom-Heroopolis, at or near the modern Tell el-Maskhūteh excavated by Prof. Naville. The R.V. version of the Hebrew text runs: "And he sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to shew the way before him unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen." For this the Septuagint has: Τὸν δὲ Ἰούδαν ἀπέστειλεν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν πρὸς Ἰωσήφ συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσῇ<sup>3</sup>. Ζεύξας δὲ Ἰωσήφ τὰ ἄρματα αὐτοῦ ἀνέβη εἰς συνάντησιν Ἰσραὴλ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν; while the Sahidic version<sup>4</sup> has correspondingly **κατὰ βυρῶων τπόλις** "at the town of Heroopolis" the Boheiric gives **χα πεῶων ἡἕακι** "to the town of Pithom." Moreover, Heroopolis is known from other sources to have been in the Wādī Tūmilāt.

The other traditions with regard to the situation of Goshen need not detain us long. In the passage Judith i, 7-10 Goshen appears to signify the whole Delta, or at least the whole eastern Delta, as opposed to Egypt, i.e. Upper Egypt: "And Nebuchadnezzar.....sent unto all that dwelt in Persia,....., and to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kadesh, and the river of Egypt, and Tahpanhes, and Rameses, and all the land of Goshen, until thou comest above Tanis and Memphis, and to all that dwelt in Egypt, until thou comest to the borders of Ethiopia." Whereas this standpoint seems to be unique and isolated, that of the Abbess Aetheria, who visited the holy places between the years 533 and 540 A.D., was evidently the interpretation of her own time, and is clearly based upon the Septuagint gloss Γέσεμ Ἀραβίας<sup>5</sup>. Aetheria speaks of arriving *ad civitatem, quae appellatur Arabia, quae est civitas in terra Jesse*, thus reversing the view of the Septuagint itself, where, as we have seen, Gesem was a *town* Heroopolis, while Arabia was a *land*. The

<sup>1</sup> The doubtful points in the old rendering are: (1) the use of *m* "a stronghold or"; (2) the dubious meaning and existence of *spdr* "spikes"; (3) the very awkward coordination without a preposition of two nouns of which the second governs a direct genitive.

<sup>2</sup> The city from which this otherwise unknown nome derives its name is mentioned elsewhere; Isis was worshipped there, see GRENFILL on *Pap. Oxyrh.*, no. 1380, l. 46. The Greek name alludes to a fish *φαργώριος* *ὁν καὶ φάργον καλοῦσιν* (Strabo 823) and possibly is the translation of some old Egyptian place-name not yet discovered. See further HOFFNER, *Turkult der alten Ägypter* (Vienna, 1913), p. 157.





<sup>3</sup> The words "into the land of Rameses" are probably a second interpretation of Goshen derived from xlvii, 11, where "the land of Rameses" corresponds to "the land of Goshen" of xlvii, 4, 6.

<sup>4</sup> *Apud* MASPERO, *Mission archéologique Française*, vol. vi, p. 26.

<sup>5</sup> I quote from the extracts given in C. KUTHMANS, *Die Ostynce Ägyptens*, pp. 9-10. Aetheria's knowledge of the Septuagint version, or of the Coptic version dependent on it, is shown by her naming Heroopolis as the place where Joseph met his father Jacob; see the gloss on Gen. xlii, 28-9 discussed in the text above.

land of Jesse or Gesse (*i.e.* Goshen), according to Aetheria, began at the sixteenth milestone from Heroonopolis, but no serious value can be attached to this figure. No hint is given of the extension of the land of Jesse, except in so far as this is implied in the statements that the town of Arabia lay within it and that the town of Ramesses was four miles to the east of it. With regard to the position of the town of Arabia there is a conflict of evidence: it seems clear from Aetheria's general route that she must have meant Šaft el-Ḥenneh, which lies conveniently near the mouth of the Wādy Ṭūmilāt, but the Oxford list of bishoprics identifies Arabia with Faḳūs<sup>1</sup>; Arabia is also mentioned by Hierokles, but without any indication of its position<sup>2</sup>.

Even though Aetheria may have identified Goshen with the district that centred round Šaft el-Ḥenneh, her view is so clearly a mere interpretation of the Septuagint gloss, that it cannot be accorded the preference over the view of the Septuagint itself. So far, therefore, as tradition goes, this points to the Wādy Ṭūmilāt as the sojourning-place of the Israelites, and the attempt of Egyptologists to connect the name of Goshen with an Egyptian name for Šaft el-Ḥenneh means a displacement, which, though unimportant from the point of view of mileage, nevertheless becomes of considerable moment owing to the fact that Šaft is well within Egypt itself, while the Wādy Ṭūmilāt is sufficiently outside it for the purposes of the Bible narrative. Of the Septuagint tradition it may at least be said that it gives a plausible view of the position of Goshen; but whether this view was that of the original Hebrew writers is for Biblical scholars, not for an Egyptologist, to decide.

The philological objections to identifying  $\delta$    $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$  with Goshen  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$  are vastly more serious. It is pure assumption that the sign  $\delta$  in the Egyptian name is here to be read *g* as in a few Egyptian place-names and other words, where early and correct hieroglyphic writing, but not hieratic, distinguishes it as  $\delta$  from  $\zeta$   $\text{š}$ , see GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, p. 48. Having no old hieroglyphic spellings of the name, we must assume that, other things being equal,  $\delta$  might just as well be meant as  $\zeta$ ; but other things are not equal, for whereas the sign  $\delta$  *g* is rare,  $\zeta$   $\text{š}$  ( $\text{š}$ ) is common. When, moreover, the combination  $\delta$   $\text{f}$  is found in early texts, or  $\frac{\delta}{\delta}$  in later ones, the presumption is extremely strong that  $\text{š}$  and  $\text{ss}$  respectively are to be read<sup>3</sup>. Thus a heavy *onus probandi* lies upon him who asserts that  $\delta$   $\text{f}$    $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$  is not to be read  $\text{šsm}$  but  $\text{Gšm}$ , and that  $\frac{\delta}{\delta}$    $\frac{\circ}{\circ}$  is not to be read  $\text{šsmt}$  but  $\text{Gsmt}$ —in the current readings QoSeM, Kesem, Gesem of the latter name the fact is ignored that  is here the equivalent of the hieratic ligature for *mt* and is no simple substitute for *m*, so that at all events this place-name must be understood as a feminine form. Now the relationship of the Gk. Γέσεμ to the old Hebrew  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$  Gōshen is quite obscure<sup>4</sup>, and it is a serious difficulty that the hieroglyphic name is compared not with the original Hebrew form, from which it would at all events differ as regards both *š* and *n*, but with the Greek form. If the assumed  $\text{Gšm}$  = Goshen were originally an Egyptian name, we should expect to find as a Hebrew equivalent  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$  (cf.  $\text{פִּינְחָס}$  *Phinehas*) or just possibly  $\text{מֹשֶׁה}$  (cf.  $\text{מֹשֶׁה}$  *Mōse*, Moses), but not  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$ . It might perhaps be conjectured, on the same hypothesis, that the Hebrew form somehow became distorted, and that its Septuagint equivalent was a transcription direct from the Egyptian original; but in this case we should expect, not Γέσεμ, but \*Κέσεμ, cf. Κούσσα. If, on the contrary, it be supposed that Goshen or Goshem was originally a Semitic name, it could hardly appear otherwise in Egyptian than under the form  $\text{Gšn}$  or  $\text{Gšm}$ , unless the Egyptian equivalent went back to almost prehistoric times, when Eg. *š* = Arab. *s* = Hebrew  $\text{ש}$ ; the last supposition may be ruled out at once. The name Goshen being taken to be Semitic, the Gk. Γέσεμ, perhaps correcting the Hebrew writing as regards the *m*, must still be thought of as equivalent to old  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$ , the *sigma* being



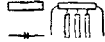
<sup>1</sup> See J. DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie de la Basse-Égypte*, p. 155.

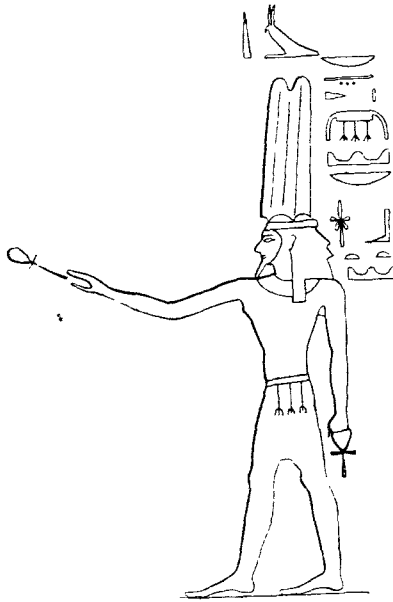
<sup>2</sup> Cf. Hieroklis Synecdemus, ed. BURCKHARDT, 728.

<sup>3</sup> It is, however, true that there exist two place-names in which the sign  $\delta$  is followed by  $\text{š}$ : (1) the name of Kusae, curiously written with the sign in question twice repeated; (2)  $\text{Gš}$ , an unknown place, mentioned *Pyr.*, 308, 312.

<sup>4</sup> In the book of Joshua, x, 41; xi, 16, the "land of Goshen" is a district of southern Canaan, and in the same book xv, 51 "Goshen" is a town in the hill-country of Judah. For this Goshen, Hebrew  $\text{גֹּשֶׁן}$ , the Septuagint has Γόσομ. No satisfactory explanation has been given of these extraordinary coincidences, if coincidences they are.

due to the fact that Gk. does not possess the sound *shin*; so that again the Egyptian counterpart would have had to be *Gšm*.

It thus seems impossible to make  square with , *Ḥšm*, even if the Egyptian word should be read, against the *a priori* probabilities, *Gšm* (better *Gšmt*), instead of *Ššmt* (*Ššmt*). But in favour of *Ššmt*, which may represent an old-Egyptian *Ššmt* just as well as an old-Egyptian *Ššmt*, speak the strange facts that Sopd, *i.e.* the god of Šaft el-Henneh, not only wears a kind of apron called  *ššmt*





(see the accompanying cut and for the name of this apron *Pyr.*, ed. SETHE, 1612-4), but also is associated with a land called *Ššmt*, *cf.* the legend describing the figure of Sopd (see accompanying cut) on a Twelfth Dynasty stele from the Wādy Gasūs, near the Red Sea, "*Sopd, lord of the land of Ššmt, lord of the East*!". The land *Ššmt* is occasionally mentioned in the Pyramid Texts (456, 1784), but with nothing to indicate its whereabouts. The epithet *Ššmt*, doubtless meaning "belonging to (the land) *Ššmt*," is very often applied to Horus (*Pyr.* 450, 528, 983, 987, 1085, 1136, 1409, 1413); "Horus of *Ššmt*" is one of the four forms of Horus (together with "Horus of the gods," "Horus of the Horizon," and "Horus of the East") which, if not precisely assimilated to the sun-god, at least rise like him in the sky in the early morning<sup>2</sup>. All this evidence points to *Ššmt* as an eastern country, and although the epithet *Ššmt* does not appear to be actually applied to Sopd under this name, yet the name Sopd itself was merely an epithet (*špd* "keen" or "ready") of Horus (*Hr špd*, *cf.* *Pyr.* 330, 632, 1636), imaged (see *Pyr.* 1863) under the form of a crouching falcon as at Hieraconpolis in Upper Egypt<sup>3</sup>. Moreover, Sopd is constantly identified with Horus, bears the title "lord of the East," and is found in Sinai, so that it is very well thinkable that Sopd and the Horus of *Ššmt* were considered as identical. In the funerary temple of Sahurē<sup>4</sup> a god with the beard and yellow complexion of an Asiatic,

wearing the double feathers characteristic of Sopd as well as the *ššmt* apron, is described by the title



"lord of the foreign countries" elsewhere given to Horus<sup>5</sup>. Furthermore, there is a green

mineral  *ššmt* that is associated with *mškṯ* "turquoise" both in the Pyramid Texts (567) and later (*e.g.* SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 875-6, here mentioned together with "*Sopd, lord of the East, lord of the foreign countries*"); it was found in Sinai (*Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 200), but also apparently in the Sūdān (tomb of Rekhmerē, beside a green mass, SETHE, *op. cit.*, IV, 1099); the later writing (see the last two examples, and others quoted by BRUGSCH, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XVIII (1880), p. 13<sup>6</sup>) is  and the like.

We might combine the facts enumerated in the last paragraph in various ways, so as to construct a consistent theory. We might suppose that *Ššmt* (appearing as a masculine *Ššm* in the Kahun Hymn) was originally a name for Sinai, and that the mineral *ššmt* there found and the apron *ššmt* there worn were named after it. We might assume that since Šaft el-Henneh was the starting-point for the caravans which

<sup>1</sup> BIRCH, *Catalogue of the...Egyptian Antiquities at Alnwick Castle*, Pl. IV opposite p. 269.



<sup>2</sup> For the lion-headed goddess *Ššmt* "she of (the land) *Ššmt*" see LACAT, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxiv, pp. 198-200.

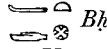
<sup>3</sup> The sole difference is that whereas the Horus of Hieraconpolis wears the white crown of Upper Egypt, Sopd, the Horus of Šaft el-Henneh, wears the two feathers perhaps symbolic of eastern travel.

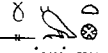
<sup>4</sup> BORCHARDT-SETHE, *Das Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurē*, Pl. 5. Many of the references given in the text of the present paragraph are derived from Prof. Sethe's commentary, p. 82, footnote 5.

<sup>5</sup> GARDINER-PEET, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 28; *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxxv, p. 46 (*temp.* Amenophis III).

<sup>6</sup> In his *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1348, Brugsch tries to associate this mineral with the place-name read by him QoSeM.

made their way through the Wādy Ṭūmilāt to Sinai, where Sopd, the god of Ṣaft, is often named, this was the reason that Sopd was called "he of (the land) *Ṣsmt*," even as he is called "lord of the East" both in Sinai and at Ṣaft itself. The last step in this development would be when the land-name  under the later spelling  (for which the spellings of the mineral *ṣsmt* provide an admirable analogy)

was transferred from the eastern land where Sopd was a visitor to the Egyptian town where Sopd was at home; the phrase "the eastern *Ṣsmt*" quoted above from a Denderah inscription would now become intelligible, and for the transference of the name *Ṣsmt* to Ṣaft el-Ḥenneh one might recall how  *Bḥdt*, originally the name of a Delta town, passed with the god Horus there worshipped (*Hr Bḥdty*, "Horus of Behdet") to Edfu (*Dḥṣ*) in Upper Egypt, and subsequently became the name of that place<sup>1</sup>.

All these conjectures possess a certain plausibility, but rest on too slender a basis of evidence to be affirmed with any degree of assurance. Here I will be content to maintain the thesis that so far from there existing any arguments in favour of the reading *Gsmt* for  and in favour of its connection with the Biblical name of Goshen, the reading *Ṣsmt* both is *a priori* probable and also is suggested by the association with Sopd, the god of Ṣaft el-Ḥenneh, of various words presenting the same consonants *ṣsm*. Nor, to look at the matter from the purely topographical point of view, is there any very apparent reason why an unusual Egyptian name for the town Ṣaft el-Ḥenneh should have been claimed as the original of a Hebrew name which the best tradition available identifies with the Wādy Ṭūmilāt.

<sup>1</sup> That *Bḥdt* was the name of a Lower Egyptian town is shown by the facts (1) that Horus of Behdet was, from the earliest times, the god of Lower Egypt as opposed to Seth of Ballās-Ombos, the god of Upper Egypt; and (2) that though the Horus of Behdet was worshipped at Edfu from quite early times, it is only at the end of the Twelfth Dynasty (see *Annales du Service*, vol. xvii, p. 243) that *Bḥdt* appears as an alternative name for *Dḥṣ* (the next occurrence is perhaps under Tuthmosis IV. DE MORGAN, *Catalogue des Monuments*, vol. i, p. 67). Whether the original *Bḥdt* was identical with the "*Bḥdt* of Lower Egypt" discussed by BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1266-7, must be left to future research to determine. Prof. Sethe conjectures (*Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurē*, p. 97) that the Lower Egyptian *Bḥdt* was Damanhūr. One Edfu text at least (DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. i, Pl. LXV) equates *Bḥdt* with *Smṣ-Bḥdt*, i.e. the Diospolite or XVIIth Lower Egyptian nome.

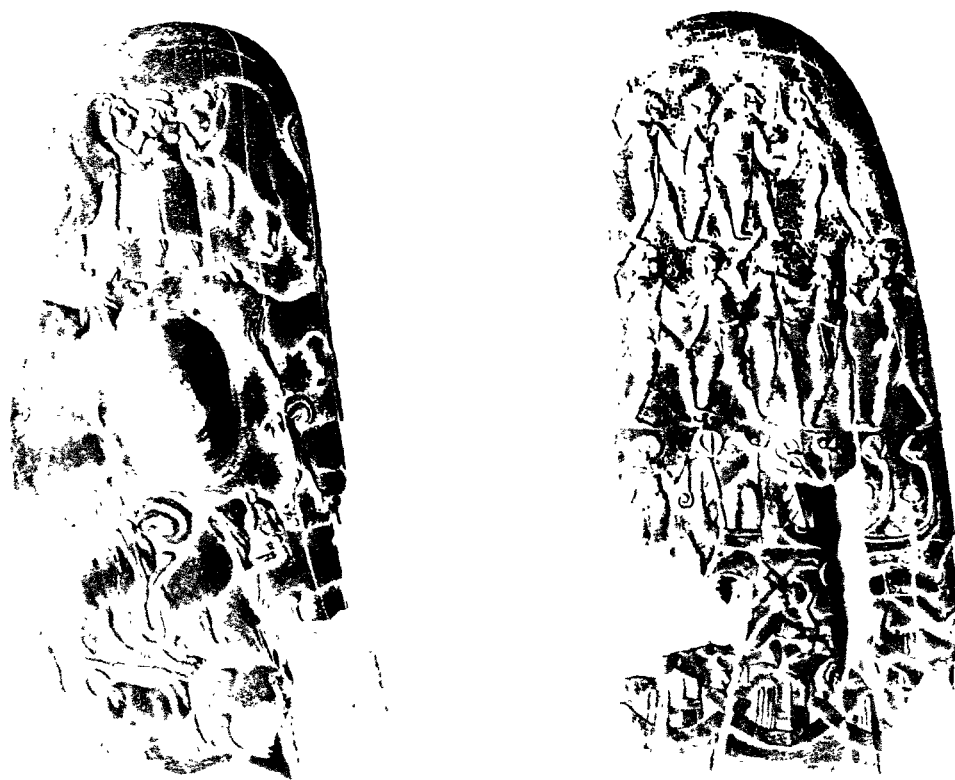
## NOTICES OF RECENT PUBLICATIONS

*Stories from the Christian East*, by STEPHEN GASELEE. London : Sidgwick and Jackson, 1918. Pp. 85, 9 full-page illustrations.

Lives and legends of saints are, regarded as historical documents, of very varying value. Some, handled with the necessary caution, rank high as evidence, while others, so far as the facts they relate are concerned, are of no more authority than Grimm's fairy tales. Even the latter class, however, throw valuable light on popular beliefs and popular culture, bearing indeed to the higher forms of theological literature somewhat the same relation as the folk-song to "literary" poetry ; and it was a happy thought to collect into a handy volume these characteristic tales of eastern Christendom. It is not indeed altogether clear for what audience they are intended. Hardly for the scholar ; and even for the adult "general reader" their value and even their interest would have been increased by more explicit information as to their sources and some discussion concerning them. But probably they are meant primarily for children ; that some at least are well adapted to this purpose the reviewer has proved by experiments in his own family circle. The "moral" of one or two stories is not perhaps of the best ; but fortunately the modern child is freed from the tyranny of "morals." There are nine stories, taken from four different languages, and ranging from a Menas miracle in a Nubian MS. edited by F. Ll. Griffith to the Greek life of St John Damascene. They are rather retellings in shortened form than translations, as the author's preface might be taken to imply, and in the main are well told, but there are some lapses. Phrases like "it must clearly be hurting him badly" and "frightened of" might be avoided without sacrificing any of the simplicity essential in stories for children. The pictures by Mr Mavrogordato cannot be very highly commended. If they are intended to show the quaintness of the stories they illustrate they may be described as successful. They have no other very obvious merits.

H. I. BELL.





IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE FROM GEBIL EL-ARAK

NOW IN THE LOUVRE MUSEUM

# THE CARNARVON IVORY<sup>1</sup>

BY GEORGES BÉNÉDITE

(Continued from p. 15.)

## II

It is now necessary to examine, in the light of the new ivory, the scenes which adorn the knife-handles of the Brooklyn Museum and the Pitt-Rivers collection.

I shall henceforth refer to the knife-handles of the Brooklyn Museum and the Pitt-Rivers collection as handles I and II respectively, while the Carnarvon ivory will be known as handle III. For the Brooklyn handle (I) see below Pl. XXXIV, and for the Pitt-Rivers handle (II), below p. 227.

In the first place, several common characteristics appear in the three related objects :

(a) *The animals are most usually grouped by species, and in most cases a whole row is devoted to each species.*

(b) *The exceptions to this rule are not of an arbitrary kind; the proof of this being that they are reproduced on more than one handle.*

The Bull (*Bos taurus*)<sup>2</sup> extends over two rows on the boss side of handle I, and on both sides of handle II. This is the only instance in which a species occupies more than one row.

Animals represented by isolated units belong to fixed species and, as a rule, occupy identical positions. The Dog proper (*Canis familiaris*) is placed at the tail-end of the row in which it figures: handle I, boss side, fourth row; handle III, boss side, first row. This peculiarity extends to the Fishes, of which three species are found (see Tabular analysis, p. 229); they are placed at the rear of whatever row they appear in. The position of the Heron (*Ardea cinerea*) is no more arbitrary than that of the animals before-mentioned: it concludes the row of the large-beaked waders. The same is the case with the crested bird, probably an Ibis (*Ibis comata*); but the Lion (handle III, side away from boss), as well as an undetermined *felis* (handle II, boss side), animals which elsewhere occupy entire rows, play the part of pursuers behind the bulls.

(c) *The number of rows is variable; but the elements constituting them are not so.*

If the boss side of the Carnarvon ivory, which has a special character, be excepted, it is found that the species comprised in handles II and III are also possessed by handle I, the most abundantly provided of all (119 + 7 animals on one side and 92 on the other). There are a few exceptions to this statement, but they are of an essentially limited character. The long-maned and short-maned Lions characteristic of handle III are lacking on handles I and II, but on these their place is taken by the Leopard (*F. pardus*)<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> For the translation of M. Bénédite's French original we are again indebted to Mr Battiscombe Gunn.—Ed.

<sup>2</sup> See the tabular analysis, p. 229.

<sup>3</sup> The lion appears with all its characteristics only on the Carnarvon handle and on that of the Gebel el-Araḳ knife (Louvre), which are carved on a scale more than double that of ivories I and II.



Confusion between the two species is for the rest easy on such a small scale. The Gazelle (*G. dorcas*), noticeable on handle II, is absent from I, but it is to be noted that it belongs to an abnormal row in which an effort has been made to group various kinds (boss side, 2nd row), and which, from this point of view, it would be worth while to verify on the original. The Crowned Crane (Lady Cecil's *Balearica pavonina*), which Prof. Petrie's drawing shows on handle II (side away from boss, 2nd row), is difficult to find on handle I, in the row of waders (last but one), but here again verification on the original would not be out of place.

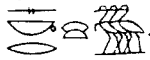
(d) *The animals represented do not embrace the entire monumental fauna of the Nile Valley, but are circumscribed within a rather limited group.*

To cite only some of the most usual animals, the handles in question know neither the ass, nor the crocodile, nor the falcon, although these were familiar to the artists of pre-historic times. The animal which I suggest may be the hippopotamus is extremely doubtful.

(e) I come now to the fact to which I attach the most importance, because it links up these objects in a far more transparent way: namely, *the presence of certain thematic groupings*, which will come into play when it falls to us to draw the conclusions of the present investigation.

On ivories I and II, the first row of the boss side is formed by Vultures engaged in slashing with their beaks the prey which they hold fast in their talons—a familiar attitude of rapacious birds. Whatever this prey, which eludes our scrutiny, may be, the act and the attitude constitute a recurrent theme, and the foremost place which it occupies on the two handles is not a negligible matter. To this theme is opposed, on the other side, a second no less characteristic: the Elephant trampling on a pair of serpents, the appearance of whose heads sufficiently indicates the *naia-haie*. Ivory II is not equally conclusive, being much damaged in this region; none the less I maintain the existence here of the same representation. Confirmation of this will be found on a fourth object shortly to be discussed.

If we pass on to the second row of the side without boss in I and II, the first of the same side in III, we see new evidence of the thematic character of the decoration. The large-beaked Waders to which, through the necessity of classifying them, the name of Jabiru has been attributed, or, to conform with other opinions, that of the Adjutant-bird<sup>1</sup>, do not occupy the whole register. The tail of the group is formed by two waders of a different species. But what do we see at its head, on ivories I and III? We see a Giraffe, inserted behind the leader of the file. This giraffe could not have been lacking on ivory II, unfortunately destroyed at this point, since we find it again on the fourth object alluded to above. The importance of the theme is further accentuated by the fact that the leading bird is grappling with an upright Serpent. This may well be the *Eryx thebaicus* or the *E. jaculus*, since it has neither the head of the naia nor that of the cerastes, and since it does not coil itself in the manner of the python. This serpent is absent from the Carnarvon Ivory, but appears on the fourth object.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. A. MURRAY, *Sapparah Mustabas*, Pl. XXXVII, 21. The three waders which enter into the name , *sk3b3w*, i.e., the "b3w"-birds (the souls), have at the articulation of their lower mandibles the caruncles which are quite characteristic of the birds under discussion; but their beaks are far from having the same volume. For the *ba3w* bird cf. GRIFFITH, *Hieroglyphs*, fig. 74 and p. 21.

(f) *The importance of these themes is further emphasized by the fact that, when an ivory has not room to depict them in full, it refrains from omitting them altogether.* Thus the serpent-crushing elephant is so essential an element that the Carnarvon ivory, not having the space required to devote an entire row to it, has retained a single example, fitted in with the lions.

(g) *A certain order is observed in the sequence of the rows.*

We have just seen that the thematic rows containing the vulture tearing its prey, the serpent-crushing elephant, and the alleged jabirus or adjutant-birds walking in company with the giraffe, have their recognized place in the upper parts. We shall find similarly that the ill-defined animal in which I propose to see provisionally the hippopotamus<sup>1</sup> is regularly




Fig. 1. Ivory Knife-handle in the Pitt-Rivers Museum ("Ivory II").


placed in the lower portion. This may be verified on ivories I (last row but one on both sides) and II (side away from boss, last row); it is absent from the Carnarvon ivory, but not from the fourth object, where it is found again at the very bottom of the representations.

(h) Another observation relative to the intentional and systematic character of the decoration is the following: *nowhere are two consecutive rows of ruminants or of carnivora to be seen.* And this observation, independently of the conclusions to be drawn from it for the collective significance of all these scenes, will help to prevent error in the identification of rows of ill-defined animals.

### III

The analogy seen to exist throughout the representations which we have just analysed has kept in store for us a new surprise. A fourth ivory, devoid of any warlike character, a comb which by a stroke of good fortune has lost nothing but its teeth<sup>2</sup>, reproduces on its two sides not only the type of representations which forms the subject of this study,

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps the hog, *Sus libycus*. Another hypothesis deserves examination. The animal's rigid tail, its curved snout, and its more or less square ears (see ivory IV), remind one of the Seth-animal, not indeed such as it appears already in the monuments of the end of the Thinite period (PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, vol. II, Pls. XXI, XXII and XXIII *passim*), nor even at the time of the Hierakonpolite kings (QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XXVI, 1), but before it took on its slim body from the hare or some other animal, and, what is much more remarkable, its snout from the oxyrhynchus-fish. For the Typhonian character of this fish directs attention to its facial similarity with the Seth-quadruped (Wiedemann's alleged *okapi*), in which I have always seen an imaginary animal. For the rest it is known that on the monuments of the Dynastic period its tail is often nothing but the hieroglyph , connecting with the same idea.

This sign also varies with the arrow  (cf. again QUIBELL, *loc. cit.*). But upon the proposed hypothesis the imaginary animal merely replaced a real one which very early disappeared from the Egyptian horizon, or else subsisted but was unrecognized.

<sup>2</sup> These numbered 31; the two ends of the row of teeth are formed, as in our modern combs, by broad "heels."

but also the most characteristic of the thematic elements, and these in such a way as to greatly strengthen my comments thereon. This object (Plate XXXIII), which belonged to Mr Theodore M. Davis, hence assumes an importance that could not have been suspected by those who have previously published it<sup>1</sup>. It is adorned on each side with five rows of animals; of these, three rows on one side are identical as to species with the three corresponding rows on the other side. The two others correspond only in so far that the families are identical. The three in which the identity extends to the very species occupy the same places as in the ivories discussed above.

FIRST ROW. Three elephants trampling on serpents. Here the reptile is single and has not its throat puffed out in the style of the naia, a fact that should warn us against a too strict classification.

SECOND ROW. The alleged jabirus (or adjutant-birds) appear, with the serpent standing erect before the leader of the file; the giraffe comes, as was to be expected, immediately behind this first bird, and the heron (*Ardea cinerea*) duly brings up the rear in accordance with a canon the existence of which needs no further evidence.

FIFTH, AND LAST, ROW. The pachyderm with the short and erect tail, the low head, the more or less square ears, and the rounded back, supposed provisionally to be a hippopotamus, appears in the same place as in ivories I and II.

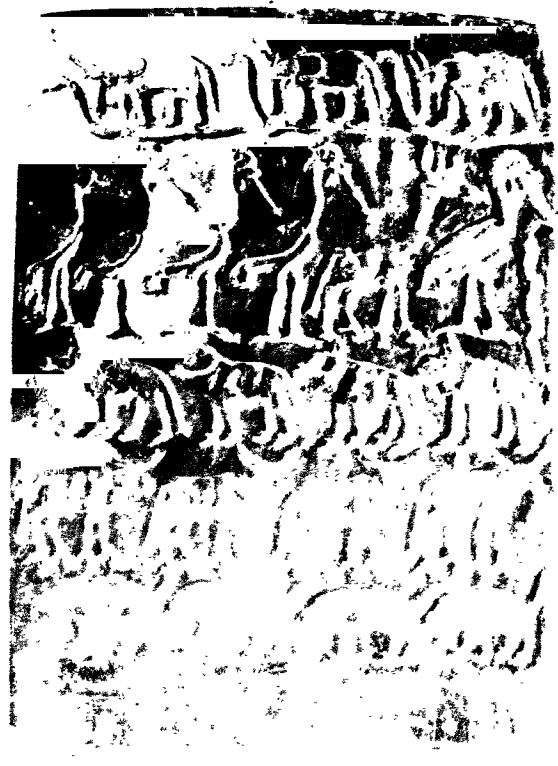
The other two rows quite logically equate the short-maned lion (side A) with the hyaena or hyaena-dog (side B), and the oryx (side A) with the bovid (side B), in such a way that the sum of the species constitutes an average which will exhibit its full importance when the number of kindred objects has been augmented. What is striking in this one is the classic—if I may use this term, instead of saying merely logical and normal—character of its decoration. It must have conformed, in its reduced and abridged form, with a model the elements of which are scattered in the objects previously described, and which was characterised, not only by the alternation of ferocious animals with animals either domesticated or capable of domestication, but perhaps also by *alternation in the direction of the rows*, some moving from left to right, others going the other way. The importance of this orientation is emphasized by the fact that the opposite side (B) presents the inverse arrangement, in such a way that in reality, and without depending upon the spectator's point of view, obverse and reverse correspond as do the two sides, the one visible and the other invisible, of a single animal.

The thematic intention of this fourth ivory receives further confirmation from two significant details. The row of lions (side A), reduced, as in the Carnarvon ivory, to three individuals, is terminated by a running dog. In ivory I this animal pursues only the ox and the wild sheep; but in the Carnarvon ivory the animal pursued is certainly a large *felis* (boss side, first row). The other detail is of such a nature as still more to challenge the ingenuity of modern interpreters: behind the four pachyderms of side A is engraved a five-rayed star, which is found in exactly the same position on handle I. The row of pachyderms being absent from ivory III, it need not surprise us that the star is not to be seen there, for these two elements appear to be closely connected. On ivory II the row in question is followed by a fish: a correspondence the exact meaning of which we cannot grasp.

<sup>1</sup> First published by CAPART, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, p. 78, from a photograph by E. Brugsch; then by G. Maspero in *Égypte (Les Uns series)*, p. 25, fig. 40. I will not dwell upon the errors contained in the caption of the last-mentioned illustration, as they are certainly due to over-hasty editing; I merely point out that the object does not belong to the Louvre Museum.



Side A



Side B

PREHISTORIC IVORY COMB ("IVORY IV")

Formerly in the possession of the late Theodore M. Davis



## TABULAR ANALYSIS OF THE FAUNA ON FOUR PREHISTORIC IVORIES

(NOTE. The numbers in brackets are those of the rows of animals of each side, counted downwards.)

List of Species	I Handle (Brooklyn Museum)		II Handle (Pitt-Rivers collection)		III Handle (In Lord Carnarvon's collection)		IV Prehistoric Comb (In Mr T. M. Davis's collection)	
	Side away from boss	Boss side	Side away from boss	Boss side	Side away from boss	Bosside	Side A	Side B
FELIS LEO {large mane {short mane					1 (III) 3 (II)		3 (III)	
FELIS PARDUS vel F. CYNAILURUS(?) }	11 (III)	9 (III)	6+x (III)	4+x (III)		{1? (I) 1? (III)		
HYEN- {HYAENA {CROCUCA {CANIS PICTUS	12 (V)	11 (VII)	6+x (V)	7+x (V)				4 (III)
CANIS FAMILIARIS	1 (VIII)	1 (IV)				1 (I)	1 (III)	
CERVUS DAMA MESOPO- TAMICUS						1 (II)		
CERVUS BARBARUS						1 (II)		
GIRAFFA CAMELO- PARDALIS	1 (II)		? (II)		1 (I)		1 (II)	1 (II)
ORYX LEUCORYX	11 (VI)	8 (VI)		1 (II)		1 (III) 1 (I)	4 (IV)	
ALCELAPHUS BUBALIS				1 (II)				
GAZELLA DORCAS								
CAPRA NUBIANA ( <i>Ibex</i> )	7 (X)	9 (II)						
AMMOTRAGUS TRAGE- LAPHUS	11 (IV)	7+1 (IV)		1 (II)				
BOS TAURUS	10 (VIII)	{10 (VIII) 9 (X)	{5+x (IV) 6+x (VI)	{4+x (IV) 2+x (VI)	3 (III)			4 (IV)
ELEPHAS AFRICANUS	8 (I)				1 (II)		3 (I)	3 (I)
HIPPOPOTAMUS AMPHI- BIUS(?) vel SUS LIBYCUS	10 (IX)	11 (IX)	4+x (VII)				4 (V)	4 (V)
Undetermined Quadru- ped: horns, dorsal mane, tail in form of a bowl	10 (VII)							
Undetermined Quadru- ped: squat, head down- wards, neck bent, short tail		7 (V)						
GYPH FULVUS		9 (I)		3+x (I)				
LEPTOPILUS CRUMENI- FERUS vel EPHIPPORHYNCHA SENEGALENSIS	16 (II)		7+x (II)		8 (I)		4 (II)	4 (II)
IBIS COMATA	1 (II)		1 (II)					
ARDEA CINEREA	1 (II)				2 (I)		1 (II)	1 (II)
LADY CECIL'S BALEARI- CA PAVONINA			1 (II)					
NALIA HAIE {twice {once	7 couples (I)				1 couple (II)			
ERYX THEBAICUS vel E. JACULUS }	1 (II)						3 (I) 1 (II)	3 (I) 1 (II)
HETEROBRANCHUS AN- GUILLARIS(?)				{1 (I) 1 (IV)				
CYPRINUS LEPIDOTUS(?) Undetermined Fish	1 (X)		1 (VII)					
Totals	119+7	92	38+x	25+x	20+1	7+3 pre- sumably	25	25

## IV

We must not neglect to ascertain if other objects known to be of the same period—this term being taken here in its widest sense—show any trace of this system of representations, and exhibit more or less directly the thematic principle or even thematic combinations.

It would be very wide of the mark to proceed to detail all the representations of animals which form the essential basis of the decoration of objects coming from the cemeteries of primitive Egypt, whether this decoration be of an accessory nature, or whether it moulds to its own form the object to which it is applied and which then itself takes on the aspect of an animal. We are dealing here with a special case which it is desirable to treat separately, restricting ourselves to relevant comparisons alone. Now the material upon which we can draw is extremely limited. It would perhaps be less so had the important deposit of ivories discovered at Hierakonpolis not stood so ill the test of time; for it is perhaps there, while awaiting further sporadic discoveries such as have given us the four flint-knife handles (including that of the Louvre) and the Davis comb, that we might have been able to gather additional data as to the nature of these representations. The important place taken by ivory in the personal property of the military or religious chiefs of the earliest settled centres of primitive Egypt is shown in a striking manner by this deposit of objects, which were accumulated in the lowest strata of the temple of the old southern capital<sup>1</sup>. On this account the bulk of these remains, preserved at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, deserves careful examination. I must necessarily confine myself here to the pieces collected in Mr Quibell's publication. Strictly speaking, not one of them enters into our category. Among them are curved limbs of furniture, in a fragmentary condition; two of them have retained their joining tenons<sup>2</sup>, and one might be tempted to see in them with Capart<sup>3</sup> the arms of arm-chairs; but I am more inclined to look for parts of much more portable objects. The curved staves, one of which has retained its terminal beak<sup>4</sup>, suggest the idea of the cross-piece of a cithern, an instrument of which I know no example in the Memphite reliefs, and which, apart from the well-known example from Tomb 3 at Beni Hasan<sup>5</sup>, does not occur before the New Kingdom<sup>6</sup>. But the Asiatic origin of this instrument does not constitute an objection, far from it. To continue with the enumeration: a receptacle carved from a piece of elephant's tusk<sup>7</sup>; pieces of veneer which may have belonged to caskets<sup>8</sup>; a fragment of a spoon-handle<sup>9</sup> and a cylinder-seal<sup>10</sup>. On all these objects are found, mixed with others, members of the fauna observed on the handles and the comb, but *in quite different conditions*. And this is an essential point.

A fact on which I cannot lay too much stress is that in cases where there are several superposed rows of animals, dividing lines are found to exist. The animals do not stand on nothing, as in the four objects which form the subject of this study, and to which

<sup>1</sup> QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Part II, pp. 29—30.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XIII, 1; XVI, 1 and 2 (photograph Pl. XXXII), and Pl. XVII.

<sup>3</sup> *Débuts de l'Art*, p. 131.

<sup>4</sup> QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XIII, 1 and 2.

<sup>5</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, vol. I, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>6</sup> This observation has already been made ERMAN, *Aegypten*, p. 344.

<sup>7</sup> QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XIV.

<sup>8</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XII, 1, 2, 8; Pl. XVI, 4 (photograph Pl. VI, 5).

<sup>9</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 5.

<sup>10</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XV, 6.

I may add, for this feature, the Gebel el-ʿAraḵ ivory (see Plate XXXII). Now with regard to this very ivory last-mentioned I have remarked that the absence of dividing lines was a sign of hyper-archaism<sup>1</sup>. This must also be taken as a warning that the Hierakonpolis deposit was not forced, archaeologically speaking, to display the types which are to be expected from cemeteries such as those of ʿAbbadiyeh, Gebel Tarîf, and Abu Zeidân, and, in a general way, from the cemeteries of the Neḡâdeh period. For it is above all in the province of prehistoric archaeology, where the whole apparatus of criteria furnished by writing is lacking, that we must take the strictest account of all the elements of classification.

In the second place, although we may observe on one of the Hierakonpolis plaques<sup>2</sup> the alternating direction of the registers conforming with the system of the Davis comb, it is far more important to notice that none of the (hitherto published) fragments from Hierakonpolis contains the theme of the serpent-crushing elephant, or that of the giraffe strayed among the waders, or the special arrangement giving these latter a rear-guard of another family or sub-family, or the alternation of rows of carnivora and rows of ruminants. It is useless to go beyond these conclusive differences.

The only elements which are worthy of comparison are :

1. That which is presented by a curved fragment of ivory<sup>3</sup> in which a person whose character is pretty clearly defined by the scene is twice shown quelling the attacks of two of the well-known long-necked panthers; I have already compared him with the hero subduing two lions on the Gebel el-ʿAraḵ ivory<sup>4</sup>.

2. The elephants treading mountains, which occupy the (present) second register of a veneering piece<sup>5</sup>, and reproduce a theme already known from one of the predynastic or protodynastic statues of Min from Petrie's find at Koptos<sup>6</sup>.

It emerges in any case from this comparison that the representations on the three handles I, II and III and the Davis comb correspond to an earlier stage, determined by a complex of dispositions which are not arbitrary, but intentional and deliberate, and which consequently possess a significance that has been forgotten or neglected in the Hierakonpolis ivories, these thus logically constituting a subsequent stage.

It cannot be objected against the view taken here that this disposition is peculiar to the handles of daggers, and that as these are absent from the deposit of Kôm el-Aḥmar the comparison is fundamentally wrong-headed; for the Davis comb comes in very opportunely to dispel this doubt and to establish the fact that the decorative and significant conception revealed by the handles could extend even to toilet articles. We may, therefore, henceforth picture to ourselves a sequence in the animal decoration of prehistoric ivories of which the (provisionally) most remote phase is constituted by the handles and the Davis comb, and the latest phase by the Quibell ivories. Petrie's excavations at Tarkhân offer an intermediate stage. I would draw attention to the ivory spoon having a bowl in the shape of a small trough, and the handle surmounted by a couchant animal stated by Petrie to be a

<sup>1</sup> BÉNÉDITE, *Le Couteau de Gebel el-ʿAraḵ*, p. 29. The only exception among the Hierakonpolis ivories is constituted by fragment 2 with the scorpion (Pl. XII).

<sup>2</sup> QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XII, 1.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, Pl. XVI, 2.

<sup>4</sup> BÉNÉDITE, *Le Couteau de Gebel el-ʿAraḵ*, p. 33.

<sup>5</sup> QUIBELL, *Hierakonpolis*, Pl. XVI, 4 (photograph Pl. VI, 2).

PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. III, 4 (photograph Pl. IV).



calf<sup>1</sup>. All the outer surfaces of the bowl are subdivided into registers, in which *alternate* rows of panthers and oryxes, *i.e.*, of carnivora and ruminants, are seen; this agrees entirely with the decorative scheme of the four prototype ivories. On the reverse of the bottom surface (Pl. XIII, 5) the panthers have given place to dogs. In the last register of sides 1, 2 and 3 the quadrupeds, in spite of their very compressed appearance through lack of space, certainly seem to be, not oryxes as one would expect, but hyaenas or hyaena-dogs, animals whose position is always subordinated to that of the *felidae* in the prototype ivories.

On one of the lateral surfaces (Pl. XIII, 1), as well as on the small surface forming the anterior side of the trough (Pl. XIII, 2), the last feline of the second row has its tail raised. Now this peculiarity has already been pointed out in the two lions which terminate rows 2 and 3 of the Carnarvon ivory. This minute detail again shows the degree of relationship between the Tarkhân ivory and the four others. But, even apart from the question of themes, which does not find any application here, there is a feature in this ivory which we cannot leave out of account—the separation into linear registers, *i.e.*, by means of the ground-line, to which we have attached the importance of a test. By this test we may provisionally assign to this ivory a place intermediate between those forming the subject of this study and the Hierakonpolite series.

## V

From the foregoing considerations it should be possible to deduce the age of this category of objects. The Hierakonpolis material will serve us as a point of departure. The degeneration of the primitive concept which characterises its decoration assigns it a date more recent than that of our handles; and if it be granted that the ivory fragment marked with the name of the Scorpion-king (Pl. XII, 2) may be taken as giving the most ancient date of this material, we must then go behind the reign of that king, one of the last pre-Menite rulers.

When studying the Gebel el-‘Arak knife-handle I arrived<sup>2</sup> at the conclusion that this object was contemporary with that stage of the pre-Menite period corresponding with s.d. 60 of Petrie's classification. Since the publication of my essay the learned University College professor has devoted an important article to the same ivory in his Egyptological journal *Ancient Egypt*<sup>3</sup>. On a certain number of points his views are much more definite than my own; on others I regret to see that our opinions differ. But what is of capital importance for my point of view is that we are in agreement in regard to the date of the object, which he assigns to the climax of the second pre-Menite civilisation.

Commencing with the study of the palettes, which I divided into three groups: A, the protodynastic group, dated by a royal name; B, the predynastic group, thrown by its characters back to the other extremity of the classification; and C, the intermediate group, dividing only imperfectly these two extremes, I endeavoured (this *résumé* is limited to our present subject) to determine as strictly as possible the specific characters of group B, which comprises the Palette of the Hunt, the fragments of which are shared between the

<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, G. A. WAINWRIGHT and A. H. GARDINER, *Tarkhan I and Memphis V* (British School of Archaeology in Egypt, 1913, Pl. XII, 6, and Pl. XIII, 1–6; and cf. p. 25).

<sup>2</sup> BÉNÉDITE, *Le Couteur de Gebel el-‘Arak*, p. 36 with note 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Egypt and Mesopotamia*, in the above-named journal, 1917, pp. 26–36.

British Museum<sup>1</sup> and the Louvre<sup>2</sup>; the small Hierakonpolis palette<sup>3</sup> at the Ashmolean Museum; and the complete palette E. 11052 of the Louvre. On these the outlines of human beings and animals present certain technical peculiarities which are more or less absent from the other two groups, and to which I have attached the value of tests of hyper-archaism. Succinctly enumerated, these are: the geometrical form of the eyes, the summary treatment of torsos, the absence of protuberance in the knees, the hatchet-shape given to the human feet, the flexion-wrinkles on the quadrupeds' shoulders, the hypogastric prolongation of the lion's mane, the arrangement of claws like the teeth of a comb on the paws of wild animals, the preponderance of exaggerated detail, and the absence of any conventional sign to represent earth or water so that living beings and boats rest on nothing.

These characters agree to an appreciable degree with those of the representations on the Gebel el-ʿAraḳ handle. Prof. Petrie regards the palettes as a later product of the same artistic school as that to which the handle belongs, in the sense that the roughest and most archaic of them (my group B) would correspond to handles I (Brooklyn Museum) and II (Ashmolean Museum), which the English *savant* attributes<sup>4</sup> to a period of decadence in comparison with the Louvre handle.

We stand now at the most delicate point in the problem, I might say at the parting of two roads which do not necessarily lead to the same conclusions. One of these roads is constituted by considerations of technique alone, the other by the evolutionary characters of the representations—these being provisionally considered quite separately from the signification of the representations.

In comparing a barbarous form with a fully developed artistic one, we are sufficiently well situated to-day not to confuse the barbarism of decadence with that of primitive culture, when periods and monuments are concerned with whose general history we are acquainted. Only an unpractised eye could fail to discern wherein the archaism of the Mediterranean countries in the seventh century before our era differs from the barbarism of the same countries in the seventh century of that era. An art which is seeking itself has not the same physiognomy for the expert as an art which is losing itself. If we transport ourselves to the remote epochs of pre-history the distinction is far less obvious, for we do not possess objects enough to enable us to follow step by step the evolution or the degeneration of forms. Another obstacle of which the fullest account must be taken is differences of scale in the representations classified. The engraver who had to fit 119 figures into a surface with maximum measurements of 92 × 60 mm., and who had less than one square centimetre at his disposal for each figure, could not obtain the same result as the maker of the Gebel el-ʿAraḳ knife, who put two or three figures side by side on an area which the other would have made to hold two or three rows of five or six figures each. The same argument applies to handle II, which has moreover suffered by mutilation. To my mind the opinion to be formed on handles I and II must be subordinated to that which results from the examination of ivories III and IV., *i.e.*, the Carnarvon ivory and the Davis comb, in which the dimensions of the figures are approximately the same as in the Louvre ivory. No prolonged examination is necessary for the discovery that the execution of the

<sup>1</sup> No. 20,790.

<sup>2</sup> The Louvre fragment has the inventory number E. 11254.

<sup>3</sup> I will not deal here with the already copious bibliography of the problem of the palettes, but will merely refer the English reader to Mr F. Legge's articles, which reproduce all these monuments, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, 1900, 1904, 1906, 1909.

<sup>4</sup> *Egypt and Mesopotamia*, p. 30.

former is greatly superior to that of the latter. Nothing is more characteristic in this respect than the figure of the elephant (Fig. 2). The engraver of the handle has rendered it with remarkable realism and exactitude.

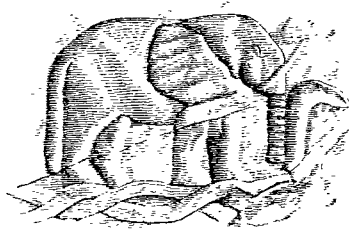


Fig. 2.

The profile of the sloping brow, emphasising the smallness of the head (a feature of the African elephant), the rendering of the ears, the flexibility of which is indicated by parallel furrows, the anatomy of the legs, the prominence of the iliac bone near the rump, and in general the rightness of the proportions, render this figure very nearly worthy of a place beside the animals of the Louvre handle. It would be very difficult to apply this description to the six elephants of the Davis comb, which are quite rudimentary.

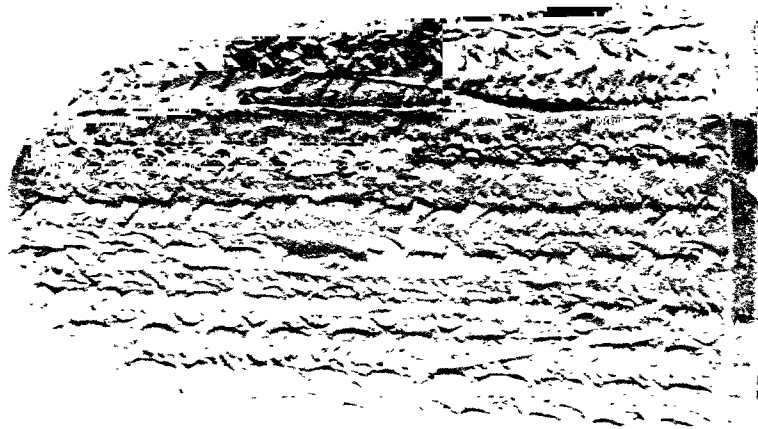
But which of the two representations preceded the other? If it were possible to settle this point we should have the basis for a classification, for the comb is singularly closely related by its style to ivories I and II, while the Carnarvon ivory has an unmistakable family likeness to the Louvre ivory. Thus, according as the Carnarvon ivory be assumed to be earlier or later than the Davis comb, the conclusion will be arrived at that the Gebel el-Arak ivory is earlier (as Prof. Petrie considers) or later than the Brooklyn and Ashmolean Museum ivories. It must be realised that this problem cannot be solved merely by analysis of the forms, without knowledge of the intermediate links. My habits of thinking, if I gave them full play, would lead me to lay great stress on certain elements which favour the priority of the comb. The childish exaggeration of detail, out of proportion with the scale of the figures, agrees satisfactorily with this thesis. What is certain is that these two objects, even if they are quite contemporary, do not come from the same workshop, still less from the same hand. The one testifies to an intimate knowledge of animal life and reproduces it with dexterity; the other merely repeats, with the perfunctoriness of a bad workman, an exceedingly primitive model consecrated by custom.

We shall arrive at a result more satisfying to logic if we follow the other road, and examine the evolutionary characters of the representations. For this, the flat side of the Carnarvon handle must be compared with the two sides of the comb. At first sight we are apprised by their similarities and differences that both hark back to one prototype from which they are more or less removed.

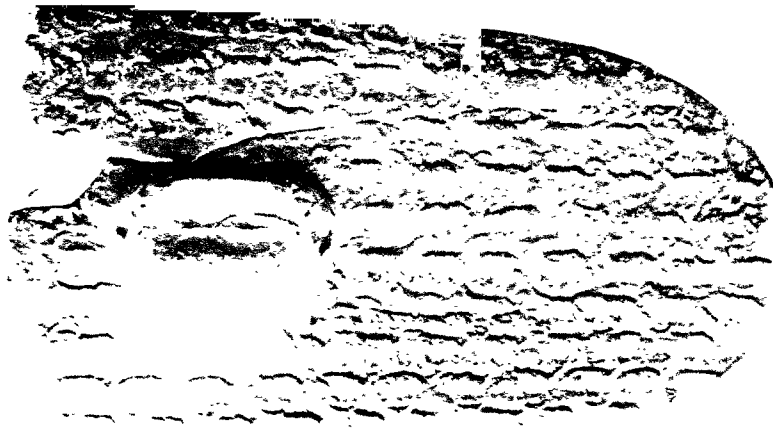
At this point handles I and II should be brought into play. Handle I especially claims our attention with its twenty rows of animals (ten on each side) as being, among the objects at present known, the one which stands nearest to the prototype, even granting that it does not reproduce the latter exactly. Everything in it is subordinated to the necessity of making an entirely unabridged representation. The few figures on it which are not shown in rows, but which are represented by one or two individuals, are similarly treated on all the handles. These are the cases of the giraffe, the two last waders, the dog, the fishes, and lastly the star.

The same cannot be said of the Carnarvon Ivory. Although it reproduces the giraffe and the two last waders in the conditions already noted, it arbitrarily employs the same method with the elephant, which on the three other ivories occurs in a complete series. This is already a sign of more recent date. We shall find other such signs.

The primitive conception, such as it may be deduced from handle I, involves at least twenty rows of animals. If the tabular analysis (p. 229) be consulted, it will be seen that



Obverse



Reverse

IVORY KNIFE-HANDLE IN THE BROOKLYN MUSEUM ("IVORY I")

Reproduced from a cast



although certain species are met with on both sides, only one of them—*Bos taurus*—occupies two rows on the same side. This is intentional, and we shall seek its meaning later on; but what seems certain is that we have here a scheme which is thought out and is far from being merely arbitrary. For the 10 + 10 rows of ivory I, ivory II can show only 7 + 6 and ivory IV (the comb) 5 + 5. These two objects are thus less complete than ivory I. Is the most elaborate one that which is the most representative of the prototype, or is it, on the contrary, that which by reason of its complexity must correspond to the latest evolutionary stage? We should be led to adopt this latter conclusion if the ivories with fewer rows showed signs of indecision, of groping, of divergences in the choice of animals, and in the order of the rows; but, as we shall shortly see, there is, on the contrary, a close relationship between all these representations. They appear to conform to the same rules, to be derived from the same conception, and what is more, from a very definite conception. Thus, with regard to the order in which the elements occur, the serpent-crushing elephant regularly occupies the uppermost row in I, II and IV, the series of wader-birds accompanied by the giraffe occupies the second row in these same ivories, in which also the following row is allotted to beasts of prey. After the beasts of prey comes a row of ruminants. It is only after this point that differences appear in the ivories, arising from the number of rows. To trace the parallelism further, it is necessary to refer to the lowest portions which show the row of the pachyderms walking with tail erect. The rows which are absent from the two defective ivories are occupied in ivory I by alternate rows of ruminants and of quadrupeds which it is at present impossible to identify on account of the smallness of the scale and because they lack the most certain descriptive feature, namely the horns. They certainly reproduce the rhythm of alternating carnivora and ruminants, for this is a fundamental rule upon which the decorative scheme of these objects rests; but it is important to note that they have a very distinctly intentional character of their own, and are not put in merely to fill out the spaces.

We thus have before us a homogeneous, unique decorative theme, shown in its full form in ivory I, and in abridged forms, in epitome, in ivories II and IV—this apart from any question of the exact moment of their execution; for there is no reason, on this ground, why they should not have been altogether contemporary, just as in later times two religious or funerary texts, the one an abridgment of the other, may be simultaneous products of the same guild of scribes.

I will not say the same of the Carnarvon ivory (III). The physiognomy of this handle contrasts with that of the two others not only on account of the scale of the figures, involving an arbitrary reduction of the scheme, which ignores, whether by design or not, several elements essential to the other ivories, but also because it does not faithfully observe the order of the rows, giving the waders precedence over the elephant, which is reduced to a single figure and is thus doubly degraded. Another difference which is still more important is that only the side of the handle without boss is devoted to this theme, the other, the boss side—and this emphasises its relationship with the Gebel el-ʿArak ivory—being reserved for a pictorial scene of animals in the desert, needing only the huntsman, as in certain palettes, for us to describe it as a hunting scene. The degeneration of the processional theme of animals thus in itself stamps this handle, and consequently its congener from Gebel el-ʿArak, as being of later date.

My conclusions may be resumed thus: Ivories I, II and IV, that is to say the Brooklyn and Pitt-Rivers handles and the Davis comb, must be regarded as belonging to

a rather more remote antiquity than the two fine ivories belonging to the Louvre and to Lord Carnarvon, while remaining strictly within the limits of the same cultural cycle, that called by Petrie the "Second Civilisation."

## VI

We now come to the most debatable part of our subject: the interpretation of the scenes which have been described at length and of which I have attempted to trace the genesis.

And first, what purpose is to be attributed to the adoption of this decorative system, which arranges animals in parallel friezes, and of which the key-note is repetition? Is the repetition a process having a purely aesthetic reference? Is it in its origin a fact of an artistic order? One would be tempted to believe this, did there not clearly emerge another and still more fundamental idea: the idea of plurality. The intention would seem to have been to represent the whole species and not the individual—an idea which has not escaped Prof. Petrie, and which may be resumed in this other formula: unity in plurality, and conversely, plurality in unity. The species is dealt with as a single individual in numerous manifestations<sup>1</sup>. We may thus regard the representations in question as more or less complete lists of species. The proof of this may be seen notably in the elephant of the Carnarvon ivory, who by himself is as representative of the species as are his six or eight brethren of the other ivories. But, when this has been said, what is the purpose of these lists?

It is of prime importance to consider what could have been the relations subsisting between the animal world and the first inhabitants of the Nile Valley, what place the former held in the mind of primitive Egypt. Now, the further we penetrate into that remote past, with the help of the fairly numerous remains which have come down to us, the more we are struck by the preponderant place which the animal world occupied therein. It becomes evident that the barbarian who made the first attempts at organised life on a hospitable soil was continually dominated by all the feelings evoked in him by his joint existence with the rest of the animal kingdom. In these creatures, living and active like himself, he saw the extension of living and active nature, that is to say, of a world not distinct from his own. And this conception, which was originally closely intermingled with those of animism and fetishism which attributed conscious life to inanimate objects, gradually separated itself therefrom. Whatever one may say, the inert fetishes which had a place in the most primitive beliefs of Egypt did not preserve the very high degree of human character conferred on animals; they never attained to an absolute anthropomorphism from which all the logical conclusions were drawn; they never possessed a life fully modelled on that of human beings. This is manifest, and if any one doubts it he need only turn to the pictures drawn over and over again by the primitive Egyptians to see how few of these deal with objects or forms other than those of animals. We can thus infer the existence of a whole series of manifestations dealing with the animal world, and may expect to find these intimately mingled with all the childish speculations of primitive thought.

A glance at the tabular analysis will show that the animal kingdom does not enter into our investigations as a whole; we have before us a selection. How has this selection been arrived at? Hypotheses will vary according as we consider the facts regarding animals

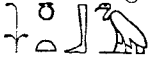
<sup>1</sup> W. M. F. PETRIE, *Animal Worship in Egypt*, in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXVI (1904), p. 113. Cf. FRAZER, *Totemism*, p. 3 (cited by Petrie).

apart from humanity, or the facts as to the relations which may then have subsisted between animals and men.

In the first case we must assume the existence of traditional legends taking the form of stories, of apologues, of folk-songs, of everything, in fact, which goes to make up the oral life of the nomad, and was, consequently, sufficiently well-known to be evoked by a childish superposition of figures, without even any attempt at pictographic story-telling<sup>1</sup>. But this is a hypothesis without support, for we are still almost completely ignorant of the lowest strata of Egyptian folklore. That this people had a very lively taste for making animals act like men is proved, apart from any mythological allusions, by the well-known satyric drawings. Further, the Oxford palette humanizes an animal of the dog family, and this figure may well prepare us for other discoveries; but in the interpretation of the scene under discussion we need not embrace this theory to the exclusion of any other, and nothing prevents us from turning to hypotheses regarding animals in their relations with humanity.

That these reliefs engraved on portable objects are to be regarded as a methodical employment of imitative magic with a view to obtaining, for example, the multiplication of cattle, of game—especially if it be borne in mind that the knife was a hunting and perhaps also a sacrificial weapon, and that the beasts of prey opposed to the ruminants might (magically) become the hunter's coadjutors: this is a theory which will readily find credence in certain minds. Nevertheless I mention it only to reject it, for if that had been the ruling idea it would not have involved a traditional order in the arrangement of the figures. Its method would have been quite different; in any case the thematic combinations which have been reviewed would not have entered into it.

A list of totem animals (set side by side, possibly, with animals devoid of that character) would show greater variety, and would hardly admit of the curtailments to which the decorator has readily reconciled himself. Nevertheless, I must say that I believe this hypothesis brings us nearer to our goal.

The persistence of the same order in the rows is a fact of capital importance. It refers either to a succession in time (on the hypothesis, which we have abandoned, of a folk-tale theme), or to a succession in space (on the hypothesis of a list of totems) presenting itself to us as a geographical index. Can the latter view be justified? We must first of all abandon the expectation of systematically tracing back the religious geography of Pharaonic Egypt to such a remote period. But if we found that some of these data tallied with certain geographical emblems in the monumental lists we should already have a decisive result. Now we find that on one side the elephant, and on the other the vulture, have the first place. How is this precedence to be explained? The elephant has not been preserved to us among the standards of the geographical lists, nor even among any of the religious emblems carried in processions. It is absent from Egyptian mythology, but has left its trace in the name of the capital of the first nome of Upper Egypt, and, what is equally evidential in such a case, it figures among the standards set up on the boats decorating vases coeval with the objects which form the subject of this article. It thus constitutes one of the most ancient geographical entities, and there is no valid reason why the standard of the Nekâdeh vases should not refer to the future Elephantine region of the dynastic period<sup>2</sup>. The vulture is the bird of the goddess Nekhebt, , and

<sup>1</sup> I should certainly assign this character to the subject represented on the small Hierakonpolis palette now at the Ashmolean Museum.

<sup>2</sup> H. BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 110. The elephant as determinative figures in the texts



consequently corresponds to the capital of the third nome, whose primordial rôle in the times immediately preceding Menes cannot now be recovered. These two first rows are thus connected with the southernmost region of Egypt. This is a result which seems to me satisfactory.

But how shall we group all the rows which follow, in relation to these first two? In which part or parts of Egypt are they to be placed? Admitting that we have a point of departure corresponding to the region comprised between Elephantine and Eileithyia-polis, can we descend the Nile and methodically distribute each of the rows in the order of the principalities which pretty early formed the framework of the political geography of ancient Egypt?

One of the first objections is that arising from the absence of the Horus-falcon; but it loses its force if the fact be taken into account that the Horus-falcon is intimately connected with the invasion which, several centuries before culminating in the constitution of a single monarchy (materialised by the Egyptian annalists into the perhaps imaginary reign of Menes), succeeded in amalgamating all the small barbarous states of Upper Egypt into a first monarchical group that a persistent tradition represents to us as having been opposed to an analogous group in Northern Egypt under the sovereignty of the Serpent principality, Pe-Wazt (Bouto). It suffices then to assume that our ivories take us back to far more ancient times for the absence of the Horus-falcon to be explained, an explanation which finds further support in what has been said of the later date of the Hierakonpolis ivories.

This having been noted, it will be observed that generally speaking the animals which find a place in the series of ivories having an ornamental parallel arrangement of figures are among those found in the political and religious symbols of later times: the lion, the *canidae*, the oryx, the ram, the ox<sup>1</sup>, the hippopotamus (?), the ibis, the heron, the *Lepidotus*, and finally the elephant and the vulture, whose cases have been settled.


For the hypothesis discussed here to be tenable, it is necessary to start out from a certain number of premises, which may be set forth as follows:

1. The warlike clans represented by their totem-animals do not necessarily correspond to the first principalities which contributed to the formation of one or other of the two great divisions of Egypt.

2. An uncertain number of these clans, perhaps even the greater number of them, did not, at the outset of their occupation of the Nile Valley, occupy a settled position, and in course of time were obliged to shift their places before reaching their final seats.

3. Some of them lost their independence by absorption or by complete destruction, and it is reasonable to believe that only a minority had at the dawn of the historic period attained sufficient strength and cohesion to constitute the forty-odd small states destined to become the future regional divisions of dynastic Egypt—and that only after numerous transformations.

4. The further we plunge into the remote depths of this pre-history, the more we must expect to find on its scanty monuments only local data of rather limited range.

of the Old Kingdom; *cf.* for example, the inscription of Uni, l. 42, which settles, for that period and after, the meaning of . *Cf.* also SETHE, *Pyramidentexte*, §§ 864 b, c, 1116 b.

<sup>1</sup> The repetition of the row of bovids favours this hypothesis. The bull is one of the animals which occur most frequently on the political and religious standards.

5. In correlation with these positive or negative facts we shall not expect to find on these same monuments any rudiments of hieroglyphic writing, nor yet the form of the bracket- or perch-standard, which does not figure on the vases of the Neḫâdeh period and appears first on the palettes of series A and the mace-heads contemporary with the last pre-Menite kings. Its origin appears to me to be bound up with the cult of the Horus-falcon, of which it was logically the support. In his primitive sanctuary the living totem was held by a leash to a perch-stand, which gave its form to the support of the standard, so much so that the bird's food-trough and the meat which this contained persisted in the hieroglyphic form of the object (see the accompanying cut). And when the Horus-falcon, the *Falco peregrinus*, extended his sovereignty over the other totems he influenced them in various ways, of which the most singular of all was certainly the causing the images of large quadrupeds to be mounted on his bird's perch-stand: a fact which proves, contrary to the opinion of Diodorus, that there were originally real animals which were ancestors and gods of the clans, and not mere distinctive effigies serving the purpose of standards. The living animal preceded, and did not follow the standard<sup>1</sup>.

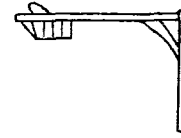










Fig. 3.

These conditions are satisfied by our series of ivories, and I recognize that a reasoned and robust faith in their hyper-archaism is necessary to deny beforehand the possibility of a single one turning up which would negative this thesis by characteristics peculiar to the ivories of the Thinite epoch, or even of the period immediately previous.

Did the five-rayed star, which is absent from the Carnarvon ivory, but which, in view of its connection with the register of pachyderms, ivory II apparently contained, likewise have the value of a totem? Up to the present it has not been found on any of the prehistoric standards, where its existence would not be more surprising than that of the solar disk (no. 17 of Loret's list, *op. cit.*, p. 76). We are naturally inclined to consider it the representation of Sirius. But in that case it may be doubted whether it would not be just as logical to leave it its astral significance; and at once one sees the use which the adepts in astrological interpretations could make of this for the general significance of the





<sup>1</sup> Appearances support Diodorus (*Bibl. Hist.* I, 36), and also M. Victor Loret, who, more guarded in an earlier work, *Les enseignes militaires des tribus*, in *Revue Égyptologique*, 1902, has developed the position of Diodorus in *Quelques idées sur la forme primitive* etc. in *Revue Égyptologique*, 1904; for on the monuments of the oldest period the standard supporting the totem is nothing more than a pike, with or without the embellishment of a feather and two streamers. But reflexion will make it clear that what is secondary is not the perch-stand but merely the idea of making it the theme of the support of the standard, the adaptation to its form of that of the primitive pike. Logic demands that the totem-falcon, the ancestor and god of the clan, should have been *in personâ propria* the object of a regular cult at the same time that its image served as the emblem and distinctive token of this same clan. On the other hand nothing is more likely than that the tachygraphic reproduction of this standard, with its feeding-trough of plaited work (papyrus or palm-leaf stalk) should have become, as M. Loret has shown, the ordinary god-hieroglyph. It seems to me that the proposition should be formulated thus: the emblematic stand supporting the Horus-falcon became, in the Thinite period and after, *i.e.*, in the newly unified Egypt, the sign used to designate the gods. The bird which surmounted it might be removed from it; from this resulted the doublet  and , having exactly the same significance, whether as determinatives of god-names or in the formula    =  = . Thus it was the graphic expression of the gods, and not the gods themselves, that originated from the standard of Horus.



picture, which would be transported from the earth to the sky, the zones of animals being thus transformed into constellations. Before adopting this standpoint let us wait until we come upon further ivories with more convincing marks of their celestial character. Let us not forget that Sirius has the function of generatrix of the new year, and might very well denote the date of the feast in which the votive weapon was consecrated. But this is merely one of the views suggested by its special and, so to speak, sacramental position in these representations. I prefer to confess that this sign adds one more enigma to these mysterious ivories.

I come, in conclusion, to two difficulties which are not solved by the geographical hypothesis. (a) In contrast with the standards found on the vases of the Nekâdeh period, no sign foreign to the animal kingdom (except the star) appears on the ivories; the presence of the sign of Min, <sup>1</sup>, of the tree, or of the branch, would have been particularly convincing, while on the other hand their absence opens the door to doubt. (b) The systematic alternation of carnivora and ruminants seem to defy any geographical interpretation.

An answer is possible. It is sufficiently evident that the weapon is as much a hunting-weapon as an instrument of sacrifice; this is clear from the Carnarvon ivory. The boss side of the latter accords completely with the conception of the Gebel el-ʿAraḡ handle (same side). A sort of *jeu d'esprit*, the most obvious manifestation of which is the enrolment of the giraffe in the band of long-necked wader-birds, and in which I am inclined to see the most ancient specimen of satiric humour that Egypt has bequeathed us, presided over the sorting of the totem-animals into hunting beasts and hunted beasts. I find this contrast again in the themes of the elephant and the bird leading the file, both of which are at grips with serpents. This view would thus make due allowance for so much as is systematic in the choice and the persistence of the order of species adopted, as well as for the constant alternation of animals of prey and ruminants<sup>2</sup>. Such a conception implies an artistic preoccupation. But what object, even the most rudimentary, of the remotest periods of human life on the banks of the Nile, does not bear witness to the marvellous gift to which Egypt chiefly owes her place in the history of civilisation? In these ivories the artistic and technical qualities most suited to the material are displayed as much as in similar works of the best periods.

Such are the ideas which appear to me to govern this type of decoration, which passed from the handles of knives to the combs of warriors, and the model of which was so completely successful that it determined a style whence issued perhaps the whole animal decoration of ivory objects during a period that eludes computation. These ideas may be resumed thus: the totem-animals of more or less adjacent clans, and even of internal subdivisions of the clan (family groupings)<sup>3</sup>, are assembled in a pictorial manner having

<sup>1</sup> Is this indeed the primitive form of ? Cf. the determinatives of the word   








  in *Pyramid Texts* (Sethe's edition), § 1212 c.

<sup>2</sup> The special and intentional character of the additional row of oxen (a geographical characteristic) should not be overlooked.

<sup>3</sup> We know nothing of the personal proper names of those remote times, but that animals' names may have been borne by men must be admitted. The potters' marks, PETRIE, *Nagada and Ballas*, Pl. LI, *Diospolis Parva*, Pl. XX; CAPART, *Débats de l'Art*, p. 134, should be taken into account in this connection, as also the marks on cylinder-seals etc.

reference to the idea of the chase, this latter fact rendering it impossible that the artist, *a fortiori* the owner or consecrator of the object, should have belonged to one of the clans or sub-clans whose ancestral divinity was an animal in the series of weaker opponents, *i.e.* the ruminants.

Independently of the animals which the traditions of later ages have preserved to us in the geographical system or in the lists of sacred animals, we can perhaps find in these the most ancient trace of mystical expressions which play a great part in the mythological, religious and funerary texts of all periods. Our thoughts turn immediately to those

 which have been so much discussed, and to those  of the mythic  (Heliopolis) which appear constantly in the religious texts together with the  or <sup>1</sup> of  (Pe) and of  (Nekhen), and which are likewise attributed to the dead king and consequently to all dead persons.

However it may be with these hypotheses—those which I have rejected as well as that which I have felt obliged to adopt—the fact remains that we have before us objects with a systematic and expressive decoration, the first attempt discerned by us to note down and commemorate facts before the arrival of writing. There is much more in them than in the magical or reputed magical representations of animals in the caverns of the palaeolithic age, from which any system is entirely absent. And nothing equally definite exists, to my mind, in the decoration of the earthenware vases of the Nekâdeh period, although so great efforts have been made to interpret them<sup>2</sup>. These ivories thus form at present the earliest known manifestation of human thought before the first embryonic texts. This consideration alone shows how great is the importance of this category of monuments.

<sup>1</sup> The theme of the three birds, already vested with a mystical purport, appears on a certain number of objects of the Thinite period. Cf. QUIBELL, *Archaic Objects (Catalogue Général du Musée du Caire)*, nos. 11898, 11900, 11904 (Pl. 37), and 11976 (Pl. 40), 11978, from the royal tomb of Nekâdeh. The examples given by J. DE MORGAN, *Origines de l'Égypte*, vol. II, figs. 517 and 557, have the same *provenance*. See also PETRIE, *Royal Tombs*, vol. I, Pl. XII, no. 1, and *ibid.*, vol. II, Pl. XV, no. 113. The triple form is merely the mark of the plural, and might be expressed, in the decoration of a vase, by a whole row of birds.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. G. FOUCART, *Sur la décoration des vases de la période dite de Neggadéh*, in *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, 1905, pp. 257—278.

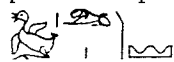

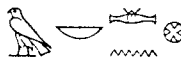
## THE DELTA RESIDENCE OF THE RAMESSIDES

By ALAN H. GARDINER, D.LITT.

### IV

HERE at last we come to grips with the problem to which, in a sense, all the foregoing investigations have been prefatory—the localization of Pi-Raḥmesse, the Delta Residence of the Pharaohs of the Nineteenth and early Twentieth Dynasties.

The discussion commenced under no. 39 of the last section provides us with a good point of departure. The researches of recent years have made it practically certain that

 Thel, the metropolis of the XIVth nome of  Khant-yeb, was situated, not at Tanis, but at Tell Abu Şêfeh, an ancient site some 1½ miles east of El-Ḳanṭareh. Mr Griffith, who in 1886 studied the neighbourhood of El-Ḳanṭareh with much care<sup>1</sup>, found there part of an obelisk bearing the names of Ramesses I, Sethos I and Ramesses II, which Prisse d'Avennes had seen and published entire; a few years ago M. Clédat discovered the whereabouts of the missing portion and produced documentary evidence showing that the obelisk came from Tell Abu Şêfeh ("du côté de l'Asie, vers l'est, à environ quatre kilomètres")<sup>2</sup>. At Tell Abu Şêfeh itself Mr Griffith discovered, obviously *in situ* or almost so, a base for an image of some sort dedicated by Ramesses II, as well as a Latin inscription from the joint reign of Diocletian and Maximian recording the establishment there of a military station. Both the Ramesside monuments mentioned the god  "Horus of Mesen," often referred to as the god of the XIVth nome.



This suggested the possibility that the place might be the capital of that nome<sup>3</sup>, namely Thel or, as it is often transcribed, Zaru, where was a fortress which Tuthmosis III, Sethos I and Ramesses II all had to pass when setting forth on their Asiatic campaigns<sup>4</sup>. Again, the Latin inscription made it appear likely that Tell Abu Şêfeh was Selle, a town in the eastern Delta where, according to the Notitia Dignitatum (beginning of the Vth century) a Roman garrison was stationed. Now the Antonine Itinerary mentions a Silē at

<sup>1</sup> PETRIE, *Nebeshek and Delfenneh*, pp. 96 foll., and Plate LI.

<sup>2</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXI, pp. 113—120, with full publication of the inscriptions of the obelisk.

<sup>3</sup> So in the great Edfu geographical text, BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1366; in the Edfu mythological text, *ibid.*, 1388; in a Philae text, BRUGSCH, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. III, Pl. V; in two texts at Denderah, DUMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. III, Pl. XXIII; *op. cit.*, vol. I, Pl. XCIX, l. 21; and doubtless elsewhere.

<sup>4</sup> Tuthmosis III, see SETHE, *Urkunden*, IV, 647; Sethos I, see LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 126 a, and above all Pl. 128 b; Ramesses II, see above p. 179, under no. 2.

a distance of 24 Roman miles, equivalent to about  $22\frac{1}{2}$  English miles, from Pelusium on the road *via* Serapeum to Clysma (Suez), and this estimate is but a little in excess of the actual distance—some 19 English miles—between Fârameh and Tell Abu Sêfeh<sup>1</sup>. The identification, thus obtained, of Tell Abu Sêfeh with Silê or Selle suits the old Egyptian evidence admirably, for the name , written with the signs *Tb-rw*, contains according to the so-called “syllabic” orthography current in the New Kingdom only two consonants that count, and of these *t* appears as *σ* in Greek (*cf.* *Tb-utr* Σεβεννυτος), while the other consonant *r* may equally well stand for *l*; Thel (or perhaps better Sel) is, accordingly, a perfectly legitimate equivalent for the old hieroglyphic name, and the identity of this with Silê, Selê, Selle is apparent. Mr Griffith was, therefore, fully justified in identifying Tell Abu Sêfeh with the Pharaonic fortress of Thel and the Roman garrison-town of Silê; but he was less happy in the distinction he attempted to draw between the *fortress* of Thel and the *town* of the same name that was the metropolis of the XIVth nome. The reason assigned by him for this distinction was the fact that the XIVth nome of Lower Egypt seemed to correspond to Ptolemy’s Sethroite nome, of which the capital, Herakleopolis Parva, ought probably, in his opinion, to be looked for at Tell Belim (Tell esh-Sherig)<sup>2</sup>; the *town* of Thel would, therefore, be situated at Tell Belim, on the edge of Lake Menzaleh, while the *fortress* of Thel was at Tell Abu Sêfeh. This theory overlooks the fact, of which we find further instances in the case of the Tanite and Arabian nomes, that an old metropolis was apt to be superseded by some other town that had come to surpass it in importance. In the case of the XIVth nome we may perhaps distinguish three successive capitals: Mesen, the home of the nome-god Horus; Thel, the frontier-town and military centre; and finally, in Graeco-Roman times, Herakleopolis Parva. For all we know, Herakleopolis Parva and Mesen may have been identical; they have no direct bearing on the problem before us, and we therefore cannot discuss them further; but there can be but little doubt that Thel, both town and fortress, is Tell Abu Sêfeh<sup>3</sup>. About Thel we may gather the following additional information. It was on the very edge of the desert and almost outside Egypt; this is indicated by the determinatives  accompanying its name in hieroglyphic writing. It was the boundary between Egypt and Syria (Khal), as appears from the epithet “*Royal envoy [to the...] countries of Khal from Thel to Yupe*”<sup>4</sup>. Again, in Haremhab’s time criminals were sent thither, docked of their noses, just as in later times they were sent to Πινκοροῦρα, a place that owed its name to that barbarous form of punishment<sup>5</sup>. On the other hand, Thel lay on the border of the cultivation, for it pos-

<sup>1</sup> For the evidence as to Silê see KÜTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Aegyptens*, pp. 5, 38—40. The distance from Clysma to Serapeum, according to the Antonine Itinerary, was 50 miles; the remainder of the road to Pelusium is given as follows:

Iter a Serapiu Pelusio:					
Thaubasio	.	.	.	.	m.p. VIII
Sile	.	.	.	.	„ XXVIII
Magdolo	.	.	.	.	„ XII
Pelusio	.	.	.	.	„ XII

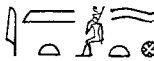

<sup>2</sup> PETRIE, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, p. 103, footnote 2.

<sup>3</sup> So KÜTHMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 38—9.

<sup>4</sup> *Pap. Anastasi III*, 1, 10.

<sup>5</sup> See *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. xxvi (1888), p. 81.

sessed vineyards whence wine was sent to the Theban Ramesseum<sup>1</sup>; and it was accessible by water<sup>2</sup>, probably by a canal which later, at least if local tradition, backed by some slight classical authority, can be trusted, extended to Ostracine, now El-Flûsîyeh at the east end of Lake Sirbonis<sup>3</sup>. We must not forget to mention here the interesting sculptured scene on the north wall of Karnak, where the fortress of Thel is depicted as it was in the time of Sethos I<sup>4</sup>. In conclusion, reference must be made to some late sarcophagi recently found at Tell Abu Şêfeh<sup>5</sup>; not only do their inscriptions mention Thel, but they also contain ample testimony as to the priestly and divine names connected with the XIVth nome<sup>6</sup>.

It is desirable for our purpose to form some idea as to the extent and boundaries of that nome. Its south-western end, Mr Griffith reasonably supposes, may have lain between Tell Defenneh (Daphnae) and El-Menâgi, since at the latter place a block of Nektanebos was found on which some words are addressed to Buto of  'Imt; 'Imt is Nebêsheh, the capital of the XIXth nome of  'Imt-pehu "the lower 'Imt-nome," some six miles from El-Menâgi<sup>7</sup>. The natural boundary between the XIVth and XIXth nomes would be the Pelusiac or Bubastite branch of the Nile, which, according to Mr Griffith, "running W. of Herakleopolis, seems to have turned to the N. a little before reaching Defenneh." Ptolemy makes the Nile the dividing-line between the nomes; between the Busiric and Bubastite river, he says, were (from north to south) the nome of Nesyt with its metropolis Panephris, the Tanite nome with its metropolis Tanis, and

<sup>1</sup> SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraca*, nos. 163, 189, 203, 211.

<sup>2</sup> See above, p. 132, under the letter H.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. XVI, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> LEPSIUS, *Denkmäler*, Part III, Pl. 128, b.

<sup>5</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. XII, pp. 69—76; *Bulletin de l'Institut Français*, vol. XI, pp. 29—38. Still more recent excavations (*Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXVIII, pp. 21—32) produced no inscriptions.

<sup>6</sup> The following bibliographical notes may be useful. Brugsch at first (*Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I, pp. 262—3) identified Thel with Heroonpolis and placed it at the mouth of the Wâdy Tûmilat; later, as we have seen, he changed his view and located it at Tanis (see especially *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 992—7, 1356), J. de Rougé following suit (*Géographie de la Basse-Égypte*, p. 95). Dümichen, however, laid great stress on a passage in the Edfu texts relating to the myth of Horus, and hence sought to show that Thel lay near Ismailiyeh (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 257—60); though he himself subsequently modified his view, placing the town somewhat further north (*Zur Geographie des alten Aegyptens*, p. 33); this opinion was retained by German scholars until quite recently (e.g. STEINDORFF, *Die ägyptischen Gauen*, p. 6, footnote 2, in *Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. kon. Sachs. Ges. d. Wiss.*, vol. XXVII, 1909), when it was disposed of by Kuthmann (*op. cit.*, p. 49). MAX MÜLLER, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. X, pp. 467—77, ignores Griffith, but correctly remarks that Thel would be best located "where the great road from the East crosses the narrowest part of the water between the Birket Ballâh and the lake of Menzaleh"; his further suggestion (p. 478) that Thel is identical with Shûr, Gk. Σοῦρ, of the Bible, is less fortunate.

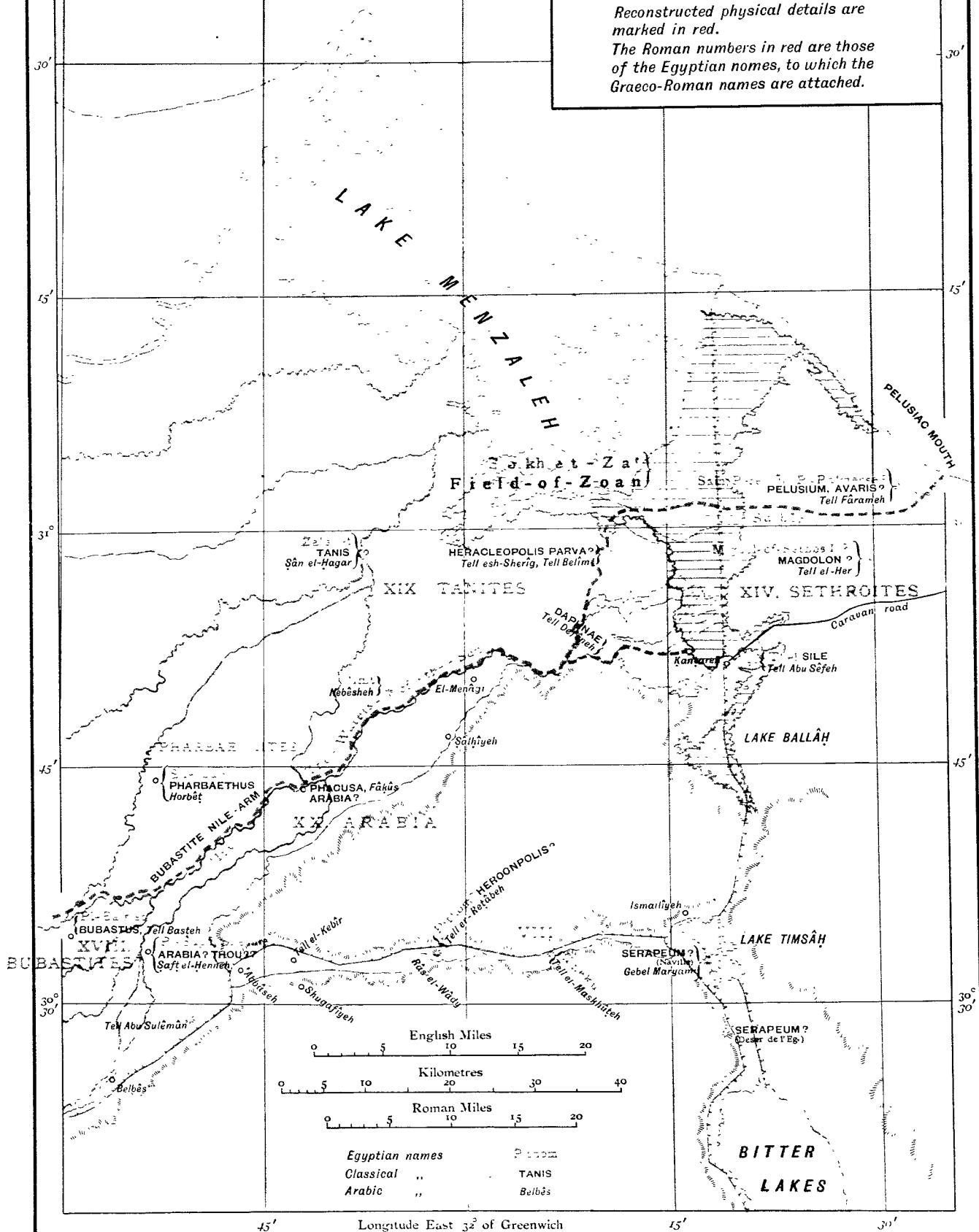
To complete the documentation of Thel a few references that do not occur elsewhere in this article may here be added: "split in-fishes of Thel," *Pap. Anastasi IV*, 15, 7; the fortress of Thel is named in the well-known journal of a frontier-official, *Pap. Anastasi III*, verso 3, 5; at Serâbit el-Khâdim was found the stele of a mayor of Thel from the reign of Tuthmosis IV, see GARDINER-PEET, *Inscriptions of Sinai*, vol. I, Pl. XIX, no. 59, and a stele apparently of the same man is now in Leyden (V 43, see BOESER, *Denkmäler des Neuen Reichs*, Part III, Pl. XIII, no. 22). There also occurs the personal name *Try*, doubtless meaning "a man of Thel," see SPIEGELBERG, *Correspondances des Temps des Rois-Prêtres*, Index, s.c.

<sup>7</sup> PETRIE, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, Pl. XLIII, and pp. 46, 107.

# Sketch Map of the EASTERN DELTA

Reconstructed physical details are marked in red.

The Roman numbers in red are those of the Egyptian nomes, to which the Graeco-Roman names are attached.







the Pharbaethite nome with its metropolis Pharbaethos<sup>1</sup>; to the east of the Bubastite river were the Sethroite nome with its metropolis Herakleopolis Parva, the nome of Arabia with its metropolis Phacusa, the Bubastite nome with its metropolis Bubastus<sup>2</sup>, and the Heliopolitan nome with its metropolis Oniou. Doubtless this account is too schematic even for Graeco-Roman times, and there is the additional difficulty that the old Egyptian nomes cannot be legitimately equated in all details with those recorded by the classical writers. Still, if it is roughly permissible to identify the XIVth nome with the Sethroites of Ptolemy, then surely we must go further and identify the XIXth nome with Ptolemy's Tanites. As the pivot on which the former identification revolved was the localization of Thel at Tell Abu Sêfeh, so that on which the latter identification turns is the localization of 'Imt at Nebêsheh. This was sufficiently proved by Professor Petrie's excavations in 1886, and the same scholar was amply justified in explaining<sup>3</sup> the Greek name of the nome as due to the fact that Tanis was a city of more recent origin which in course of time had come to overshadow the old religious centre of 'Imt. So too, probably, Phakûsa (Fākûs) later took the place of Pi-Sapt (Šaft el-Ḥenneh) as the capital of the XXth nome of Arabia<sup>4</sup>, and we have seen that the Sethroite nome may have possessed three successive capitals.

It thus appears that Brugsch, in identifying the XIVth nome with the Tanites and the XIXth with the Sethroites, exactly reversed the truth. Some modern writers on the subject, like Professor Naville<sup>5</sup>, seem clear on the point that the XIVth is the Sethroite nome, but an Egyptologist as well acquainted with Delta geography as M. Daressy still maintains that though Tell Abu Sêfeh was the earlier capital of the nome, later it was eclipsed in importance by Tanis, which then took its place as the metropolis<sup>6</sup>. How improbable a view this is may be seen from a mere inspection of the map; Tanis is some ten miles to the north-west of Nebêsheh, the capital of the XIXth nome, while Tell Abu Sêfeh is about thirty miles due east of the latter place. If there is no very definite

<sup>1</sup> The name of the Pharbaethite nome survives in the modern place-name Horbêt, which possibly marks the site of the capital Šdnw, the cult-place of Ḥar-merti; see DE ROUGÉ, *Géographie de la Basse-Égypte*, pp. 66 foll., and *Annales du Service*, Index to vols. I—X, p. 29, s.v. Horbêt. The nome was a late creation, which took in some lists the place of the old nome of Ḥsb (XI), though this was probably situated in a quite different part of the Delta.

<sup>2</sup> Bubastus is the form of the place-name preferred by almost all the classical geographers except Herodotus, in contradistinction to the goddess Bubastis. The prototypes of the Tanite and Bubastite nome together originally formed the large nome of 'Imt, part of which was to the right and part to the left of the Bubastite Nile-arm. At an early date the nome of 'Imt seems to have been divided into two, known respectively as the Upper and Lower 'Imt-nomes ('Imt-khant, 'Imt-pehu). In Graeco-Roman times the Pharbaethite nome may have been cut partly out of the early Bubastite nome ('Imt-khant); see last note.

PETRIE, *Nebeshek and Defenneh*, p. 6.

<sup>4</sup> Prof. Naville (*Goshen*, pp. 14 foll.) contends that Phacûsa must be the modern Šaft el-Ḥenneh, since Strabo (p. 805) states that the canal running from the Nile to the Red Sea branches off from the river at Phacûsa; this, says Prof. Naville, would be a physical impossibility if Phacûsa were the modern Fākûs. It seems to me easier to suppose that Strabo has confused the earlier and later capitals of the nome than that Fākûs should not be the modern equivalent of Phacûsa. The capital of the nome seems to have been called Arabia in late classical times; see KÜTHMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 9—10.

<sup>5</sup> *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXXIV (1912), p. 310. The proposal there made to identify Thel with the Zoar of Genesis xix, 20 is phonetically quite impossible.

<sup>6</sup> *Bulletin de l'Institut Français*, vol. XI, p. 35.

evidence beyond its proximity—this indeed would seem enough—to prove that Tanis was in the same nome as Nebêsheh, there is no really valid argument to show that it belonged to the same nome as Thel. Since Brugsch's error still appears to exercise considerable influence, and since a decision on this point has an important bearing upon the problem of the position of Pi-Raḥmesse, his arguments for identifying the XIVth nome with the Tanites must receive very careful examination.

Let us remember that Brugsch, when compiling the *Dictionnaire Géographique*, had as yet no means of locating 'Imt, the capital of the XIXth nome; nor does he seem ever to have realized the import of Professor Petrie's researches at Nebêsheh, since in his latest utterance (1891) on these geographical problems he still clings to his conjecture that 'Imt signified "the mud-city" (Coptic *ome*, *lutum*) and hence was to be equated with Pelusium<sup>1</sup>. We must take the *Dictionnaire Géographique* as the clearest expression of Brugsch's opinions. Handicapped by his ignorance of the true whereabouts of 'Imt, he would naturally attach the greater importance to his apparent evidence for the identity of Thel with Tanis. This evidence appears to consist of the following points: (1) Sht-Dḥnt "Field-of-Zaḥ<sup>2</sup>," which is obviously identical with the "Field-of-Zoan" (i.e. Field of Tanis) of the Bible, occurs on several occasions in place of the more usual Sht-Dḥ "Field-of-Zaḥ," which is the *peḥu* or "Hinterland" of the XIVth nome; (2) monuments have been found at Tanis which appear to connect that town with Thel (Silē), because they bear upon them the name either of the town itself or of its gods.

(1) The first point does indeed seem to be a formidable one, and requires the most careful consideration. The name "Field-of-Zaḥ" occurs first of all amid a series of representations of inundated districts and the like depicted upon a ruined wall of the temple at Memphis which Ramesses II dedicated to Ptah<sup>3</sup>. The adjacent names are: (a) Sha'usef, the flooded land of the IXth, Busirite, nome; (b) Sha'mentet, a designation unknown from any other source, which might, however, mean the land flooded by the waters *mnwt* of the XVth Hermopolite nome<sup>4</sup>; (c) "Field-of-Zaḥ"; (d) Avaris, the well-known stronghold of the Hyksos in the Sethroite nome. The general sequence seems to be from west to east along the northern extremity of the Delta. The addresses to Ptah which accompany these personifications of geographical areas are, as a rule, without interest; alone in the case of "Field-of-Zaḥ" does the accompanying legend contain references that may be of topographical significance. The address in question runs thus: "Ramesses II comes to thee, O Ptah, he brings to thee Field-[of-Zaḥ]. [he offers to thee him who is in (??)] Busiris, he introduces to thee the lady of Behbét (Iseum)<sup>4</sup>, which

<sup>1</sup> *Die Ägyptologie*, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 270 and p. 1176; MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, Pl. 31; and see too *Annales du Service*, vol. III, p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 1369, 1389.

<sup>4</sup> For *Hbyt*, the modern *Behbét*, see particularly ROEDER, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLVI (1909), pp. 62 foll.

*Ramesses II gives to thee.....*" To these words I shall return later. In Graeco-Roman times "*Field-of-Za*" is constantly named as the *pehu* of the XIVth nome<sup>1</sup>; thus in the great geographical text of Edfu we read

"he (the nome-god Horus of Mesen) inundates the *Boinu-land* (Phoenix-land) at (its) season of the year, he pours its fresh water into the *pehu* of *Field-of-Za*." To repeat what was

said under no. 39 of the last section (p. 200) the title "he who is in the regions of *Field-of-Za**anet*" occurs on one of the statues of Teos among titles that point unequivocally to the nome of Khant-yeb (XIV) and not to that of 'Imt-pehu (XIX). The resemblance of "*Field-of-Za**anet*" to the "*Field-of-Zoan*," *πεδίον Τανέως*, *τωσσε πῖτσανε*, *τροι πσανη* of Psalm 78 was far too striking to be fortuitous, so that Brugsch could conclude with some show of reason that the nome to which "*Field-of-Za*," "*Field-of-Za**anet*" belonged was the nome of Tanis. That "*Field-of-Za**anet*" is no mere mistake on the part of a scribe is shown by the facts that a Ptolemaic stele in Cairo<sup>2</sup>

couples the goddess "*Nebhotpe in the territory of Ra**nūfer*, arising in *Field-of-Za**anet*" with the god of the fourteenth nome "*Horus of Mesen, the noble flying scarabaeus, protecting the two lunds, great god of Thel*," and that a third instance of the expression "*Field-of-Za**anet*" occurs on a late statue published by M. Daressy<sup>3</sup> in a more or less close association with Thel. The text inscribed on the statue is very obscure, but it is somehow narrated of its owner, the general Amenpiom,

that his business was to superintend the irrigation of the north-eastern nomes: "the king appointed him as the governor over the province (?) of *Field-of-Za**anet* in order to prevent the oppression of.....in their oppressions (?)." Then follow some extremely unintelligible sentences, the text of which, according to M. Daressy, runs as follows:

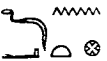

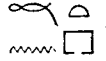

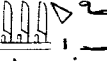
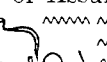
It is difficult to believe that the published text is quite correct, though its obscurity may well be due in some part to the ancient sculptor. The following rendering will, however, give some notion of its contents: "*in order to punish the deed of him who commits it and who transgresses (??) it, in order to free ([s]šw?) (it) from ruins (?) which fail to receive mud (i.e. he had to remove brick ruins which prevented the inundation from spreading its mud over the area in question ??) and in order to divide (?).....near the ..... of Thel. He made prolific the good territories in front of them, Sha'sef* (there is an intrusive *m*, which makes it

<sup>1</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1373. A few other references, DÜMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I, Pl. XIV (Edfu); Pl. XXVIII (Denderah); vol. IV, Pl. CXX (Denderah); GRIFFITH-PETRIE, *Two Hieroglyphic Papyri*, Pl. X, frag. 18.

<sup>2</sup> See *Bulletin de l'Institut Français*, vol. XI, p. 36, for a full bibliography of this monument.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XV, p. 150.




doubtful whether Sha'usef, the flooded land of the Busirite nome mentioned above, is really meant) *being with (?) their waters, and from the territory of the Mendesian nome as far as Field-of-Za'anet being inundated every [year].*" After making all allowances for mistranslation, it is clear that the general Amenpiom was charged with the duty of looking after the irrigation of the extreme north, from the Phatnitic mouth eastward to "*Field-of-Za'anet*"; the latter is somehow connected with the name of Thel.

These three instances of "*Field-of-Za'anet*" appear to me to place its equivalence with "*Field-of-Za'c*" beyond a doubt. "*Field-of-Za'c*" appears, so far as our evidence goes, to be the older form; the later variation can only be explained by taking  as a feminine adjective agreeing with *sht* "field" in place of the old genitive  *d'c*, "Za'c." Egyptian does display analogous adjectival formations, cf.  *mḥnt* "the Northern House" and the like: compare the Semitic terminations, Arabic أَشْجٍ, Hebrew שִׁי. If then "*Field-of-Za'anet*" is to be accepted, like "*Field-of-Za'c*," as a name of the *pehu* of the XIVth nome, we must face the fact that the nome whose capital was at Tell Abu Šêfeh possessed a *pehu* having its name compounded with the name of Tanis-Zoan. For the identity of "*Field-of-Za'anet*" with the Biblical "*Field-of-Zoan*" is beyond dispute, and the LXX and Coptic equivalents prove that the latter contained the name of Tanis; on the other hand  *D'nt* is really the Egyptian name of Tanis, though this fact was until comparatively recently merely a deduction based by Brugsch on the term  "*Field-of-Za'anet*." The Annals of Assurbanipal had indeed afforded the Assyrian transcription Ša'anu<sup>2</sup>, but the name  *D'nt* was actually first found as the name of the city of Tanis in M. Golénischeff's papyrus containing the romantic story of the mission of Unamūn to Phoenicia; here it appears as the seat of government of Smendes, the founder of Manetho's XXIst Tanite government, and as a port where the prince of Dor alone had twenty trading-vessels (1, *x* + 23). The city-name *D'nt-Za'anet* has since been encountered in the Golénischeff glossary (above no. 38), on the Stele of the Adoption of Nitokris, and in the Demotic tale of Petubastis.

Now since the name *D'nt-Za'anet* for Tanis is conspicuously absent from texts of earlier date—at Tanis itself it does not occur at all except in "*Field-of-Za'anet*" on the statue of Teos—it seems likely that it owes its origin to the proximity of the "*Field-of-Za'c*," which may well be a rather wide expression signifying the region of Lake Menzaleh. How great was the extension of the "*Field-of-Za'c*" we do not know; if any importance is to be attached to the words on the Memphite wall addressed to Ptah in connection with it, then we should have to conclude that it covered the whole marshy region lying between the region north of Tell Abu Šêfeh and the Phatnitic mouth; the statue of Amenpiom, however, indicates a less extension. In any case, it is necessary to emphasize the fact that because the *pehu* of a nome has a name that can be associated with a place which

<sup>1</sup> See ERMAN, *Ägyptische Grammatik*<sup>2</sup>, § 236.

<sup>2</sup> See H. RANKE, *Keilschriftliches Material zur altägyptischen Vocalisation*, p. 34, in *Abh. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1910, where, however, Ša'anu is not properly distinguished from Ši'nu, guessed by Prof. Spiegelberg to be Pelusium; see below p. 253.

would otherwise be considered to lie outside that nome, this is no reason whatsoever for including the said place in the nome to which the *pehu* in question belongs<sup>1</sup>. We know hardly anything as to the real nature of the *pehu*; the word seems to mean "Hinterland" or "back-lying district"; in the great Edfu geographical inscription it would appear to signify the region into which the river of the nome pours its waters (see above, p. 247, top). Even this is doubtful, however, for the *pehu* of the Arabian nome (XX) bears the same name  *'Ity* as the "river" of the Heliopolitan nome (XIII) farther upstream<sup>2</sup>, though this seeming contradiction may be reconciled by supposing that *'Ity* was one name of the entire stretch of the Bubastite river from the Heliopolitan nome to below that of Arabia. What is more illuminating for our present argument, the *pehu* of the IVth nome, that of the Southern Neith, bears the name  *ʿAnz*, which is obviously inseparable from the name and the deity of the IXth, the Busirite, nome  that lay wholly or partially to the north of the IVth nome.

(2) It cannot, therefore, be proved from the term "*Field-of-Zaʿanet*" that Zaʿanet-Tanis lay within the XIVth nome, and so far as the testimony of this expression is concerned we may still regard the Bubastite river as the dividing line between the Sethroites (XIV) and the Tanites (XIX). It remains, however, to examine the second argument that seems to have influenced Brugsch, namely the fact that Thel, or the god of Thel, is named on certain monuments discovered at Tanis, whence it might seem natural to identify Tanis and Thel. Little weight can be attached to the application of the title "*Commander of the Fortress of Thel*" to the Vizier Praʿmesse who accompanies Ramesses II on the Stele of Four Hundred Years, where Ramesses II is depicted offering to Sētekh-of-Ramesses<sup>4</sup>. It must be admitted, on the other hand, that the statues of Teos come from Tanis, and that one or two Ptolemaic stelae found in the excavations there either mention Thel or are dedicated to the Horus of Mesen<sup>5</sup>. Other Ptolemaic stelae from Tanis, however, are dedicated to Buto of Nebêsheh<sup>6</sup>, though her name scarcely occurs upon the earlier monuments from that site. M. Daressy tells us that the chief deity of Tanis was Amen-Rēʿ, and he accordingly quotes a late stele from Memphis where the divinities of Thel are associated with Amen-Rēʿ as proof that Tanis later replaced Thel as capital of the XIVth nome<sup>7</sup>. As a matter of fact Amen-Rēʿ hardly occurs on the Tanite monuments, though the rulers of the XXIst Dynasty, spoken of as "*the officers whom Amen-Rēʿ has given to the north of his land*"<sup>8</sup>, may well have shown to the god of

<sup>1</sup> In my discussion of the town of Avaris (*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 99—101) I failed to realize this point, and the remarks there made on the relationship between the XIVth and XIXth nomes consequently require revision.

<sup>2</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 1369, 1373.

<sup>3</sup> See GRIFFITH, *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XXI, pp. 278-9, for the reading for these names.

<sup>4</sup> The most accessible reproduction is BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, vol. III, p. 157.

<sup>5</sup> PETRIE, *Tanis II*, Pl. X, nos. 168, 170.

*Op. cit.*, Pl. X, nos. 164, 165. She occurs also on a statue usurped by Meneptah, *Tanis I*, Pl. I, no. 3, B.

This stele has been already quoted in another connection, see above p. 247, with footnote 2.

<sup>8</sup> *Uramūn*, II, 35.

*Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* v.

their Theban home more consideration than previous Pharaohs had done. To tell the truth, the documents at our disposal do not permit us to decide what special cults were most in favour at Tanis; Mr Griffith, who made a careful investigation of this question, summed up his opinion as follows<sup>1</sup>: "The search for a local mythology and really local worship has not been successful. When we have sifted out the national gods who change with the dynasties (the Ptah, Osiris, and Sokar of the Middle Kingdom: Set of the Hyksos; Set, Harmachis, Tum, Tathnen and Amen of the Ramessides) there is no residuum left sufficient to certify a local worship. Set, Uati āp tauī and Horus of the foreigners, wear a semblance of localization."

The uncertainty of which Mr Griffith here complains would be much increased if a plausible theory recently put forward by M. Daressy were to prove true<sup>2</sup>. Combating the late Sir Gaston Maspero's hypothesis of a special Tanite school of Art, he argues that the Ramesside and later Pharaohs who adorned the great temple of Tanis transported thither, and particularly from Memphis, many of the older monuments found on the site; only thus, he considers, can we explain the prominence of the Memphite Ptah on a number of the early statues excavated at Tanis. M. Daressy does not extend his theory to the monuments naming Seth of Avaris, since though he does not admit the identity of Avaris and Tanis, he thinks that those towns were quite close to one another. Manetho, however, distinctly says that Avaris lay to the east of the Bubastite river and in the Sethroite nome; I have tried elsewhere<sup>3</sup> to make it probable that Avaris was Pelusium or at all events near it, a view for which, as we shall see, there is evidence in tradition. Still, just as Thel was close enough to Tanis for its gods occasionally to be mentioned there, so may Avaris also have been. Whether or no, therefore, we suppose that the monuments discovered at Tanis and bearing the name of Seth of Avaris were moved thither by the kings of the Nineteenth or of the Tanite Dynasty, no serious evidence is forthcoming for the view that Seth was the principal god of Tanis. The same argument applies to the monuments naming the Seth of Menephtah, who, as will be shown subsequently, was merely the Seth of Pi-Raḥmesse under another name. From the coins of the Tanite nome it appears that its predominant cult was that of the falcon-god Horus.

To sum up the results of the last few pages, there is no evidence favouring the view that Tanis was in the nome of Khant-yeb which can outweigh the inherent improbability of such a supposition. The actual topographical conditions demand imperatively that Tanis should belong to the nome of which Nebésheh was, at one time at least, the capital; we are, therefore, justified in identifying the Tanites with the nome of 'Imt-Pehu (XIX) and in assuming, until contradictory facts make their appearance, that in the Pharaonic times, as also later, the Bubastite branch formed the boundary between the XIVth and the XIXth nomes.

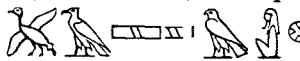


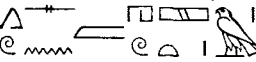
This elaborate discussion of the relationship between the two north-eastern nomes of the Delta may have seemed irrelevant to the particular question here at issue; in reality it has cut away the ground beneath Brugsch's identification of Pi-Raḥmesse with Tanis. That identification rested to no small extent on the occurrence of the title "*priest of Amūn of Raḥmes of Pi-Raḥmesse*" on the statue of Teos found at Tanis (above p. 199, no. 39), where it was associated with various priesthoods connected with Thel and with

<sup>1</sup> *Tanis II*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. xvii, pp. 164—176.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. iii, pp. 99—101.

the XIVth nome. We now realize that Thel was Tell Abu Sêfeh and not Tanis, as Brugsch supposed; but still if Tanis had been in the same nome as Thel the title in question might have seemed to point naturally to the equation of Pi-Raḥmesse with Tanis, the more so because Tanis possesses an abundance of Ramesside monuments and was also virtually a sea-port, as we have learnt from the narrative of Unamūn. Knowing what we now know about the relations of the XIXth and XIVth, the Tanite and the Sethroite, nomes, the close association of the title "*priest of Amūn of Raḥmes of Pi-Raḥmesse*" with titles belonging to the XIVth nome either indicates nothing at all or else indicates that Pi-Raḥmesse is to be sought eastward of the Bubastite branch of the Nile. It is true that the statue of Teos was found at Tanis, and its owner may therefore have held some offices there. But that would not prove that the Tanitic and Sethroitic nomes were in any way fused or inseparable; the general Nektanebos who lived under Ptolemy Soter was governor not only in Thel (Silē), but also in 'Imt (Nebêsheh) and Thebnūte (Sebennytos)<sup>1</sup>. Similarly the owner of the Sarcophagus *Louvre D 1* (quoted above p. 130, under C) appears to have held priesthoods in various cities in by no means close proximity to one another. Numberless other examples of the same kind could be quoted.

If no convincing argument can be based on the testimony of the statue of Teos adduced by Brugsch, another piece of evidence that he employed can now be made to weigh heavily against him. In the long description contained in *Pap. Anastasi III* (above p. 184, no. 15) of the delights and riches of Pi-Raḥmesse, a number of localities are named which must necessarily lie in the neighbourhood, though possibly not in the immediate neighbourhood, of that city. Unhappily only one of the names is identifiable: in 2, 8—9 it is said that "*The Waters-of-Horus yield salt*," and three lines further on we find the sentence, "*The reed-swamps come to it (Pi-Raḥmesse) with papyrus, and The Waters-of-Horus with rushes*." Now the name  *Pi Ši-Hr*, here rendered "*The Waters-of-Horus*," is obviously the same as the  *Ši-Hr* "*Waters-of-Horus*" frequently mentioned by the Graeco-Roman texts in connection with the XIVth nome<sup>2</sup>. In the great geographical inscription of Edfu "*Waters-of-Horus*" is the "*river*" () of the XIVth nome—the stream or strip of water upon which floated the sacred bārk "*Beautiful-is-Mesen*<sup>3</sup>." Most of the references to "*Waters-of-Horus*" in the late temples are devoid of geographical interest, but once<sup>4</sup> in a legend that accompanies a figure of the king pouring libations we read, "*These thy libations come forth from Elephantine*,  *they arrive at Waters-of-Horus, that thou mayst drink of them*," etc.; apparently the purpose of the writer was to say that the Nile is offered to the god in its full extent, from Elephantine and the First Cataract down to "*Waters-of-*

<sup>1</sup> SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 24–6.

<sup>2</sup> *E.g.*, Denderah, DUMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. IV, Pl. CXX; MARIETTE, *Denderah*, vol. I, Pl. 66 a, 7. At Edfu, *cf.* DUMICHEN, *op. cit.*, vol. III, Pl. XXIII; DE ROUGÉ, *Edfou*, Pl. XXVI; *op. cit.*, Pl. LXIII; PIEHL, *Inscriptions Hiéroglyphiques*, vol. II, Pl. CII, f. Only indisputable references to the *Ši-Hr* of the XIVth nome have here been quoted; for other localities with the same or a similar name, *cf.* BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 519, 1261.


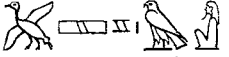
<sup>3</sup> BRUGSCH, *op. cit.*, p. 1369.

<sup>4</sup> At Edfu, see PIEHL, *op. cit.*, Pl. CVIII, L; *cf.* also MARIETTE, *op. cit.*, vol. I, Pl. 10.



*Horus*," its northernmost reach. From this and various other passages it seems evident that "*Waters-of-Horus*" must be a stretch of running water; it cannot (*e.g.*) be equated with Lake Ballāḥ, nor again is it likely to have anything to do with the canal, already mentioned, which connected Thel with the Nile. For the Egyptian the only drinking-water that seemed desirable was that of the Nile, and it is therefore necessary to regard "*Waters-of-Horus*" as name of a part of the Nile itself. From the circumstances of the case it can only be the name of that stretch of the Bubastite branch which we must presume to have formed the western boundary of the XIVth nome, in other words the stretch which debouched at or near Pelusium.

This conclusion is confirmed in a quite remarkable manner by the place-name Shihōr familiar from the Old Testament. The Hebrew name שִׁיחֹר Shihōr, once (Joshua xiii, 3) preceded by the definite article שִׁיחֹר הַ Hash-Shihōr, is an impeccable equivalent of the

Egyptian  Ši-Ḥr "*Waters-of-Horus*" or  Pꜣ Ši-Ḥr "*The-Waters-of-Horus*".<sup>1</sup> Two of the passages where Shihor occurs prove it to be a name of the Nile

or a part of it, and the other two equally clearly show that it marked the potential or actual boundary between Egypt and the land of Israel. In Isaiah's "Burden of Tyre" (xxiii, 3) we read, "*And on great waters the seed of Shihor, the harvest of the Nile, was her revenue*"; and the prophet Jeremiah asks (ii, 18), "*And now what hast thou to do in the way to Egypt, to drink the waters of Shihor?*" Again, when Joshua was grown old, there remained yet much land to be possessed by Israel, "*all the regions of the Philistines, and all the Geshurites; from the Shihor which is before Egypt, even unto the border of Ekron northward*" (Joshua xiii, 3); and in the history of David, "*So David assembled all Israel together, from Shihor of Egypt<sup>2</sup> even unto the entering in of Hamath*" (I Chronicles, xiii, 5). It is strange that these very explicit passages could ever have been misinterpreted<sup>3</sup>; neither the Hebrew Shihor nor the Egyptian "*Waters-of-Horus*" can well be understood otherwise than as designations of the lower reaches of the Bubastite or Pelusiatic Nile-arm.

Thus the association of "*Waters-of-Horus*" with Pi-Raḥmesse indicates the identity of the latter, not as Brugsch supposed with Tanis, but rather with Pelusium or at all events with some town situated near the sea on the Bubastite branch of the Nile. With the Biblical passages representing Shihor as the boundary of Israel one may compare the Egyptian texts describing Pi-Raḥmesse as "*betwixt Zahi and Egypt*" (no. 17) and as "*the forefront of every land, the end of Egypt*" (no. 16). That Pi-Raḥmesse was a sea-port, whether actually beside the sea or some little distance inland beside the river-mouth, is shown by the words "*the harbourage of thy ships' troops*" (no. 16); "*its ships fare forth and return to port*" (no. 15).

In parting company once and for all with Brugsch and his theory of the identity of Pi-Raḥmesse and Tanis, let us recall the decisive evidence of the Golénischeff Glossary (no. 38), where Pi-Raḥmesse is distinct both from Thel and from Tanis.

<sup>1</sup> The equation is perhaps due to Brugsch, the first mention of it that is known to me being *Die Ägyptologie* (1891), p. 451. Dr Küthmann (*op. cit.*, p. 41, footnote 2) has rightly revived it.

<sup>2</sup> R.V. gratuitously inserts after Shihor "*the brook*." This insertion rests on the supposed identity of Shihor with "the brook of Egypt" named (*e.g.*) Numbers xxxiv, 5, and generally taken to be the Wādy el-Arish.

<sup>3</sup> BROWN-DRIVER-BRIGGS, *Hebrew Lexicon*, s.v. Shihōr, takes the correct view, as does also E. MEYER, *Die Israeliten und ihre Nachbarstämme*, p. 457, footnote 1. CHEYNE, *Encyclopædia Biblica* (s.v.), deals with the name in a characteristically fanciful way.


As we have seen, it was Chabas who first voiced the possibility that Pi-Raḥmesse was Pelusium or in its neighbourhood; apart from Max Müller, whose adhesion to this theory seems to have been quite transitory, it has found no supporters. Chabas attached much weight to the passage in the "Poem of Pentaur" (no. 2), whence we learn that Ramesses II passed the fortress of Thel before reaching the town of Ramesses; but in view of the defective text, and the consequent uncertainty whether the particular town of Ramesses there meant was the Delta capital, we have pledged ourselves not to use this passage otherwise than as corroborative evidence. What further arguments can be adduced in favour of our thesis? Thus far we have ascertained that Pi-Raḥmesse was intimately associated with Shihōr, a name of the lower reaches of the Bubastite Nile-arm; further, that it was near the sea and was distinct from Thel. Certain epithets, moreover, indicate that it lay on the extreme eastern border (p. 252). But it did not lie on the route between Thel and Raphia; else it would have been named in the comprehensive list of names of places on that route contained in *Pap. Anastasi I*, 27, 3—8. Beyond these details and the fact that Pi-Raḥmesse was accessible by water from Heliopolis (no. 8) we have no direct or certain information as to its whereabouts. But there remains a certain amount of indirect and not quite demonstrable testimony which, taken in bulk, renders it exceedingly probable that Pi-Raḥmesse stood on the site known to the Greeks as Pelusium, "the city of mud."

Pelusium, as has been said already, was situated at the approximate distance of 24 Roman miles from Silē (Thel) and must have lain in the same nome. The ruins, now known as Tell Fārameh, have been described by Mr Griffith<sup>1</sup> and, more recently, by M. Clédat<sup>2</sup>. Thus far the only monuments of Pharaonic date discovered there have been a weight bearing the name of the Pharaoh Nektanebos, part of a sarcophagus of the same period, and a small fragment of a temple scene (or the like) that appears to belong to Ramesside times<sup>3</sup>. There exists evidence, however, that the town was a very old one. Its original name may have been  $\Pi \overline{\text{S}}(i)nw$ , this occurring already in the Pyramid Texts as the *provenance* of a particularly good kind of wine; the name possibly means "stronghold" ( $\Pi \overline{\text{S}} + \overline{\text{S}} + \overline{\text{N}}$ ). The native Egyptian inscriptions of the Pharaonic period do not allude to *Ṣīnw* except in this connection, but the Annals of Assurbanipal name Sharlūdāri, prince of Ṣī'īnu, as one of the Delta chieftains subjugated by the Assyrians; Ṣī'īnu here must be a city distinct from Ṣa'anū-Tanis, since the prince of that city bore the name of Petubishti (Petubastis). In Demotic two references to a town of similar name are found: the Vienna novel of Petubastis sends that warrior "into the provinces of Egypt from Elephantine to *Swn*," where *Swn* must obviously be a place in the extreme north; in the geographical manual *Pap. Cairo* 31169, 3, 26 a place  $\Pi \overline{\text{S}} + \overline{\text{N}}$  *Swn* is named in a position such that we must assume it to be just outside the borders of Egypt. A few years ago Professor Spiegelberg, combining these data with the prophecy Ezechiel xxx, 15, "*I will pour my anger upon Sin, the strength of Egypt*," where the Vulgate has *Pelusium* for the Hebrew  $\Pi \overline{\text{S}}$  (probably to be vocalized *Σauw* with the Septuagint), made out a plausible case for the

<sup>1</sup> PETRIE, *Nebesheh and Defenneh*, pp. 99—101.

<sup>2</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. XIII, pp. 79—85, with a plan of the ruins. The general position of the town is best shown by Clédat's map, *op. cit.*, vol. x, unnumbered Plate referring to the article, pp. 209—237.

<sup>3</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. XXXVII, pp. 33—4.

old *Sinw* of the Pyramid Texts being Pelusium<sup>1</sup>. The Greek name Πηλούσιον "mud-city" would on this view be a popular etymology from the Egyptian word  *sin* "clay," "mud." Modern scholars have always adhered to the Vulgate's identification of פֶּלֶשׁ in Ezechiel with Pelusium, both because Pelusium suits the requirements of the passage well and because of the Syriac word *sċyāna* "mud," which seemed to furnish the Semitic equivalent of the Greek name<sup>2</sup>. Professor Erman attempts to reconcile these conflicting etymologies by regarding the Egyptian word *sin* "mud" as the source both of the Syriac *sċyāna*, which has no good Semitic affinities, and also of the Greek translation Πηλούσιον.

Leaving now these rather doubtful philological details, we may take it as possible that Sainu or some similarly vocalized name was the commonest Egyptian designation of the important and historic town of Pelusium<sup>3</sup>. But Egyptian towns have, as has been noted previously, a way of possessing several different names, and it is by no means unlikely that this may have been the case with Pelusium. In the confused and undoubtedly composite story told by Josephus about the expulsion of the Hyksos and the Exodus of the Jews, Pelusium is several times mentioned in a manner that leaves no doubt in the mind that it was thought synonymous with Avaris. The Heliopolitan priest Osarsiph had been made ruler of the lepers set apart by king Amenophis in Avaris (*contra Apionem*, ed. NABER, I, 238-9); Osarsiph now sends to Jerusalem to the descendants of the Hyksos who had been driven out of Avaris by Tethmosis, and begs them to return thither (*op. cit.*, I, 242-3). This they do, but at a subsequent stage of the narrative it is at Pelusium, and not at Avaris, that the army of the son of Amenophis, according to Manetho, encounters the lepers (*op. cit.*, I, 274). In the still more muddled version of the legend ascribed by Josephus to Chairemon, Moses-Tisithen and Joseph-Peteseeph arrive at Pelusium and find 380,000 men left there by Amenophis, he not wishing to take them into Egypt; Moses and Joseph enter into a league of friendship with them and join them in an expedition to Egypt (*op. cit.*, I, 290-1; *cf.* also 302); Pelusium is here what Avaris is in the other accounts, the place of assembly for foreigners and rebels engaged in warfare against Egypt.

Now as I have shown elsewhere<sup>4</sup>, the scanty data we possess concerning the position of Avaris point to its having been situated in the neighbourhood, if not on the actual site, of Pelusium, so that the tradition as to the identity of the two places handed down by Josephus is entitled to a respect which would not have been due to it had it stood alone. There are, however, certain indications which make it by no means improbable that Pi-Raċmesse stood on the site of the old Avaris, and consequently is none other than Pelusium itself; possibly even the story told by Josephus may contain a hint of this, for that story describes how numbers of Egyptians and foreigners were gathered together into Avaris-Pelusium during the Ramesside age, just as it is said in a poem about Pi-Raċmesse

<sup>1</sup> *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XLIX (1911), pp. 81-4. Spiegelberg makes out a fairly good case for transcribing the old Egyptian name as *Šinw*, though in a number of instances *Šwn*, with *w*, is written.

<sup>2</sup> MAX MULLER, *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, art. Sin (written before the appearance of Spiegelberg's essay), rejects the identification of the Sin of Ezechiel with Pelusium.

<sup>3</sup> For the history of Pelusium in classical and medieval times, see a good popular account by Dr W. F. Hume in the *Cairo Scientific Journal*, vol. IX (1917), pp. 54-63.

<sup>4</sup> *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. III, pp. 99-101.

translated above (no. 17): "*Everyone hath left his town and settled within its territory.*" Apart from this, however, the prominence of Sētekh in both Avaris and Pi-Raḥmesse is a point strongly in favour of the identity of the two places. The gods of Pi-Raḥmesse, as we learn from the evidence set forth in the last section, were as follows:

"*Amūn-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*" (R. II), nos. 1, 4, 17, 20, 30, 31. Of Pi-Raḥmesse it is said: "*Its western part is the house of Amūn,*" no. 17. His temple, no. 1. "*Amūn-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis*" (R. III); his temple described, no. 26; it possessed 7872 serfs, no. 27. In late times, "*Amūn-of-Raḥmes*" (*sic*), no. 39.

"*Ptah-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*" (R. II), nos. 1, 4, 19, 20, 30, 31. His temple, no. 1. "*Ptah-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis*" (R. III); his temple is described in no. 28, and was apparently attended by 23 (16+7) persons, but it is not quite certain that this temple was in Pi-Raḥmesse.

"*Sētekh-great-of-valour-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*" (R. II), nos. 12, 30; "*Sētekh-great-of-valour-son-of-Nut*" named immediately after Amūn and Ptah of R. II, no. 4. Of Pi-Raḥmesse it is said: "*Its southern part is the house of Sētekh,*" no. 17. In the reign of R. III, Pi-Raḥmesse had a temple of "*Sētekh-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*" (R. II) called "*House-of-Ramesses-Prince-of-Heliopolis (R. III)-in-the-House-of-Sētekh*;" this possessed 106 serfs, no. 29.

"*Prē-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn,*" only nos. 30 and 31.

In addition to these deities, it is once said of Pi-Raḥmesse that "*Astarte is in its Orient, and Buto in its northern part,*" no. 17. On the stele of the Hittite treaty (no. 4), R. II is described as doing the behests of certain gods in the Residence-city; Amen-Rē, Harakhte and Atum are here named before Amūn of R. II, Ptah of R. II and Sētekh, great of valour, son of Nut, but there is no reason for thinking that the first three gods were specially worshipped in Pi-Raḥmesse.

It is extremely interesting to find that on several monuments usurped by Menepthah he describes himself alternately as (α) "*loved of Sēth, lord of Avaris,*" (β) "*loved of Sēth, great of valour,*" and (γ) "*beloved of Sēth-of-Menepthah.*" The monuments in question are: base of statue, PETRIE, *Tanis I*, Pl. II, no. 5 A (α, β, γ together)\*; colossus originally of Sesostri I, now in Berlin, *Aeg. Inschr. aus den kön. Mus.*, vol. II, pp. 19—22 (α, γ together); statue originally of Amenemmes III, now in Berlin, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 18 (β only); statue originally of Sesostri I, now in Cairo, *Annales du Service*, vol. XVII, p. 170, no. 4 (β only)\*; statue originally of Sesostri I, now in Cairo, *loc. cit.*, nos. 5 and 8 (β and γ together)\*. Those statues here marked with an asterisk are known to have come from Tanis, and the same may be true of the others, as well as of several related monuments yet to be quoted; but we have seen that not much importance is to be attached to this fact in connection with our topographical problem<sup>1</sup>. Now Seth-of-Menepthah is obviously identical with Seth-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn, who is depicted on the Stele of Four Hundred Years found at Tanis<sup>2</sup>, and named on a sphinx from the same place now in the Louvre<sup>3</sup>. Thus one of the principal gods of Pi-Raḥmesse—we shall return to the others further on—is also the principal god of Avaris, a fact which seems to point to the identity of Avaris and Pi-Raḥmesse; but if Avaris is Pelusium, then Pi-Raḥmesse will have to be looked for at Pelusium too.

With this fact would agree, further, the prominence of Amūn at Pelusium. In Coptic times the town was called *ⲡⲉⲣⲉⲙⲟⲩⲛ*, which must surely correspond to an old *Pr-'Imu*

<sup>1</sup> See above, pp. 249—251.

<sup>2</sup> The most handy reproduction of this curious monument is to be found in BUDGE, *History of Egypt*, vol. III, p. 157. On the Seth of Ramesses II, see Griffith's article in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, vol. XVI, pp. 87—89, where it is pointed out that he is associated with Buto of Nebêsheh not only in the titles of the Stele of Four Hundred Years but also on a monument from Nebêsheh itself.

<sup>3</sup> A 21, see SHARPE, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, vol. II, Pl. 44; also PETRIE, *Tanis*, I, Pl. II, no. 25.

"*House-of-Amūn*," whatever the reluctance of Egyptologists to recognize the fact<sup>1</sup>; and it is this name which gave rise, it is believed, to the name Tell Fârameh borne by the mounds now concealing the remains of Pelusium<sup>2</sup>. In Roman times the Pelusiac Amūn was called Zeus Kasios, and the remains of his temple have been recently excavated in the middle of the western mound of Tell Fârameh<sup>3</sup>. It is probably the merest coincidence that *Pap. Anastasi III*, describing Pi-Raḥmesse, tells us that "*its western part is the house of Amūn*."

It cannot be denied that the deities of Pi-Raḥmesse were contemporaneously worshipped, or at least commemorated, in various other cities besides Pi-Raḥmesse itself. Seth-of-Ramesses has been met with at Tanis, and it must now be added that he occurs in company with Ptah-of-Ramesses also at Bubastus<sup>4</sup>; Ptah-of-Ramesses is named on a palette from Thebes<sup>5</sup> and at es-Sebû'a in Nubia<sup>6</sup>, and Ptah-of-Meneptah, evidently the same god, is recorded on a lintel from Memphis<sup>7</sup>. At Tell-el-Yahûdiyeh Amūn-of-Meneptah and Ptah-of-Meneptah are associated with the erased Seth-of-Meneptah<sup>8</sup>. Lastly, Amūn-of-Usimarē-setpenrē is depicted at Abu Simbel<sup>9</sup>. So devoted, indeed, was Ramesses II to his four gods Prē, Amūn, Ptah and Seth that he not only honoured them in his Residence, but also named the four divisions of his army after them<sup>10</sup>. A temple of Prē-of-Ramesses situated to the south of Memphis has been discussed above (p. 133, under I), but apart from this we have no evidence of an established cult of the gods of Pi-Raḥmesse elsewhere than at that city itself. For it is reasonable to conjecture that the chapel of Amūn-of-Usimarē-setpenrē dedicated by a queen who may have been Tewosret ("Tausert") of the Nineteenth Dynasty<sup>11</sup> was at Pi-Raḥmesse itself or quite close to it; this is the more likely, since it was placed in charge of an official known as "*The Commander of the Fortress of the Sea*." But even if we suppose the gods of Pi-Raḥmesse to have possessed temples and priests of their own in other towns beside Pi-Raḥmesse, it is highly improbable that such cults survived Ramesside times. In Pi-Raḥmesse itself they may have lingered on, the priesthoods sustaining themselves on the relics of the vast heritage with which Ramesses II endowed them; indeed we know for a fact from the statue of Teos (no. 39) that Amūn-of-Ramesses was attended in Pi-Raḥmesse by a priest as late as the fourth century B.C.

The foregoing argument enables us to estimate at its true value the mention of two of the gods of Pi-Raḥmesse on a shrine of red granite dedicated by the Pharaoh Nekht-harḥebet (Dyn. XXX), the fragments of which were discovered by Professor Naville at Bubastus<sup>12</sup>. The two gods in question occur among the delicately sculptured figures of

<sup>1</sup> AMÉLINEAU, *La Géographie à l'époque Copte*, pp. 319-20.

<sup>2</sup> A different and impossible origin is proposed by BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, p. 1089; rightly combated by Maspero in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXI (1883), pp. 63-4.

<sup>3</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. XVIII, pp. 79-85. For references to the temple in classical writers see WIEDEMANN, *Herodots Zweites Buch*, p. 63.

<sup>4</sup> NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, Pl. XXXVI, F, H.

<sup>5</sup> Berlin 6764; see *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXX (1892), pp. 43-6.

<sup>6</sup> GAUTHIER, *Le Temple de Ouadi es-Seboua*, p. 151.

<sup>7</sup> PETRIE, *Palace of Apries*, Pl. XXI.


<sup>8</sup> PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. XVI.



<sup>9</sup> CHAMPOLLION, *Notices Descriptives*, vol. I, p. 73.

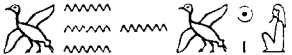
<sup>10</sup> See BREASTED, *Battle of Kadesh*, p. 11.

<sup>11</sup> GARDINER, *The Stela of Bilgai*, in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. L (1912), pp. 49-57.

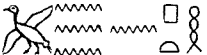
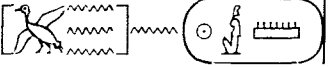
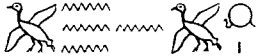
<sup>12</sup> NAVILLE, *Bubastis*, Pl. XLVI, B.

numerous local deities, and their images are accompanied by the legends: 


 "Temple of the-Sun-of-Ramesses-("Prē-of-Ramesses")-of-The-Waters-of-the-Sun" and  "Temple of

*Ptah-Tanen-of-Ramesses upon the edge of the river.*" If the argument of the last paragraph is sound, these two legends must teach us, not only that Pi-Ra<sup>ς</sup>messe was situated on a branch of the river, but also that the said branch was named "*The-Waters-of-Rē*," "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*." This calls to our mind the three dubious passages recorded in the last section (nos. 35, 36, 37), whence it seemed to emerge that Pi-Ra<sup>ς</sup>messe lay beside a Nile-arm called  "*The-Waters-of-Prē*," "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*." The passages mutually confirm one another and the conclusion to which they appeared to point thus acquires some degree of solidity. What then do we know about "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*"?

The earliest occurrence of this name is in a list of nomes, inundated districts and river-arms depicted on the walls of the temple of Sethos I at Abydos: the list concludes with

 "*The-Waters-of-Ptah*,"  "*The-Waters-of-Ma<sup>ς</sup>-menrē*" (Sethos I),  "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" and another name that

is illegible<sup>1</sup>. On a number of fragmentary wine-jars from the Ramesseum we read of wine from "*the great orchard of the Ramesseum (i.e. of Thebes), which is in The-Waters-of-the-Sun*"<sup>2</sup>. The same branch of the river is mentioned in the Golénischeff Glossary and in the analogous catalogue of place-names, the Demotic *Pap. Cairo* 31169<sup>3</sup>. In *Pap. Harris* 10, 7—11 is a list of herds of cattle belonging to the estate of Amūn; each herd has a name, and after three of them is an indication of the district where they were pastured ("*in the Great-River*," "*in The-Waters-of-the-Sun*," "*in the Great-River*"). Such at least seems the natural way of interpreting the text; but Professor Breasted attaches the supposed local indications to the names themselves, thus obtaining in the case that concerns us "*Herd (called) Usimarē-Miamūn, -L-P-H, is-the-conqueror-of-the-Meshwesh-at-the-Waters-of-the-Sun*"<sup>4</sup>. Since, however, the victory of Ramesses III over the Meshwesh here alluded to certainly took place in the west of the Delta<sup>5</sup>, it would necessarily follow that "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" was the name of the western branch of the Nile. This agrees with nothing else that we know about this name; moreover, we have seen that the westernmost branch of the Nile was called "*The-Western-Waters*," "*The-Western-River*" (above, p. 130, under O).

<sup>1</sup> MARIETTE, *Abydos*, vol. I, Pl. 14, c; DUMICHEN, *Geographische Inschriften*, vol. I, Pl. XCII. "*The-Waters-of-Ptah*" are named on the fragments of two wine-jars, SPIEGELBERG, *Hieratic Ostraka*, nos. 197, 292. The destroyed name may have been "*The-Waters-of-Amūn*" named on the fragments, *op. cit.*, nos. 153, 225, 228. Stress must be laid on the importance of these fragments of wine-jars for a knowledge of the names of Nile-arms and canals in the Delta; they have already been quoted several times in this connection. Note that  "Ka" in nos. 186, 209, 217, 218, 221, 243, 269, 289, 292 looks like the original of the "Agathodaemon" river in Ptolemy.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, nos. 143, 231, 276: for no. 264, which may have named Pi-Ra<sup>ς</sup>messe, see no. 37 of last section.

<sup>3</sup> *Sphinx*, vol. XIV, p. 163.



<sup>4</sup> *Ancient Records*, vol. IV, § 224.

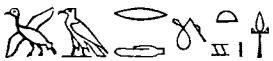

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 134, under M.



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from the passage in *Pap. Harris* which gave rise to this discussion of *Brst*, *Pr-Brst* is that "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" was the name of the Nile-arm that ran past Bubastus. The designation is a natural one, for the Bubastite branch left the main river (the "Great River") near Heliopolis, to whose god it appears to owe its name. We have only to suppose that "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" was the term applied to the *entire* Bubastite branch in order to understand how that term could be used in connection with Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe. Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe was near the sea, and accordingly lay near the mouth of the Bubastite Nile-arm. But the Bubastite Nile-arm debouched in the Pelusiac mouth, and consequently we are again led back to the conclusion that Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe is Pelusium. With this view of "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" agrees the fact that the entire

region lying along this branch seems to have been called  *P3-rd-n-p3-Rc*, "*The-Border-of-the-Sun*"; a prince of this region has left a statue at Saft el-Henneh<sup>1</sup>. Brugsch rightly conjectured that "*The-Border-of-the-Sun*" represented the eastern margin of the Delta<sup>2</sup> just as  *P3-rd-imnty*, "*The-Western-*

*Border*," was the name given to its western margin<sup>3</sup>; in two places  *P3-rd-ibty*, "*The-Eastern-Border*," is mentioned<sup>4</sup>, and either is identical with "*The-Border-of-the-Sun*" or else has a wider extension but includes it. Other place-names in the same general region into the composition of which *Rc*, *P3-Rc* enters are 

 *W3ht-Rc-m-Pr-B3st*, "*Settlement-of-Re<sup>c</sup>-in-Bubastus*," which clearly cannot have been far from Bubastus<sup>5</sup>, and  *P3-grg-p3-Rc*, "*The-Foundation-of-the-Sun*," attested by an inscription of Takelothis II as being somewhere in this vicinity<sup>6</sup>.

Thus the identification of Pi-Ra<sup>c</sup>messe with Pelusium is further suggested by its situation on the banks of "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*," a good wine-growing district, as the

<sup>1</sup> *Annales du Service*, vol. xi, pp. 142-4.

<sup>2</sup> It had military officers of its own, who were apparently subordinated to the commandant of Theku in the Wady Tâmilat, *Pap. Anastasi V*, 25, 3. 4; their province of action must have been the nome of Arabia and the parts east of it. See also *Inscriptions of Sinai*, no. 295.

<sup>3</sup> BRUGSCH, *Dictionnaire Géographique*, pp. 439-40, 1247-8. For "*The-Western-Border*," see MARIETTE, *Monuments Divers*, 277, and several other passages that all throw light on its extension. From *Pap. Harris* 77, 1 it is clear that it extended from Memphis in a north-westerly direction. In the accounts of Menepthah's defeat of the Libyans it is twice said that this occurred in "*The-Western-Border*" viz., on the Athribis stele, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. xxi [1883], p. 66, and in a new fragment of the Karnak text, *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xxxi, p. 179; and it is clear that it is in this sense that *p3 rd* is to be understood in l. 30 of the Karnak inscription, where the locality is more definitely specified under the name *Pr-irw*. In *Pap. Bologna* 1094, 7, 3 the writer of a letter addresses his prayers to the gods of "*The-Western-Border*," and later on (7, 9), when narrating events of local interest, mentions *Pr-irw*. No doubt Golénischeff is wrong in identifying this *Pr-irw* with a place south of Herakleopolis Magna mentioned in his hieratic glossary (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. xl [1902-3], p. 102); nor is the name to be read *Pr-ir-šps*, and Brugsch's identification with Prosopis therefore falls to the ground.

<sup>4</sup> *Pap. Harris* 500, verso 5, 2; SPIEGELBERG, *Rechnungen*, p. 44.

<sup>5</sup> *Pap. Anastasi V*, 22, 2; 27, 5.

<sup>6</sup> *Recueil de Travaux*, vol. xviii, p. 53.





Peter the Great, needing to guard his Baltic provinces, removed his capital from Moscow to St Petersburg. Later, the Egyptian hold over Syria became so insecure that the Delta capital was withdrawn to Tanis. Such appears to have been the general sequence of events.

From the number of serfs of Amūn resident in Pi-Raḥmesse under Ramesses III (no. 27) we learn that it must have been a town of considerable size. The officials and domestics of the Court will certainly have been numerous, and since the place became a great administrative centre it must undoubtedly have ranked among the larger cities of Egypt, though never rivalling with Thebes, Memphis or Heliopolis. It owed its prominence to the favour bestowed upon it by all the Pharaohs from Ramesses II to Ramesses III, as well as to its strategic importance.

## V

So far as the Biblical city of Raamses-Rameses is concerned, the plan of this essay has been less to solve the problem than to provide the material for its solution. An estimate of the historical value of the Exodus narrative obviously lies outside the province of the Egyptologist; nor indeed can our quest be so extended as to include an exhaustive revision of the geography of the Exodus-route in the light of the Egyptian sources. Nevertheless, the conclusions here reached do seem to provide a basis for further deductions. These will be suggested in a tentative way, and it will remain for Biblical students to reject or to confirm them.

Of the towns deriving their name from the Pharaoh Ramesses the foregoing investigations have elicited only two which could with any plausibility be claimed as the original of the store-city mentioned in Exodus i, 11. One is the Residence-city at or near Pelusium, and the other the station named "*The-Dwelling-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*" on the high-road from Thel (Sile) to Raphia (above p. 132, under H)<sup>1</sup>. The latter has been up to the present without an advocate, and is likely to remain so; it seems to have been a place of no great size or importance, and its name contains in its composition an unusual and characteristic element, "*The-Dwelling*" (*ḥt*), the omission of which to yield the shortened place-name "*Raamses*" is highly improbable. On the other hand there is no difficulty in identifying the name of the Biblical Raamses with that of the Ramesside Delta Capital (see above, p. 138). The issue before us may, therefore, be defined: *either Raamses-Rameses of the Bible is the Residence-city of the Ramessides near Pelusium, or else it is a town unknown to the Egyptian monuments, the existence of which is merely postulated.*

In order that the problem may be the more clearly focussed, the various O.T. passages in which the name of Rameses or Raamses occurs are here set forth *seriatim*, with a few supplementary and explicative notes.

(a) Genesis xli, 28—29: "*And he (Jacob) sent Judah before him unto Joseph, to shew the way before him unto Goshen; and they came into the land of Goshen. And Joseph made ready his chariot, and went up to meet Israel his father, to Goshen.*"

The Hebrew text does not mention the name of Rameses; but the LXX presents the version: "*And he sent Judah before them to Joseph to come to meet him at Heroopolis into the land of Ramesses συναντῆσαι αὐτῷ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν εἰς γῆν Ῥαμεσσή.*" And Joseph, having yoked his chariot, went up to

<sup>1</sup> There is no evidence whatever that the temple "*The-Castle-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Beloved-like-Tūm-on-the-west-of-the-Itj-waters*" on the Carnarvon scarab (p. 131, E and p. 258, footnote 4) represents a town of Ramesses, so that this alternative may be left out of account.

meet Israel his father at Heroonpolis (*εἰς συνάντησιν Ἰσραὴλ τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν*).<sup>1</sup> Whereas the Sahidic version<sup>1</sup> retains the name Heroonpolis in both places (*κατὰ γῆρωον πόλιν*), the Boheiric version has *ῥα πῆσωμ ἔδακι ἑπ πκαρι ἡραμασσι* "to the town of Pithom in the land of Ramassē" and *επκα ἄπῆσωμ ἔδακι* "towards the town of Pithom."

The LXX presents a twofold expansion of the phrase "into the land of Goshen": first the words "at Heroonpolis" are of the nature of a topographical gloss based on Exodus i, 11 (below *c*), and second, "into the land of Ramesses" is a harmonistic rendering derived from xlvii, 11 (below *b*).

Josephus, *Arch. Jud.*, ed. NABER, II, 184, says that the meeting-place of Jacob and Joseph was Heroonpolis.

(*b*) Genesis xlvii, 11: "*And Joseph placed his father and his brethren, and gave them a possession in the land of Egypt, in the best of the land, in the land of Ramesses, as Pharaoh had commanded.*"

The command of Pharaoh (xlvii, 6) actually was: "in the land of Goshen let them dwell"; clearly "the land of Ramesses" here is synonymous with "the land of Goshen," a standpoint that was in the mind of the LXX translators of xlv, 28—29 (above *a*). Biblical chronology assigns the king under whom Joseph lived to the Hyksos period; be this as it may, the phrase "the land of Ramesses" must in any case be a crass anachronism, or, as the commentators more politely say, is used "proleptically."

The Targum of Palestine has: "And Joseph brought his father and brethren to dwell, and gave them a possession in the land of Mizraim, in a goodly part of the country, in the country of Pilusin, as Pharaoh had commanded." Targum Jerushalmi: "Pelusim"; it is quite evident that Pelusium is intended.

Josephus, *Arch. Jud.*, ed. NABER, II, 188, states that the place where Jacob was given leave to dwell was Heliopolis.

(*c*) Exodus i, 11: "*And they built for Pharaoh store cities, Pithom and Raameses.*"

LXX has "strong cities" *πόλεις ἄχυρὰς* for *מִצְרָתַיִם* "store-cities"; the Hebrew term is explained to mean cities for provisions, materials of war, etc., possibly also cities used as trade emporia. LXX further adds "and On, which is Heliopolis" (*τὴν τε Πειθῶ καὶ Ῥαμεσσή καὶ Ὠν, ἥ ἐστὶν Ἡλίου πόλις*).

The Targum of Palestine paraphrases: "And they builded walled cities to become Pharaoh's treasure-places, Tanis<sup>2</sup> and Pilusin"; the Targum of Jerusalem gives the names in the same form.

(*d*) Exodus xii, 37: "*And the children of Israel journeyed from Ramesses to Succoth.*"

This follows immediately upon the smiting of the first-born, upon the injunction to depart given by night to Moses and Aaron, and upon the spoiling of the Egyptians by the taking of their gold and silver.

Targum of Palestine: "And the sons of Israel moved forth from Pilusin towards Succoth."

(*e*) Numbers xxxiii, 3—6: "*And they journeyed from Ramesses in the first month...on the morrow after the passover....And the children of Israel journeyed from Ramesses, and pitched in Succoth.*"

Targum of Palestine: "Pelusin" for Ramesses in both cases; so too Targum of Jerusalem.

To these passages must be added from the Apocrypha:

(*f*) Judith i, 7—10. "*And Nebuchadnezzar king of the Assyrians sent unto all that dwelt in Persia, ..., and to all that were in Samaria and the cities thereof, and beyond Jordan unto Jerusalem, and Betane, and Chellus, and Kadesh, and the river of Egypt, and Tahpanhes, and Ramesses, and all the land of Goshen, until thou comest above Tanis and Memphis, and to all that dwelt in Egypt, until thou comest to the borders of Ethiopia.*"

"The land of Goshen" here evidently means the Delta, and is opposed to Egypt, *i.e.* Upper Egypt.

No great attention need be paid to the passage in Judith, the writer of which seems simply to have chosen some of the commoner Egyptian place-names familiar to him from the canonical scriptures; we may note, however, in passing, that Ramesses is distinguished from Tanis. It is upon the other five passages that tradition and modern exegesis alike have based their hypothesis of a town of Ramesses in the Wādy Tūmilāt. So far as tradition is concerned, the only quite definite evidence of the existence of such a view is

<sup>1</sup> See *Mission Archéologique Française*, vol. VI, p. 26.

<sup>2</sup> It is curious that the Targum of Palestine consistently calls Poti-phera "the *rabba* of Tanis," while the Hebrew original has "priest of On" Gen. xlii, 45, 50; xlv, 20. See below, p. 265, footnote 2.

a passage in the narrative of the Abbess Aetheria, the pilgrim lady from Gallia Narbonensis, the account of whose travels in Biblical lands (533—540 A.D.) is preserved in the Library of Arezzo. On her return journey from Sinai to Egypt *via* Clysmā (Suez) and the Wādy Tûmilât she visits in turn the supposed sites of Migdol, Baal-zephon, Etham, Succoth, Pithom, Heroonpolis, Rameses and Arabia, the last of which she says is a town in the land of Goshen<sup>1</sup>. The two places Heroonpolis and Arabia are not alluded to in the Hebrew text of the Bible, but are derived from the Septuagint, on which, consequently, Aetheria's narrative is largely dependent. In both cases Aetheria, or the authorities upon whom she relies, has gone astray in her interpretation; for she distinguishes Heroonpolis from Pithom, whereas it was precisely the identity of those two places, as we shall see, which induced the LXX translator to substitute καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν for the Hebrew "Goshen" in Genesis xlii, 28-9 (above *a*): and again, she inverts the relationship of the terms in the expression "Geshem of Arabia" used by the LXX for Hebrew "Goshen" in Gen. xlv, 10 (*cf.* xlii, 34), interpreting Arabia as a city and Geshem as a land, the exact antithesis of the Greek translator's intention. Now both the city of Heroonpolis and that of Arabia were in Aetheria's day populous places, bearing just those names; Heroonpolis she describes as a large village, with a church, saints' tombs and many monasteries<sup>2</sup>, and Arabia we know to have been the seat of a bishopric. Excavation has shown that Heroonpolis was, at all events, not very far from Tell el-Maskhûṭeh; and it is practically certain that Pithom and Heroonpolis are identical<sup>3</sup>. The town of Arabia is stated by the Oxford list of bishoprics<sup>4</sup> to be the same as Fâkûs, otherwise one would have sought for it a position nearer, like Şaft el-Henneh, to the mouth of the Wādy Tûmilât. These two towns, accordingly, are the fixed points in Aetheria's narrative. She may have concluded from Exodus i, 11 (*c*), that Pithom and Rameses were towns not very far apart from one another; she will certainly have argued from the words "at Heroonpolis into the land of Rameses" in Genesis xlii, 28 (LXX) that Rameses and Heroonpolis were close together; finally, since Rameses was the starting-point of the Exodus (passages *d*, *e*), this will have been in the land of Goshen, *i.e.* in the neighbourhood of the town of Arabia. Such considerations are enough to account for all Aetheria's learning on the subject of the tower of Rameses. What she has to tell us about it is as follows:

"But from the town of Arabia it is four miles to Rameses. We, in order to arrive at Arabia, our stopping-place, had to pass through the midst of Rameses, which town of Rameses is now fields, so much so that it does not possess a single habitation. It is true that it is visible, since it both was huge in circuit and had many buildings; for its ruins, however tumble-down they may be, appear endless even to this day. But now there is nothing there saving only one huge Theban stone, in which two statues have been carved out, huge ones, which they say belonged to the holy men, *i.e.* to Moses and Aaron, for they say the children of Israel placed them there in their honour<sup>5</sup>."

<sup>1</sup> "Ac sic ergo exeuntes de Hero pervenimus ad civitatem, quae appellatur Arabia, quae est civitas in terra Jesse." I quote from the extracts of the pilgrimage printed in KUTHMANN, *Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens*, pp. 6—10.

<sup>2</sup> "Heroum autem civitas...nunc est come, sed grandis, quod nos dicimus vicus. Nam ipse vicus ecclesiam habet et martyria et monasteria plurima sanctorum monachorum."

<sup>3</sup> See the appended "Note on Pithom and Heroonpolis," below, p. 268.

<sup>4</sup> See DE ROTGÉ, *Géographie de la Basse Égypte*, p. 155. On this question and on Goshen generally, see further, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, vol. v, pp. 218—223.

<sup>5</sup> "De Arabia autem civitate quattuor milia passus sunt in Ramessen. Nos autem, ut veniremus ad mansionem Arabiae, per media Ramesse transivimus, quae Ramessen civitas nunc campus est, ita, ut nec unam habitationem habeat. Paret sane, quoniam et ingens fuit per girum et multas fabricas habuit;

Not much importance need be attached to this passage, which, be it said in passing, is a very fair sample of the pious lady's literary style. Its historical value is no greater than that of the early Jewish tradition which, as has been seen in the comments on passages *c*, *d*, *e*, identified Raamses-Rameses with Pelusium. The latter identification may perhaps seem a strange coincidence, in view of the fact that the Ramesside capital of Pi-Raḥmesse has been located at or near Pelusium. Nor, indeed, is it quite impossible that there may be some causal connection here, but its roots are hidden and can no longer be unearthed. For the present, at least, we must measure the value of this Targumic tradition by that of the parallel identification of Pithom with Tanis (see under *c*).

Going back some centuries to the time of the Septuagint translation, we learn from the variation between the Hebrew and Greek texts in (*a*) that the translators had made an effort to interpret the Exodus narrative as a consistent whole, and had formed at least some sort of conception of the Exodus geography. It is impossible to account for the replacing of "Goshen" in the Hebrew text by the Greek "at Heroonpolis" except by regarding this as due to the influence of Exodus i, 11 (*e*), and to the knowledge that Heroonpolis was merely the Greek name of Pithom. Similarly, the addition "into the land of Rameses" resulted from the desire to connect the reference to Goshen in this passage with that in Genesis xlvii, 6, the latter being replaced in the Hebrew text a few verses later (xlvii, 11) by "in the land of Rameses" (*b*). Since the LXX translator probably understood this phrase to mean "in the land of (the town of) Rameses," as modern commentators, whether rightly or wrongly, have for the most part done<sup>1</sup>, he is likely to have interpreted his own combination of words "at Heroonpolis into the land of Rameses" to mean that the town of Raamses-Rameses was not far from Pithom. But, as we see, this conclusion was the outcome of a harmonistic combination of the data of the Hebrew text, and represented no independent tradition demanding to be taken into account by ourselves.

A still earlier tradition, which is persistently ignored by students of the Exodus times, is that of the Psalmist who sang of the "marvellous things" which God did "in the land of Egypt, in the field of Zoan" (lxxviii, 12), "how he set his signs in Egypt, and his wonders in the field of Zoan" (lxxviii, 43). Here we have a quite definite view, at all events, that the scene of Moses' activities was the extreme north of the Delta. Are we to regard the reference to "the field of Zoan," on which see above, pp. 200, 248, as a reminiscence of the times of the Twenty-first Dynasty, when Tanis was the seat of the Lower Egyptian government? Or is the phrase a genuine recollection of the fact that the Ramesside Pharaohs, under whom Moses lived, made their Delta residence near Pelusium, a place situated in the nome with which the region called "the field of Zoan" was intimately connected?

To turn now to modern views: the prevalent notion of a city of Ramesses within and near the mouth of the Wādy Ṭūmilāt owes its existence to the same kind of standpoint as that which the LXX translator held, and partly indeed to his specific contributions to the problem, namely, the introduction of the names "Heroonpolis" and "Geshem of Arabia." The fixed point around which the whole theory circles is the known position of Pithom-Heroonpolis in the Wādy Ṭūmilāt (this is now sufficiently confirmed by the excavations at *runae enim ipsius, quem ad modum collapsae sunt, in hodie infinitae parent. Nunc autem ibi nichil aliud est nisi tantum unus lapis ingens thebaeus, in quo sunt duae statuæ excisae, ingentes, quas dicunt esse sanctorum hominum, id est Moysi et Aaron, nam dicent, eo quod filii Israhel in honore ipsorum eas posuerint.*

<sup>1</sup> Max Müller *s.c.* "Rameses" in *Encyclopaedia Biblica*, col. 4012 prefers "to understand Rameses here as having preserved the original sense, namely, that of a royal name."



Tell el-Maskhûteh). It is probably tacitly assumed that, since the Israelites, being confined to the land of Goshen, cannot have built cities outside it, the land of Goshen must have included the Wâdy Tûmilât, where Pithom was situated (*c*); and Raamses, which is coupled with Pithom, is accordingly in the same region too. This is supported by (*b*), where "in the land of Rameses" corresponds to "in the land of Goshen" a few verses earlier, as well as by the LXX version in (*a*) already sufficiently discussed. Lastly, when the Egyptians set out upon their journey to Canaan, their starting-point is Rameses (*d, e*) which must, accordingly, have lain quite at the Egyptian end of the Wâdy Tûmilât.

All this is good logic, and would be valid argument if the narrative of the sojourning in and departure from Egypt were a single homogeneous account, to be regarded as sound historical evidence. It is easy to show, however, that the entire story is clothed in a legendary form, and legend has no care for strict topographical exactitude. Modern critics have pointed out that two irreconcilable views underlie the earlier chapters of Exodus: in some places it is assumed, as throughout Genesis, that the Israelites were living apart in the land of Goshen; elsewhere, on the other hand, it is unmistakably implied that they were dwelling in the midst of the Egyptians<sup>1</sup>. If Moses and the Israelites were separated off in the Wâdy Tûmilât, how could Moses "rise up early in the morning and stand before Pharaoh" (Exodus viii, 20)? Or how could his cradle have been deposited among the flags in the river, to be found by Pharaoh's daughter (Exodus ii, 1—10)?

It having been established by our researches that the Delta capital of the Ramessides was at Pelusium, or at all events nowhere near the Wâdy Tûmilât, we may feel convinced that there, if anywhere, must have occurred the finding of Moses as a babe and his later controversies with Pharaoh. Thus, those who view the Exodus narrative as authentic history can hardly refuse to deduce from the passages just quoted that at least a part of the Israelites, and among them Moses, dwelt at Pi-Raḥmesse. Nor indeed is there in the Biblical passages referring to Raamses-Rameses anything seriously out of keeping with this conclusion. The passage Exodus i, 11 (*c*) does not necessarily imply that Raamses was near Pithom, and indeed the LXX translator, whose tendencies elsewhere are all in favour of harmonizing the Exodus geography, here adds a third town Heliopolis that was far away from Pithom<sup>2</sup>. The phrase "the land of Rameses" in *a* (LXX) and *b* is puzzling, and in





<sup>1</sup> See DRIVER on Exodus viii, 22, in the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*. For the view that the Israelites were still in Goshen he quotes viii, 22: "And I will sever in that day the land of Goshen, in which my people dwell, that no swarms of flies shall be there"; also ix, 26: "Only in the land of Goshen, where the children of Israel were, was there no hail." For the opposite view, cf. iii, 21—22: "And it shall come to pass, that, when ye go, ye shall not go empty: but every woman shall ask of her neighbour, and of her that sojourneth in her house, jewels of silver, and jewels of gold, and raiment"; and the similar passage, xi, 2. Driver represents the view of the Israelites' confinement to Goshen as belonging only to J, while E pictures them as living side by side with the Egyptians. But *e.g.* xii, 23 ("For the Lord will pass through to smite the Egyptians; and when he seeth the blood upon the lintel, and on the two side posts, the Lord will pass over the door") presumes the standpoint attributed to E, but nevertheless is assigned to J.


<sup>2</sup> On the origin of this addition a guess may be hazarded. Heliopolis was the chief home of the deity Tûm, and was therefore a Pi-tûm "House-of-Tûm." The mention of Heliopolis will have arisen, accordingly, as a gloss on Pithom. Some confirmation of this view may be found in the coincidence that the Targum gives Tanis as the rendering, not only of Pithom here, but also of On in the phrase "Potiphar, priest of On," see above, p. 262, footnote 2; how the Targumic commentator came by the identification of these places with Tanis is unknown, but it is significant that they were associated in his mind. As for Josephus' identification of Goshen with Heliopolis (see above on *b*), it was probably due to the considerations (1) that Jacob would wish to live near Joseph, and (2) that Joseph, being married to the daughter of a Heliopolitan priest, was presumably domiciled at Heliopolis.

any case contains a grave anachronism; in Genesis xlvii, 11 it clearly corresponds to "the land of Goshen" in *v.* 6, but the variation of that name at such close quarters is so unnatural and incongruous, that it is difficult to do otherwise than infer that two discrepant sources have here been clumsily combined, in which case, of course, the term "land of Rameses" would not necessarily be co-extensive with "land of Goshen." As regards *d* and *e*, it would now become clear why the children of Israel, starting out on their journey, are said to have journeyed from Rameses—it is because that was the place where Pharaoh dwelt and persecuted them; the only difficulty in these passages is that, if Succoth is   Theku towards the eastern end of the Wādy Tûmilât<sup>1</sup>, this is more than one day's march from the Delta Capital.

If we take the opposite point of view, namely that the Exodus story, whatever nucleus of truth it may contain, has come down to us in purely legendary garb, we shall not feel disposed to insist upon the distance between Rameses and Succoth, nor to equate "the land of Rameses" exactly with "the land of Goshen." On the contrary, our verdict will be that the Biblical town of Raamses-Rameses keeps alive a dim recollection of the very city where the Pharaohs of the Oppression and of the Exodus actually resided.

To sum up: whether or no the Bible narrative be strict history, there is not the least reason for assuming that any other city of Ramesses existed in the Delta besides those elicited from the Egyptian monuments. In other words, the Biblical Raamses-Rameses is identical with the Residence-city of Pi-Ra<sup>ḥ</sup>messe near Pelusium. And at this point we shall remember that there are two traditions, though both of uncertain value, which are in accord, or can be construed as in accord, with our conclusion: these are the traditions of the Psalmist and of the Targum, both discussed above.

It may be objected: this fine-spun argument is all very well in its way, but has not the Biblical town of Raamses-Rameses, in point of fact, been discovered by Professor Petrie at Tell er-Retâbeh, eight and a half miles westward of Tell el-Maskhûteh<sup>2</sup>? The evidence for the identification proves, on close examination, to be more than scanty<sup>3</sup>. A temple-wall was found on which Ramesses II is seen slaughtering prisoners before     "Tām, lord of Thu (*sic*)": "Theku" ought here to be read, as Professor Petrie has himself seen, for among the few other Ramesside temple-fragments discovered there was one mentioning Theku, as well as part of a door-jamb from the tomb of the contemporary commandant of Theku. The remaining finds were a stele of Ramesses II recording the defeats

<sup>1</sup> The identity of  Succoth with *Tkw* (see below p. 265, in the appended note) was first proposed by Brugsch, *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XIII (1875), p. 8; the rendering of the first two consonants is correct, but as regards the termination of the Hebrew name it has to be assumed that this has been altered in accordance with a popular etymology *sukkōth* = "huts." The identification is now pretty generally accepted and may stand; but there is no longer much reason for it beyond the general correspondence of sound, and the fact that Theku was situated between Egypt and the desert and consequently corresponds passably well with the Exodus *data*. It may be here noted that in the hieroglyphic lists of nomes Theku is the capital of the VIIIth nome of the Eastern Harpoon. In Greek times this nome is merged in that of Arabia, except in the case of Strabo 805, who places a nome called Phagroriopolites in this region. On the VIIIth Lower Egyptian nome in general see KÜTHMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 27 foll.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 28, Professor Petrie says eight miles, but in *Egypt and Israel*, p. 33, he says ten; the distance as shown by the Egyptian Survey map 1:50,000 is 8½ miles.

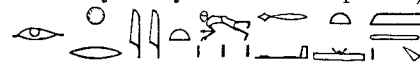
<sup>3</sup> See PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pls. XXVIII—XXXVI c, with pp. 28—34.


inflicted on the Shōsu (Asiatic Beduins)<sup>1</sup>; a dyad in red granite representing Ramesses II and the god Tūm; foundation deposits of Ramesses III; and various scarabs and minor objects from burials of the Ninth Dynasty onwards. There is nothing here to suggest that the place was called Raamses, and indeed Professor Petrie's commentary shows that the identification is based on erroneous assumptions. He writes<sup>2</sup>: "All of these discoveries exactly accord with the requirements of the city of Raamses, where both the second and third kings of that name are stated to have worked, and where a store-city was built by the Israelites along with that of Pithom, which is only eight miles distant. The absence of any other Egyptian site suitable to these conditions, which are all fulfilled here, makes it practically certain that this was the city of Raamses named in Exodus." In the first sentences Professor Petrie is obviously referring to the Residence-city, which we now know to have been situated elsewhere; and further on it is unjustifiably concluded from Exodus i, 11 that Raamses and Pithom were close to one another. No additional argument is offered beyond the daring suggestion that the dyad of Ramesses II and Tūm is none other than Aetheria's "lapis ingens thebaeus, in quo sunt duae statuæ excisæ, ingentes, quas dicunt esse sanctorum hominum, id est Moysi et Aaron<sup>3</sup>."

We may thus feel certain that Tell er-Retâbeh is *not* Raamses, since there is no serious evidence that a town of Ramesses ever existed in this region. Its ancient name is not known to us, unless it, rather than Tell el-Maskhûteh, be the true site of Pithom<sup>4</sup>; but our incertitude on this point need not trouble us, for there are several places in the Wâdy Tūmilât still to be identified, and the topography of the whole region is still regrettably obscure.

#### NOTE ON PITHOM AND HEROONPOLIS.

The positions of Pithom, Heroonpolis and Theku (the supposed prototype of Succoth, see above, p. 266, footnote 1) are sufficiently fixed for the purposes of this article, but I am the more desirous to review the problems connected with them as I can no longer adhere to my statement above, p. 128, that the excavations of Professor Naville at Tell el-Maskhûteh finally settled the question of Pithom, which was found to be identical with that site. Most of the issues are discussed elaborately, though not always convincingly, in NAVILLE, *The Store-city of Pithom*, pp. 4 foll. The old view of Lepsius, reiterated *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, vol. XXI (1883), pp. 41—53, to the effect that Pithom lay near Tell Abu Suleimân, while Heroonpolis-Raamses was to be sought at or near Tell el-Maskhûteh, reposed (1) on the identification of Pithom with Thou in the Antonine Itinerary, the place where the road *via* Daphnae to Pelusium

<sup>1</sup> This stele, as is not unusual in the Ramesside period, consists merely of royal names and epithets, of which the concluding words are very interesting. They run: 

. In Professor Petrie's text this is translated: "(of the) great enemies in the land of the

Bedawyn he plundered their hill fortresses, slaughtering their faces, and building in cities upon which his name is to eternity"; the comment is added that "this allusion to building in the various cities called after Ramesses suggests that this city was one of such—that is, Raamses." The first phrases are simple, but are mistranslated by Professor Petrie; at the end it seems necessary to bring the words *ḳd m dmlw* somehow into connection with the Asiatics (Shōsu), and it is therefore likely that *-sn* "their" has been omitted. Accordingly I translate: "making a great massacre in the land of the Shōsu; he plunders their hills, and slaughters upon them; building in (their) cities in his (own) name for ever." The reference, then, would be to the annexation of towns in Palestine, not to the building of towns of Ramesses in Egypt.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, p. 30.

<sup>4</sup> See below, the appended note.



branched off from the Heliopolis-Hero-Serapiu-Clysma (Suez) road, and (2) upon Herodotus ii, 158 *ἡκται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Νείλου τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς αὐτὴν* (scil. *τὴν διώρυκα*), *ἡκται δὲ κατέπερθε ὀλίγον Βουβάστιος πόλιος παρὰ Πάτουμον τὴν Ἀραβίην πόλιν*. As to (1), the suggestion would hardly have arisen but for the ill-supported various reading *Thoum*, which is certainly to be rejected; as to (2), this much-disputed passage (see NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-9) is quite plausibly taken by Dillmann and others to mean that the water of the canal was drawn away from the Nile not *at*, but *alongside*, Pithom, which may thus be at some distance from the point of junction. The view of Brugsch that Pithom was near Lake Menzaleh hangs together with his whole Exodus theory, some portion of which (the identity of Tanis and Raamses) has been disproved in the present article. At the present time the only scholar who appears to disagree with Prof. Naville's conclusions is M. Daressy, see *Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien*, vol. 5 (1911), p. 3. The ground may be cleared by considering the relations of Pithom and Heroopolis; the identity of these two places may be proved both (1) on traditional and (2) on linguistic grounds. (1) The Boheiric version of Genesis xlii, 28 has Pethōm for LXX Heroopolis, see passage *a* on p. 261; and as I have shown (p. 264), Heroopolis in the LXX translation was due simply to the presence of Pithom in Exodus i, 11. (2) The variants Eron (Geogr. Rav.), Ero (inscriptions from Maskhūteh), Ero and Hero (Aetheria) and Ἡρώ (Steph. Byz.) suggest that the original Greek name of the city was not Heroopolis, but Heropolis, being derived from the name of an obscure deity Ἡρῶν of whom there was a temple at Magdola (see GRENFELL-HUNT, *Tebtunis Papyri*, no. 80, introduction); and this is confirmed by the existence, in the translation of the (Flaminian?) obelisk preserved by Ammianus Marcellinus, of a royal epithet Ἡρῶνος νίος, which, in spite of the caveat entered by Sethe *apud* ERMAN, *Die Obelikenübersetzung des Hermapion*, p. 253, footnote 3, in *Sitzb. d. Berliner Akad.*, 1914, ix, must surely correspond to *s' Tm* "son of Tūm" on the Flaminian obelisk. Thus the name Heropolis, later mis-understood as Heroopolis, would originally have been a simple translation of Pithom. The explanations of the name Hero given by Lepsius (*op. cit.*, p. 52) and Naville (*op. cit.*, p. 10) are quite unsatisfactory. Now it cannot be denied that the evidence for the identification of Pithom-Heroopolis with Maskhūteh provided by Prof. Naville's excavations there is very formidable, seeing that they yielded not only hieroglyphic inscriptions mentioning Pithom, but also Latin inscriptions mentioning Ero. None the less, I incline to think that a still more likely view is that Pithom-Heroopolis is identical with Tell er-Retābeh, 8½ English miles further westward. As has been already seen (p. 266), "Tūm lord of Theku" was here worshipped, as at Maskhūteh, so that theoretically, at least, Tell er-Retābeh can be regarded as a Pi-Tūm, Hēt-Tūm, "House of Tūm." The testimony of the hieroglyphic inscriptions from Tell el-Maskhūteh shows indisputably that the commonest name of the place was Theku; Theku is mentioned there again and again, whereas Pithom is named only in two documents, namely the Bubastite statue, *op. cit.*, Pl. 4, A, D, and the great stele of Ptolemy Philadelphus. Particularly clear evidence that Maskhūteh was Theku is the invocation on the statue, *op. cit.*, Pl. 5, A, to the priests "who enter into the temple of Tūm, the great living god in the midst of Theku" and the statement on the great Ptolemaic stele (the so-called Pithom stele, latest edition SETHE, *Urkunden*, II, 81-105) that this was erected "in front of Tūm, the great living god of Theku." On the same stele (*op. cit.*, 93), when the return of the gods from Persia is being described, it is said that "the gods of Pithom and Theku (one can hardly translate "the gods of Pithom of Theku" as Prof. Naville does) came to rest there" (*i.e.* in Egypt), and this expression seems to imply that Pithom and Theku were distinguished. For the rest, the Pithom stele affords no evidence that Maskhūteh was Pithom, for it describes the events that took place throughout the entire region, and if it records the establishment of offerings for Pithom (*op. cit.*, 98), it does as much also for another place called *Pr-Krht* (*op. cit.*, 104). Unfortunately the fact that Maskhūteh can be shown to be Theku (or, as we had better say, the very heart of Theku, for we shall soon see that the term had a wider, as well as a narrower, significance) does not exclude the possibility that Maskhūteh was also called Pithom; and this, indeed, is the standpoint that Prof. Naville takes. Still, there is evidence that "the fortress of Theku" was to the east of Pithom, for the famous passage *Pap. Anastasi* IV, ll. 54-7 states "we have finished causing the Beduin tribes of Edom to pass the fortress of Meneptah belonging to Theku towards the pools of Pithom [of] Meneptah belonging to Theku, in order to feed themselves and to feed their flocks." Here Theku appears as a wider term including Pithom, and with this fact we may compare the other that at Tell er-Retābeh the deity worshipped is "Tūm, lord of Theku." Obscure as are the facts, it appears, then, that the most likely conclusion from the hieroglyphic data is that Maskhūteh represents the "fortress of Theku" and that Tell er-Retābeh represents Pithom. For further evidence of a fortress at Theku see the passage *Pap. Anastasi* V, v, 20, 1, where the words "the fortress" appear to refer to Theku in 19, 8. Also Theku possessed an *idnr*, the title usually borne by the "commandant" of a military station, cf. *op. cit.*, 25, 2; 26, 1. Turning now

to the Latin inscriptions discovered at Maskhûteh, it is, indeed, awkward that *two*, and not merely one, should mention Ero; but on the other hand the simplest way of interpreting the obscure words on the milestone AB ERO IN CLVSMA  $\aleph$  VIII is to understand this to signify "nine miles on the road from Ero to Clysma (Suez)," which would bring Ero westward within a few hundred yards of Tell er-Retâbeh; it is curious that scholars should have failed to notice this easy way of reconciling Mommsen's rendering of the Latin words with Prof. Naville's protests against supposing that the milestone had been brought to Maskhûteh from elsewhere (see on the whole question, NAVILLE, *op. cit.*, pp. 22—24). Turning now to the Antonine Itinerary, it will be seen that its *data* are at least as favourable to the view that Ero is Tell er-Retâbeh as they are to the accepted view that Ero is Maskhûteh. Unhappily neither of the two places, Thou and Serapiu, with which Hero is there placed in direct relation, has as yet been certainly identified. Thou is placed by Prof. Naville (*op. cit.*, p. 36) at Shugafiyeh near Tell el-Kebîr; being, however, the meeting-point of the Pelusium-Daphnae-Heliopolis and the Clysma-Heliopolis roads, this is far too much to the east. Even Abbâseh is too far eastward, and Şaft el-Henneh would be a more suitable position. Now Şaft is 30 English miles, as the crow flies, from Tell el-Maskhûteh (the figures here given have been verified on the 1 : 50,000 Survey maps), while the Itinerary gives only 24 Roman miles as the distance between Thou and Hero. If, then, Thou was at or near Şaft, Tell er-Retâbeh (21½ English miles) would be a most suitable position for Hero. The situation of Serapiu is even more doubtful than that of Thou; but if it is to be sought, as Prof. Naville supposes (*op. cit.*, p. 25), at the foot of Gebel Maryam, where there are Roman ruins, this is only 12 English miles from Tell el-Maskhûteh, whereas the Itinerary gives 18 Roman miles between Hero and Serapiu. In this case Tell er-Retâbeh is three to four miles too far away, but is, nevertheless more suitable than Maskhûteh. It is true that the distances indicated by the Itinerary between Sile and Serapiu, on the one hand, and Serapiu and Clysma (Suez) on the other, seem rather to point to a position near the modern railway-station Serapeum (the identification has been inherited from the authors of the *Description de l'Égypte*); but against this must be set the fact that Serapiu was the place where the Pelusium-Clysma road parted from the road from Clysma *via* Hero and Thou to Heliopolis, and that from this standpoint a position near Gebel Maryam would be much more appropriate. In conclusion, we have seen (p. 263) that in Aetheria's time Ero had many monasteries and saints' tombs, besides a church. None of these seems to have been found either at Maskhûteh or at Tell er-Retâbeh, so that archaeology here fails us; but the thick surrounding walls of Maskhûteh (*op. cit.*, p. 10) do suggest that this is "the fortress of Theku."

## VI

In conclusion, it will be well to pass in review the results that have been attained. In the first section the cities of Ramesses other than the Delta Capital were enumerated and discussed. There were found to exist towns of Ramesses II near Naucratis (the modern Ramsis), at Abu Simbel and at Derr, besides a small station on the Syrian road east of Kaṇtareh known as "*The-Dwelling-of-Ramesses*"; a town called after Ramesses III was situated in the north-western Delta. After a careful consideration of the name of the Delta Residence, which was "*Pi-Raṣmesse*," often with the epithet "*Great-of-Victories*" or, after the death of Ramesses II, "*The-Great-Soul-of-the-Sun-Horus-of-the-Horizon*" (§ II), the passages where this is mentioned were set forth in chronological order (§ III). It was seen that Pi-Raṣmesse was the regular northern abode of the Pharaohs from the reign of Ramesses II to Ramesses III, and was the seat of their Delta government. Hither the taxes were brought, and here were the great public offices. Pi-Raṣmesse possessed temples of Amūn, Rēṣ, Ptah and Sētekh, besides shrines of other lesser deities. The population was large, though doubtless it could not vie with that of Thebes or Memphis. The surrounding country appears to have been rich in produce of all kinds; in the neighbourhood of Pi-Raṣmesse were the celebrated vineyards of Kenkēme. In the fourth section the geographical position of Pi-Raṣmesse was discussed. The problem was seen to turn largely upon the relations of the XIVth and XIXth Lower Egyptian nomes, and it was shown that Brugsch,

in identifying the XIVth nome with the Tanites and the XIXth with the Sethroites, exactly reversed the truth. The association of Pi-Raḥmesse with a stretch of water called Šl-Ḥr "The-Waters-of-Horus" proved that Pi-Raḥmesse was connected with the XIVth (Sethroite) nome, of which "Waters-of-Horus" is said to be the "river." From the identification of the Egyptian "Waters-of-Horus" with the Biblical Shihor it became evident that these names could only refer to the lower reaches of the Bubastite or Pelusiac branch of the Nile. But since some quite explicit passages showed that Pi-Raḥmesse lay near the sea, the obvious conclusion seemed to be that it was situated either at or near Pelusium, where the said river-arm debouched. The Egyptian evidence in connection with Pelusium was next discussed, and it was shown that tradition associated Avaris with that town. On the other hand, it appeared likely that the god Seth of Avaris and the god Seth of Pi-Raḥmesse were identical, so that here again would be evidence in favour of the location of Pi-Raḥmesse at Pelusium. Further consideration of the deities of Pi-Raḥmesse led to the same result; and in particular the mention, on a monument from Bubastus, of "*the temple of Prē of Ramesses of The-Waters-of-the-Sun*" recalled the fact that several slightly doubtful passages connected Pi-Raḥmesse with "*The-Waters-of-the-Sun*"; the latter term was found to be a name of the Pelusiac Nile-arm, and this, once more, pointed to the identity of Pi-Raḥmesse with Pelusium. Finally, the choice of Pelusium for the Delta Residence was seen to have been politically opportune, its situation being such that the Ramesside Pharaohs could thence control their ever increasingly restive tributaries in Palestine and Syria.

From the Egyptian city of Residence we passed on to the consideration of the Biblical Raamses-Rameses. It was first pointed out that either the Raamses of Exodus was Pi-Raḥmesse of the Pharaohs, or else it was another city of which the very existence had to be postulated. A consideration of the Old Testament passages and of their traditional interpretation showed that there was no real evidence that a town of Ramesses ever existed in or near the Wādy Tūmilāt; and it was further shown that, whether the Bible narrative be regarded as sound historical evidence or whether it be looked upon as purely legendary, in either case the scene of Moses' birth and struggles with the Pharaoh of the Oppression could only be located at the Delta Residence of the Ramesside Pharaohs, *i.e.* at Pi-Raḥmesse at or near Pelusium. This conclusion proved quite reconcilable with the Biblical passages naming Raamses-Rameses. Lastly, examination showed that Professor Petrie's claim to have discovered Raamses at Tell er-Retâbeh lacked justification.

#### ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.


It was unfortunately necessary to print a small portion of this essay before the whole investigation was completed, so that a few minor inconsistencies have found their way into the text.

It ought to have been stated, at the outset, that the name of Ramsès formerly given to the railway-station at Maskhûṭeh owed its existence to Lepsius' erroneous conclusions concerning the topography of the Wādy Tūmilāt and its neighbourhood. Similarly, a doubtful inference on the part of the topographers of the *Description de l'Égypte* forms the basis of the name borne by the modern railway-station of Serapeum.

On p. 128. the statements with regard to Pithom and Succoth should be modified in accordance with the conclusions reached in the note on pp. 267-9.

P. 129. A reference in AMÉLINEAU, *La Géographie de l'Égypte à l'époque Copte*, p. 402, was overlooked. In the first of the stories preserved in the Arabic book called "Forty edifying stories" (*Ms. Bibl. Nat.*, no. 155, fol. 50), one monk says to another: "O my father, I am of a village of the land of Alexandria, which is called Ramsis."

P. 131. The name of the temple mentioned on the Carnarvon scarab is probably to be translated "*The-Castle-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn-Beloved-like-Tūm on the west of the* (waters called) 'Ity." See p. 258, footnote 4.

P. 133. A kneeling statue of the "*Royal Son of Kush, Pesîtr*," a contemporary of Ramesses II, has an invocation to  "*Amen-Rē-in-the-House-of-Ramesses-Beloved-of-Amūn*"; the owner's title renders it likely that Abu Simbel is here meant, rather than the Delta Residence. The statue is preserved in the British Museum (Exhib. no., 604; Invent. no., 1376); it is figured ARUNDALE-BONOMI, *Gallery of Antiquities*, Pl. 51, and again in the official *Guide to the Egyptian Galleries* (1909), p. 197.

The sketch-map of the Eastern Delta accompanying this article (Plate XXXV) has been very carefully drawn by Messrs Emery Walker's skilled map-maker Mr Staton from the latest maps of the Egyptian Survey.



head-dress of the cover. It is not clearly defined either as a wig or as the head-cloth worn over the wig, but seems to be a confusion of the two, as in some other products of the Decadence.

377.14, referred to above, and 376.14, are papyri, inscribed with excerpts from the "Book of Him Who is in the Nether World." Both have vignettes belonging to the twelfth division of the book, similar, except for minor details, to those published in this *Journal*, Vol. iv (1917), Pls. XXVI—XXVIII; No. 376.14 bears the name of Bekenmūt and the figures in its vignettes are accompanied by legends in hieratic writing.

355.14, a wooden statuette of Osiris mounted on a rectangular base. Seventy-seven such figures were found with the one hundred and fifty-three coffins of the Dêr el-Bahri *cache* of 1891, the majority of them hollow and containing a papyrus. The Cleveland piece is a dummy papyrus-case, as it has no cavity. Such figures had a long vogue, lasting down into the Ptolemaic period, but this one is marked as probably contemporary with Bekenmūt's coffin by the way its deep, elaborate collar is stylised. M. Daressy is the authority for the statement that usually it was a man's copy of the "Book of the Dead" which, in the XXIst Dynasty, was inclosed in such a figure of Osiris and set beside the coffin, and that it was his copy of the "Book of Him Who is in the Nether World" which was placed between the legs<sup>1</sup>.

332.14, a heart scarab of dark green stone.

298.14, a falcon, delicately incised in a thin sheet of lead cut to the outline of the bird; the spread wings measure six and a quarter inches from tip to tip, and have round holes near the extremities through which, no doubt, threads fastening it to the breast of a mummy were passed; *shen*-signs (Q) are held in the claws. Some eighteen of the priests' mummies found in 1891 wore breast ornaments of similar design; the majority were of bronze covered with gold leaf, but two were of silver, and two, those on mummies Nos. 126 and 150 of M. Daressy's list, were of lead, like this one.

No. 16 (Plate XXXVI, bottom). Statuettes of the four "Sons of Horus" (317—320.14). Wax. Probably XXIIInd Dynasty. Ht.,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  in.

A change of practice in mummification in the XXIst Dynasty led to the temporary abandonment of Canopic jars as receptacles for the viscera of the dead<sup>2</sup>. The viscera were now returned to the body cavity, and, in order that they might still be under the protection of the Sons of Horus, who had been invoked in the inscriptions on the jars and represented in their covers, small wax figures of these gods were wrapped in, or placed near, the

<sup>1</sup> *Revue Archéologique*, 1896, p. 74 and various entries in the list in *Annales du Service*, Vol. VIII. Cf. G. ELLIOT SMITH, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 171, who found the papyrus between the legs lying from knees to feet in the long axis of the body, having been put in place as soon as the separate wrapping of the legs was completed and before the encircling bands swathing the entire mummy were added.

<sup>2</sup> Accompanying the one hundred and fifty-three coffins found at Dêr el-Bahri in 1891 were only sixteen Canopic jars, which may mean as few as four sets of jars (*Annales du Service*, Vol. I, p. 144); and Maspero, in *Les momies royales*, p. 592, remarked on the comparative rarity of the jar-boxes in the first *cache* discovered at Dêr el-Bahri, which also contained many mummies of this period. Dr Reisner found in the Cairo Museum only two sets of Canopic jars dated to the XXIst Dynasty and none at all dated to the XXIIInd—XXVth Dynasties (*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache*, Vol. XXXVII, 1899, p. 68). The Canopic jars of the XXIIInd Dynasty found at the Ramesseum (QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XIX, with p. 11) were all either dummies or jars having only "a small cavity about two inches deep, empty and unused"; in these few examples we see the retention of the jars as a part of the traditional equipment of the dead, when all need for them, for the time being, had passed.

respective packages of viscera. The proverbial carelessness of those who prepared the equipment of the dead is illustrated by the occasional finding of abnormal sets, in which one god is lacking and another duplicated. Thus M. Daressy noted instances of the duplication of the jackal-headed god<sup>1</sup>, and he and Dr Smith called attention to a set with two human-headed figures, but none having a falcon's head<sup>2</sup>. The Cleveland pieces here figured and still another set in the collection, Nos. 313—316. 14, appear to be of this character; they, too, have the human-headed god in duplicate and are without the falcon-headed Duamūtef; in each lot they present among themselves a unity of style, size, and surface-appearance rendering it improbable that the present conjunction of figures is modern.

No. 17 (Plate XXXVI, top). Statuette of a heron in a seated posture (312. 14). Wax. Probably XXIIInd Dynasty. Ht., 1½ in.

The wax figure of a heron, the *benu* of the Egyptians and phoenix of the Greeks, sometimes accompanied the mummy in the burials of the priests of Amūn. These figures were comparatively rare, however, as only three were noted by M. Daressy (on Nos. 91, 127 and 139) in the series of mummies which yielded above twenty sets of the wax Sons of Horus; also, they are seen in museum collections less often than the wax gods. The position of those found by M. Daressy was under the right arm-pit<sup>3</sup>. The Abbott collection in New York contains a smaller wax *benu*, 639 of the old numbering, and another is pictured in ARUNDALE and BONOMI, *Gallery of Antiquities Selected from the British Museum*, Pl. 27, No. 120.

No. 18 (Plate XXXVII, top). Box for Ushabtis of the "Divine Father of Amen-rē, Bekmūt"<sup>4</sup> (359. 14). Wood. Probably XXIInd Dynasty. From Thebes. Width, 19½ in.; ht., 17¾ in.; depth from front to back, 11¼ in.

The box is painted white and its only decoration is a yellow panel on the front containing in brown line the name and title of the deceased and two cartouches of Amenophis I, whom we have seen represented on the man's coffin (see above, p. 178, No. 15). The box is strengthened at the top by a cross-piece suggesting two compartments, and this idea is carried out in the form of the cover, but lower down the interior is not divided. In style, the piece strongly resembles the ushabti-box of Queen Makerē, consort of Osorkon I, which is shown with the ushabtis found in it, MASPERO, *Les momies royales*, Pl. XXI D. The Cleveland box is of a size and form suitable for two Canopic jars, but that the box, nevertheless, was not used for jars is certain; it was not customary to divide a set of jars between two boxes, and furthermore, as we have seen above, the jars had fallen into disuse at this period. The purpose of the cross-piece at the top and of the dividing walls noted by M. Daressy, *Annales du Service*, Vol. VIII, p. 14, as present in many of the ushabti-boxes of the second Dēr el-Bahri find was no doubt to make the boxes sufficiently strong to hold the numerous and sometimes large ushabtis accorded at this time to one individual; the

<sup>1</sup> *Annales du Service*, Vol. VIII, p. 24, No. 38; p. 28, No. 85.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, Vol. VII, pp. 157 and 165.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. CARNARVON and CARTER, *Five Years' Explorations at Thebes*, Pl. XVII and p. 25, for an exceptional occurrence of the wax figures of the Sons of Horus and the *benu* together in the midst of the mummy wrappings.

<sup>4</sup> The name means "Servant of Mut." Here the direct genitive is used, instead of the indirect, Bekenmūt; both forms occur on the man's coffin.



17



16

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART AT CLEVELAND, OHIO (VII)





bulk and weight involved probably accounts for the division of the ushabtis between two boxes, but even so, boxes as large as this one may sometimes have been required.

No. 19 (Plate XXXVII, bottom). Two embossed leather tabs (324 and 325.14) and two fragments of red leather straps. XXIIInd Dynasty. Left-hand tab,  $3\frac{3}{16}$  in. high by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  in. wide at the bottom; right-hand tab,  $1\frac{3}{8}$  in. wide at bottom.

From a time not earlier than the end of the XXth Dynasty, so far as extant pieces show, until at least well into the XXIIInd Dynasty<sup>1</sup>, a part of the burial equipment of Theban priests and priestesses consisted of two leather straps with ornamented ends worn over the shoulders and crossed in front and behind<sup>2</sup>. Usually these straps are found in the midst of the mummy wrappings fairly near the upper surface<sup>3</sup>, but instances are on record of their position outside the mummy wrappings<sup>4</sup>. The front crossing has varied in recorded instances from a position above the level of the armpits (*Royal Mummies*, Pl. LXXXI) to one slightly below the level of the elbows (*op. cit.*, Pl. LXXIX); in the mummy described in the *Annales du Service*, Vol. VII, p. 176, it was just above a heart scarab which was more deeply embedded in the wrappings and showed as a lump between the terminal tabs of the straps; usually the straps were secured at the crossing by a thong<sup>5</sup>. Some mummies have been found wearing two additional embossed leather pieces, one shaped like the counterweight of the *menat*-necklace, the other resembling the *menkhet*, the two connected by two thongs and in some instances slipped under and over the straps above their front crossing<sup>6</sup>.

During the period when the mummies of the Theban priests of Amūn were provided with actual straps, and probably for a little time afterwards, their anthropoid coffins were occasionally represented as wearing them (see No. 15, Plate XXXI). For a much longer period, indeed with ever-increasing frequency from the Middle Kingdom<sup>7</sup> down into the Classical Age, all manner of mummiform figures, both in the round and in reliefs and paintings, were depicted with the straps. Sometimes in the pictures the straps are associated with pectorals; more often, as in the majority of the figures on the interior walls of Bekenmūt's coffin (above, No. 15, Plate XXXI), their terminal tabs emerge from beneath the broad collar; the mummiform king, Tuthmosis III, however, wears them above the collar. The position of the straps on the back is not represented in drawings; further, the anthropoid coffins, being either undecorated below or covered with texts or pictures, do not show them, but in No. 16 (Plate XXXVI) it is seen that they were conceived as crossing behind, just as they do on the mummies; here the crossing is rather high on the

<sup>1</sup> The earliest published examples are those bearing the cartouche of Ramses XII (Menmarē) found on the Leeds mummy (OSBORN, *An Account of an Egyptian Mummy, Presented to the Museum of the Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society*, Pl. 2) and on No. 91 of the mummies listed by M. Daressy (*Annales du Service*, Vol. VIII, p. 29). The latest of which I have found record are the pieces in the Berlin Museum bearing the name of Takelothis II (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, 2nd ed., p. 238).

<sup>2</sup> Front and back crossing noted, *Annales du Service*, Vol. VII (1906), pp. 176—177.

<sup>3</sup> So on the Leeds mummy. See also G. ELLIOT SMITH, *op. cit.*, Vol. VII, p. 176, and *Royal Mummies*, pp. 100—101; also MASPERO, *Les momies royales*, p. 579.

<sup>4</sup> QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, p. 10, and Nos. 48, 58 and 59 in Daressy's list, noted, it would seem, as exceptions to ordinary usage.

<sup>5</sup> See diagrams accompanying the publication of the Leeds mummy and QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, Pl. XVII; also the statement *Annales du Service*, Vol. VII, p. 176.

<sup>6</sup> See diagrams cited in the preceding note and one in *Royal Mummies* on p. 100; also many entries of "pendeloques" in Daressy's list.

See PETRIE, *Koptos*, Pl. IX = VON BISSING, *Denkmäler*, Pl. 34; see also the text to Pl. 34.

shoulders underneath the wig<sup>1</sup>. The additional leather pieces shaped like the *menat*-counterweight and the *menkhet* also are to be recognized in pictures<sup>2</sup>.


The straps represented on the anthropoid coffins—conceived as the outer envelope of the mummy—reflected, of course, the fashion of placing actual straps on mummies. But the picturing, through many centuries, of the straps as worn by all the major and minor gods in mummy form cannot be explained by the ephemeral Theban custom of placing them on the bodies of the dead. Nor are these pictures mere products of the imagination; their details had a background of material things, familiar in the temple ceremonies and furnishings. We cannot escape the conclusion that through many centuries straps, or bands, worn like these actual specimens of the XXIst and XXIIInd Dynasties, were considered a part of the regular dress of mummiform gods and were probably put on and taken off their statues to the accompaniment of appropriate ceremonies.

The extant examples show how the temple straps looked in the period of the Decadence, for there is reason to believe that they were not manufactured primarily for the purpose of equipping the dead, but were pieces from the temple stores, some of which may have seen actual use in the temple ceremonies. At least some of those of the XXIst Dynasty bear the same formula, "(straps) which X (the name of some high-priest of Amūn) made<sup>3</sup>," found also on the linen wrappings in which the mummies of these priests were swathed. Many of the inscriptions on the bandages are fragmentary and it is generally conceded<sup>4</sup> that this fact, as well as the frequent short inscription "House of Amūn," "House of Mut" found on the bandages, indicates that old linen from the temple stores was torn up to make them. In the case both of the linen and the leather pieces the inscription "...which X (some high-priest of Amūn or king) made" is more intelligible as belonging to temple furnishings than when supposed to emanate from supplies produced directly for the burial of the often humble priests of Amūn. Osiris was one of the gods most frequently depicted wearing the straps, and the identification of the dead priests with Osiris would be sufficient justification for equipping their mummies with these insignia. There is still much to discuss with reference to the significance of the straps in the worship of the funereal gods, but such a discussion would take us beyond the limits of the present paper.

The extant pieces represented here are only a part of those contained in the Cleveland collection, which appear to be derived from the equipment of at least two mummies. Besides the tab at the left (325.14) representing the king before Mut, there are three others (321, 326 and 328.14) just like it, and these four, which agree in size, may well have formed a set and even have belonged to the "Chantress of Amen-Rē" of the coffin 352.14<sup>5</sup>. In addition to the piece on the right (324.14) in the Plate, three others (322—23,

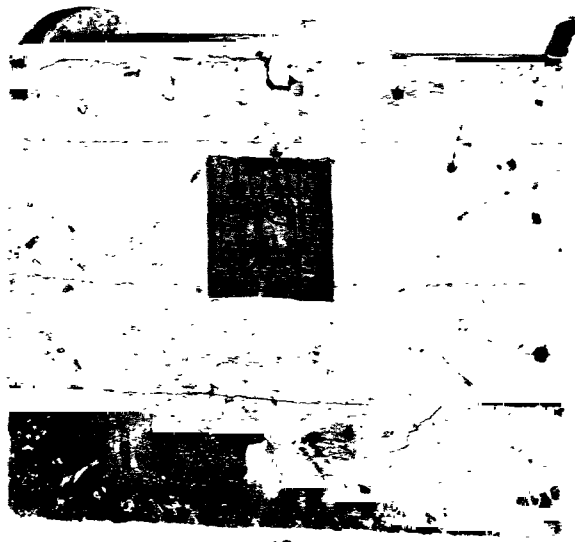
<sup>1</sup> The two lines running vertically to the feet on this wax figure may represent an additional strap or may have some other explanation; at least they are not present on all such figures.

<sup>2</sup> See, for instance, a painting in the tomb of Ramesses IX (*Mémoires de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. xv, 1907), where the *menkhet* hangs behind, but the *menat*-counterweight is not visible; noticeable here are the two double lines curving from the top of the *menkhet*, presumably representing the two thongs of the actual objects.

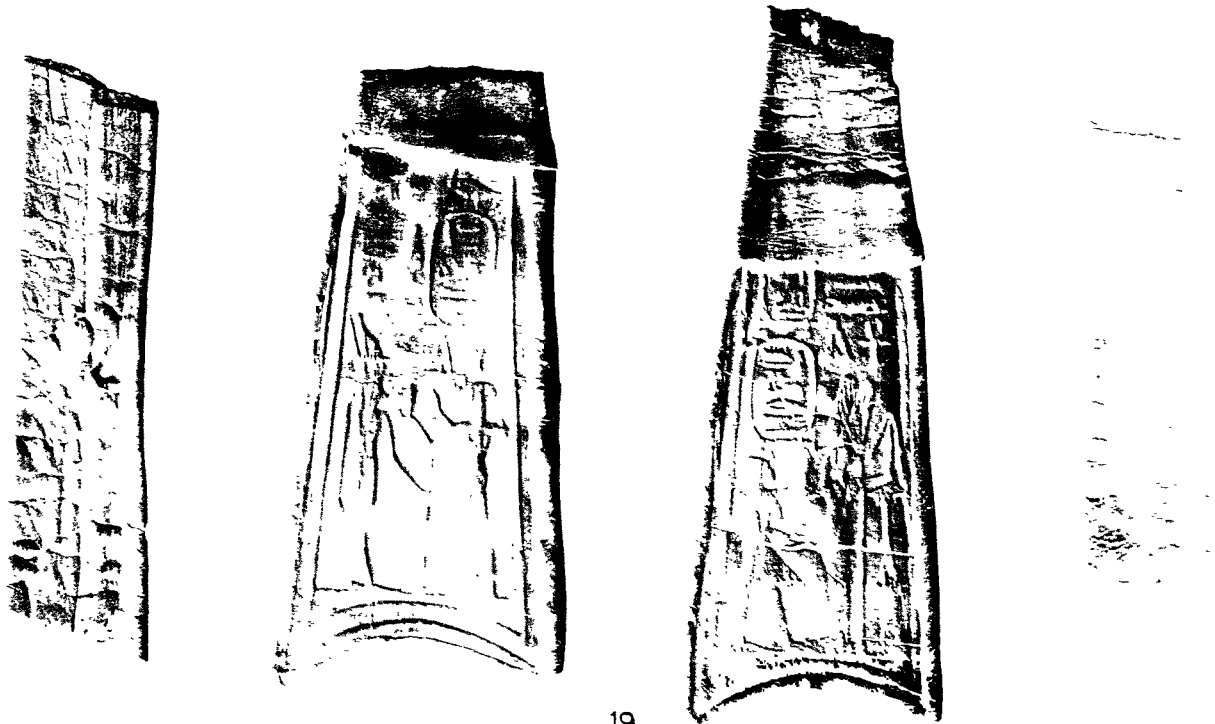
<sup>3</sup> See M. Daressy's list, *Annales du Service*, Vol. VIII, No. 48, p. 25; No. 61, p. 27; No. 113, p. 31, etc. Many other pieces may well have  preceding the name hidden by the overlapping ends of the straps.

<sup>4</sup> See DARESSY, *Revue Archéologique*, 1896, p. 74. Cf. BREASTED, *Records of Ancient Egypt*, Vol. IV, § 688.

<sup>5</sup> For the finding of four tabs showing the king before Mut on the mummy of a priestess of Amen-Rē, see MASPERO, *Les momies royales*, p. 579.



18



19



327.14) represent the king before Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>. These pieces are slightly smaller than the set with the goddess Mut and are all of approximately the same size; but whether all of them originally belonged together is rendered doubtful by the fact that in three cases the god is at the right, but in the fourth at the left.

On all the pieces the legends refer to the king, on the first set reading: "Son of Rē<sup>c</sup>, Meriamūn-Osorkon, given life, beloved of Mut, Lady of Ishru," on three of the second four reading: "Good god, Sekhemkheperre<sup>c</sup>-Setpenrē<sup>c</sup>, Meriamūn-Osorkon, beloved of [Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>], Lord of Heaven, given life," on the fourth, 322.14, after the king's name, Meriamūn-Osorkon, "beloved of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, given life." The set showing the goddess Mut and No. 322.14 are thus dated to the XXII<sup>nd</sup> Dynasty, and the other three, more specifically, to the reign of Osorkon I, whose prenomen they bear. If our theory that they were derived from the temple stores be correct, the straps may occasionally not have been placed on mummies until after the reign of the high-priest or king represented and named on the tabs.

Some eighteen fragments of the straps accompany the eight embossed tabs in the Cleveland collection. They consist of strips of red leather with edges folded over and tied at intervals on the wrong side by red leather thongs (see Plate XXXVII, bottom left). The fragments vary from eight inches in length to minute pieces, and in width from an inch to three-quarters of an inch<sup>1</sup>. The usual style would seem to have been that represented by the Cleveland pieces, namely straps, the binding and backing of the tabs of red leather and the insets with embossed scenes of undyed leather, but the colours in various representations of them show that other combinations, too, were made<sup>2</sup>.

The divinity represented on the majority of extant tabs is either Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> or Mut, but M. Daressy mentions also Khons<sup>3</sup>, who, as a member of the Theban triad, would naturally be thus honoured, and Mont<sup>4</sup>, whose worship was also very prominent at Thebes. The Berlin Museum records (*Ausführliches Verzeichniss*, p. 238) Horus, but the Ptah and Min enumerated there and the Min of *Annales du Service*, Vol. VII, p. 156 are possibly mistakes for Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup>, who is mentioned in the accompanying legend of the ithyphallic god, whenever the god's name is preserved in the examples accessible to me. In addition to the straps and embossed tabs in Cleveland, the only others in the United States, so far as I have observed, are two tabs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, Nos. 12.182.22 A and B, showing Osorkon I before Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> and two fragmentary tabs in the Edwin Smith collection of the New York Historical Society, on which the names are illegible.

Before passing to the works of sculpture in the collection, we may notice briefly a few other objects and classes of material not previously touched upon:

Of weapons and implements, there are typical flints, including a few good examples of Prehistoric flaked knives of Neolithic type, also one bronze dagger (238.14) of the XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty. Interesting are some wooden arrows, manufactured for the tomb, in which the nodules of real reed arrows and the ties to hold the points in place are simulated in paint and incised lines.

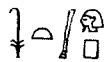
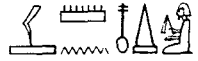

Wooden groups depicting the various occupations and single figures of the Transitional type, X<sup>th</sup>—XII<sup>th</sup> Dynasty in date, are represented by some eight pieces.


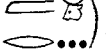



<sup>1</sup> A most careful description of one pair of straps is given in *Annales du Service*, Vol. VII, pp. 176—177, of which the length, 71 cm., was recovered. Cf. also QUIBELL, *Ramesseum*, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup> GAUTHIER, *Cercueils anthropoïdes des prêtres de Montou*, p. 114: "Sur la poitrine deux bandelettes se croisent, rouges et serties de blanc sur leurs contours."

<sup>3</sup> No. 66 of his list.

<sup>4</sup> No. 64 of his list.

The number of Canopic jars is as yet meagre, including only two of alabaster (108 and 109.14) dating from the XVIIIth Dynasty and belonging to a  "First Royal Herald" who bears the rare and interesting name  Gerg-mennofre, *i.e.* "Establisher-of-Memphis," and a set of pottery jars of the  "Wab-priest and Lector, Hori" (143—146.14) of the same general type as those illustrated in MACIVER AND MACE, *El-Amrah and Abydos*, Pls. XLIV and LVI, which were used also to hold ushabtis<sup>1</sup>.

The different classes of ushabtis, exclusive of very early ones, are well exemplified. The following deserve special mention: 395.14, dark stone ushabti of one Nebmehit, in the dress of life<sup>2</sup>, 26 and 27.14, faience ushabtis of the "Overseer of Cattle (, var. , Dḥutnōse (, var. ); No. 26 wears a heart amulet suspended from the neck by a cord on which cylindrical beads are strung at wide intervals; both figures have the mummy wrappings in white glaze, face and hands brown-red, inscriptions, wig, etc. in under-glaze brownish line; 22.14, blue-glazed ushabti of Sethos I; 358.14, a coffin-like box, rectangular, with high ends, inscribed in vertical lines on all four faces with the usual ushabti-formula in favour of the  "singer of the House of Amūn Petamenpḥonkh," the daughter of Raḥnūfer; it is filled with tiny ushabtis.

A paint-box (284.14), eight and a quarter inches long, is worthy of special notice. It has five oval holes about one by one and one-eighth inches in size, still partially filled with pigments. At one end is the inscription: "the Governor of the City, the Vizier, Amen...."

In works of sculpture in the round the collection has made a good beginning. There are only a few statuettes of gods, but several of those are of exceptional quality, including a tiny gold figure of a ram-headed god (16.664) and a rare bronze figure of Amen-Rē<sup>c</sup> seated, with its original throne of wood and considerable areas of gold-leaf preserved on crown and kilt; the style of the face suggests a date toward the close of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Large portrait statues of private men and women are lacking, but the following good material may be enumerated: 43.14, a wooden statuette of a maiden of the XIIth Dynasty, especially interesting for the collar worked in stucco, and showing well the method of fastening; 190.14, a small stone figure of a man seated on the ground with knees drawn up nearly to the level of his chin and with his cloak wrapped about him; 196.14, a pleasing small fragment from a statuette of stone, consisting of a hand and part of the wings which once enveloped the figure; 1584.17, a large and well-modelled bronze cat (height, 18 in.); 82.16, an excellent lioness' head of diorite, broken from some statue of Sakhmet, which illustrates the monumental quality of Egyptian statuary at its best; 860.17, a typical royal head of dark stone of the XXXth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic Period. The remaining two pieces may be treated more fully.

No. 20 (Plate XXXVIII. bottom). Head of a king broken from a statue (192.14). Diorite. XVIIIth Dynasty. Ht., 9 $\frac{1}{8}$  in. Nose broken off and chin, left eyebrow, uraeus, and head-cloth chipped.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. AYRTON-CURRELLY-WEIGALL, *Abydos III*, pp. 42 and 51.

<sup>2</sup> Like ERMAN, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, Fig. 66 a.



21




20

THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART  
AT CLEVELAND, OHIO (IX)






In the absence of inscriptional evidence the identity of this king cannot be established with certainty, but the head bears considerable resemblance to known portraits of Tuthmosis III, especially to the Turin seated figure, which is also beardless, and to the standing Cairo portrait illustrated in VON BISSING, *Denkmäler ägyptischer Skulptur*, Pl. 39. Here the eyes are a little more prominent and the conventional smile a little more pronounced, giving the head, despite its evident sophistication, a slightly archaic look. The shape of the face, the overhanging lower lip, the position of the uræus very low on the band crossing the forehead, the way the head-cloth, eyebrows, and cosmetic lines are stylised—all these are points of resemblance to the portraits of Tuthmosis III. The absence of the nose renders a judgment more difficult, but at least the conjecture may be ventured that the head is an early<sup>1</sup> portrait of this great warrior king of the XVIIIth Dynasty, of whom many certified statues have come down to us.

No. 21 (Plate XXXVIII, top). Upper part of a portrait statuette of the "King's Descendant" (), 'Ankhhôr" (191.14). Dark stone. Ht., 8½ in. XXVIth Dynasty or later.

The garment, the wig, and the artistic style, emphasizing the prominent cheek bones and deep lines about the mouth, are reminiscent of the Middle Kingdom, especially of the reign of Amenemmes III. The statues of the earlier period, however, were usually broader-faced, and such a confused rendering as that of an apparently shaven head merging behind into a wig is unparalleled for the earlier time. Furthermore, the fragmentary two-line inscription on the plinth at the back contains formulae<sup>3</sup> characteristic of late statues.

Of relief sculpture and stelae, the collection contains the following pieces: 202.14, a fragment from a mastabeh chapel of the Vth or VIth Dynasty showing the profile head and the shoulders of a man of high rank, with the face of a second figure, wife or mother, and a few hieroglyphs; 200.14, a fragment of Transitional sculpture with four figures, crude in drawing and composition, but characteristic of the period and having abundant remains of colour; 184 and 185.14, two stelae of the early Empire, the latter of Userhêt, dedicated by his son, Khamwëse, containing a ten-line inscription; 188.14, a lovely small fragment with single head and shoulders from some tomb wall of the Empire; 201.14, a large stele of considerable artistic merit with numerous gods and devotees, the latter including the High-priest of Memphis  Shedsenefertêm, who held office in the early part of the XXIIInd Dynasty<sup>4</sup>; 193.14, a late stele, Ptolemaic or Roman, with debased inscription; 182 and 183.14, two tables of offerings with reliefs, the first inscribed with a prayer to "Amün in the midst of Opet" in favour of one Harsiëse, the second uninscribed, but very decorative; 186, 194, and 195.14, sculptor's models of the XXXth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic period, of which No. 195.14 shows the wonderfully expressive fore-part of a jackal's head; and, finally, the two pieces with which this account of the Cleveland collection closes.



<sup>1</sup> Cf. the eyes in the triad of Tuthmosis I, Ahmose and Amün, LEGRAIN, *Statues et statuettes de rois et de particuliers*, Vol. I, No. 42.052, Pl. XXVIII.

<sup>2</sup> On the original reading and significance of this title see BORCHARDT-SETHE, *Grabdenkmal des Königs Sahurê*, Text, pp. 76—77.

<sup>3</sup> See Gardiner in AYRTON-CURRELLY-WEIGALL, *Abydos III*, p. 41 and the literature cited there.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. LIEBLEIN, *Dictionnaire des noms hiéroglyphiques*, Nos. 1027 and 2269. See now on this stele my article in *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, Oct.—Nov., 1918, pp. 67—9.

No. 22 (see Fig. 1 below). Lintel from a doorway of a building of Queen Amenardis at Thebes (203 . 14). Limestone. XXVth Dynasty. The block had been broken in two and a few of the signs are now restored in plaster. Width, 5 ft. 11 in.; ht., 2 ft. 2½ in.

The inscription of the top line refers to the winged sun-disk below it, symbol of the sun-god, Horus of Edfu. The same phrases are repeated twice, reading from both ends toward the centre, thus securing a symmetrical arrangement of the signs for decorative effect. The central hieroglyph  is read twice, at the end of each repetition of the inscription, the translation of which is: "He, of Edfu, great god, brilliant of plumage, who ascends from the horizon, giving life." The other horizontal line reads from the middle toward the two ends,  again is read twice and the two sides are symmetrically arranged and alike with the exception of the epithets of Amen-Ré and one of the queen's

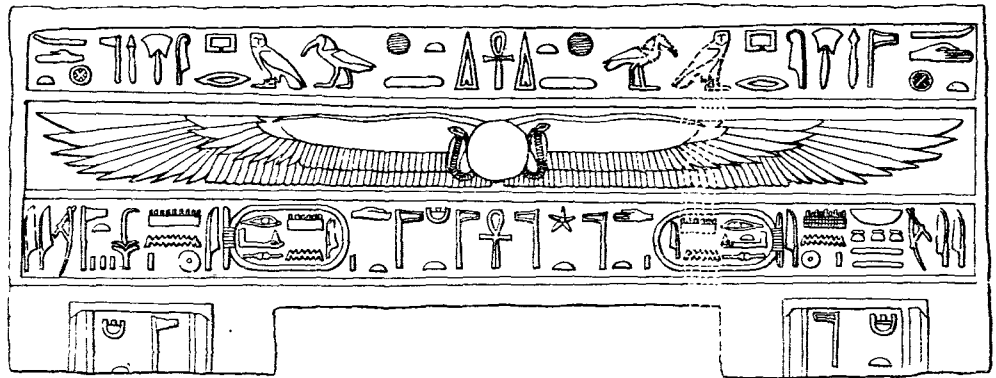


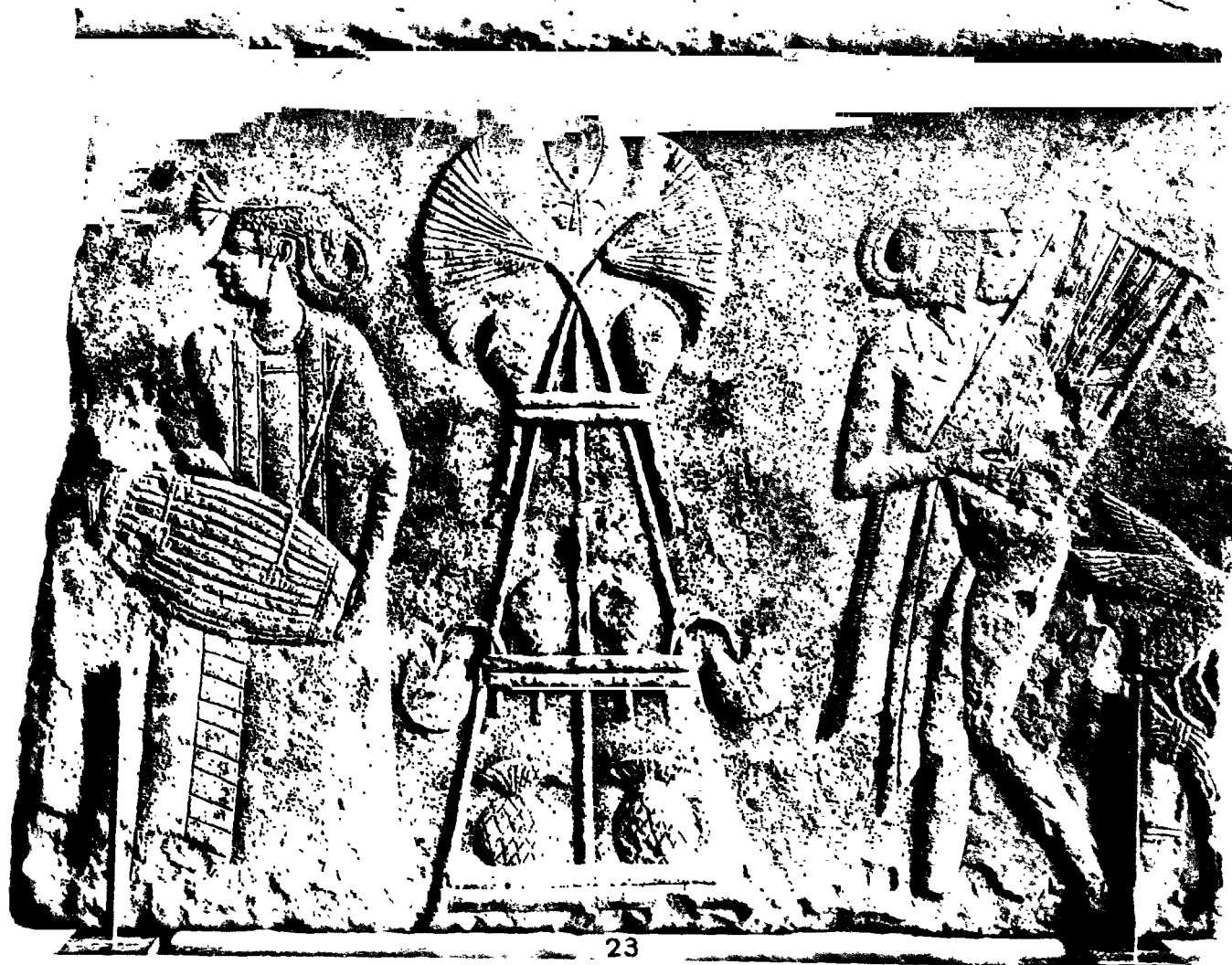
Fig. 1.

two titles. On the left we have: "May there live the Divine Consort, the *d't-ntr* (an obscure title of the priestesses of Amūn), Amenardis, beloved of Amen-Ré, King of the Gods." On the right instead of "Divine Consort," there occurs "Divine Votaress" and Amūn has the title "Lord of the Thrones of the Two Lands (Karnak)." We have also the opening words "Divine Consort" of two symmetrically-arranged, vertical inscribed lines which occupied the jambs of the doorway. On the known monuments of this queen, see the article "Heart Scarab of Queen Amenardis" in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, Vol. x (1915), pp. 116—117.

No. 23 (Plate XXXIX). Fragment of tomb relief from Memphis (199 . 14). Limestone. XXXth Dynasty or early Ptolemaic. Ht., 10¾ in. The block is broken off at both ends and the scenes are incomplete; its lower edge has disintegrated, carrying away a small part of the relief.

Nearly in the middle of this fragment is a strange construction of plant forms once separating two groups of musicians, from each of which, however, only one complete figure remains. The figure on the left is beating a drum with her finger tips, the girl on the right dances to the music of her own lyre. In the lower left-hand corner is a bit of worked surface, which may possibly be the back of a harpist seated on the ground. In a corresponding position on the right, a bird is balanced precariously on a bundle of reeds.

This rare and charming piece of relief sculpture finds its closest analogy in two reliefs from the tomb of Thanūfer, which were published in excellent reproductions by the late



THE EGYPTIAN COLLECTION IN THE MUSEUM OF ART AT CLEVELAND, OHIO (X)



Sir Gaston Maspero in *Le Musée Égyptien*, Vol. II (1906), Pls. XXXII B, XXXIV, XXXIX B, XL, and XLI; one of these is in Cairo, the other in the museum at Alexandria. In Thanûfer's reliefs are observable the same degree of projection, the same voluptuous style, the same costumes as in the Cleveland piece. Of the two, the relief in Alexandria is especially interesting for comparison, because it represents musicians and includes a drummer, a lyre-player, and several stacks of plants, each separating groups: it is accordingly repeated here in a line-drawing (Plate XL) made by Mr Lindsley F. Hall after the plates of Maspero's publication.

Thanûfer's reliefs were placed by Maspero at the end of a series of late tomb-reliefs, inspired chiefly by the mastabeh reliefs of the Old Kingdom, but showing progressively less and less of that influence. His essay includes a discussion of the most important pieces in the Cairo and Alexandria Museums, and at the close of it he expressed the hope that other reliefs would be added to those which he published. In the same year Dr W. Max Müller, without knowledge of Maspero's essay, made known two additional late reliefs, also in the Cairo Museum, which he mistook, however, for works of the Old Kingdom<sup>1</sup>. Several years later Dr von Bissing republished the Alexandrian relief from Thanûfer's tomb in his *Denkmäler*, Pl. 101, accompanying it with a long discussion and adding a list of some dozen and a half pieces which he attributed to the late series. One of these, unpublished at that time and perhaps still, is a piece in his own collection which he believes is from the tomb of Thanûfer. Three other fragments on his list, Ptolemaic in date, were represented in Pl. 102, but the number of the late reliefs which have been made available is still so small that the Cleveland piece is a very welcome addition to the series.

All the reliefs in question have in common the division of the wall-decoration into narrow registers, after the manner initiated in the early mastabeh tombs, and the representation of themes originating in the Old Kingdom, such as the deceased seated and approached by offering bearers, or inspecting cattle which are being driven home from the Delta marshes, or pursuing various sports in the papyrus thickets. Unlike the early compositions, however, these creations of late times, so far as known, do not emphasize the importance of the deceased by making him tower above his servitors, thus occupying the height of several registers; instead of this, his figure is kept in the modest dimensions of the persons who approach him<sup>2</sup>. We must imagine, then, our relief terminating on the

<sup>1</sup> *Egyptological Researches. Results of a Journey in 1904*, Washington, 1906, Pls. 1 and 2, with pp. 9—11.

<sup>2</sup> When seated, his figure is to a somewhat larger scale, but that is only because it was desired to bring the heads all in a line; the lesser height of the trigon-player seated before Thanûfer (Plate XL) is to give room for his instrument, also possibly to suggest the crouched form of an old man, not to subordinate him to the main figure. Dr von Bissing suggested that this Alexandrian relief, which ends above, as does our piece, in a torus moulding, came from a false door. No particulars have been published of the finding *in situ* of reliefs of this class, and the majority, if not all, are reused blocks, but they could hardly have been confined, in their original positions, to the false doors in view of blocks such as those in MASPERO, *op. cit.*, Pls. XXXVIII B and XXXVII, which show two and three registers one above the other. Hence the possibility should be kept in mind that larger figures of the deceased may once have decorated the main walls of these tombs. However that may be, the extant blocks terminating above in torus mouldings, even if all from false doors instead of from the top registers of main walls, hold a greater number of figures and greater variety of scenes than any blocks from Old Kingdom false doors, while in the latter, in contrast with these, as much difference of scale as was feasible artistically within a single register was made between the main and subordinate persons.

left in a seated figure of the lord of the tomb enjoying the musical performance and dancing of the maidens before him.

Those of the late tomb reliefs which stand at the beginning of Maspero's series show resemblances in costume to Old Kingdom scenes, especially in the men's figures, and some approach in style to the simple austere character of early work. But here the general theme and the arrangement in a narrow register are all that remain of the influence handed down from the Old Kingdom. The dress of these players has an exotic look, and the soft, sensuous modelling is unparalleled in earlier periods. Although there is little to suggest the Old Kingdom, one motive seems to have been inherited from the graceful art of the mid-XVIIIth Dynasty, that of the girl dancing to the music of her own stringed instrument<sup>1</sup>.

Maspero attributed certain of these late tomb reliefs to the XXVIth Dynasty or the beginning of the Persian Age, others to the XXIXth—XXXth Dynasties. Of the reliefs

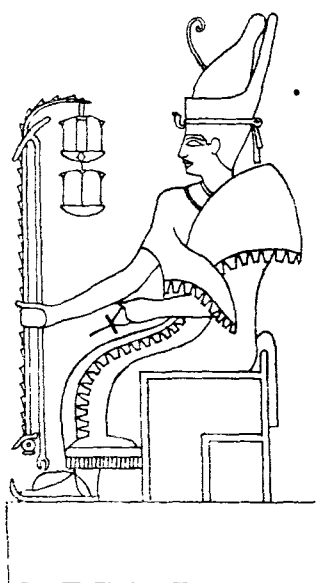


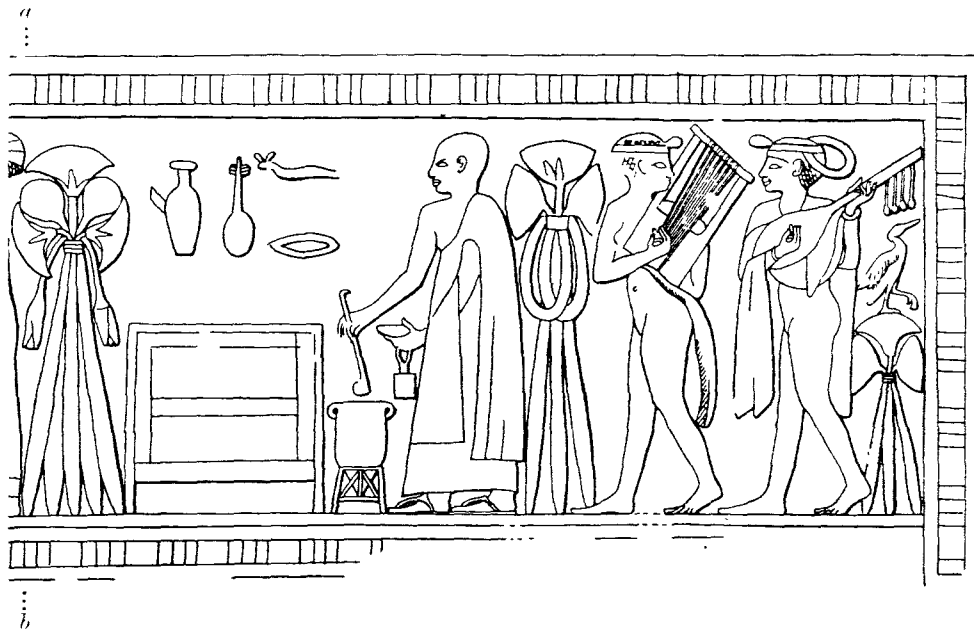
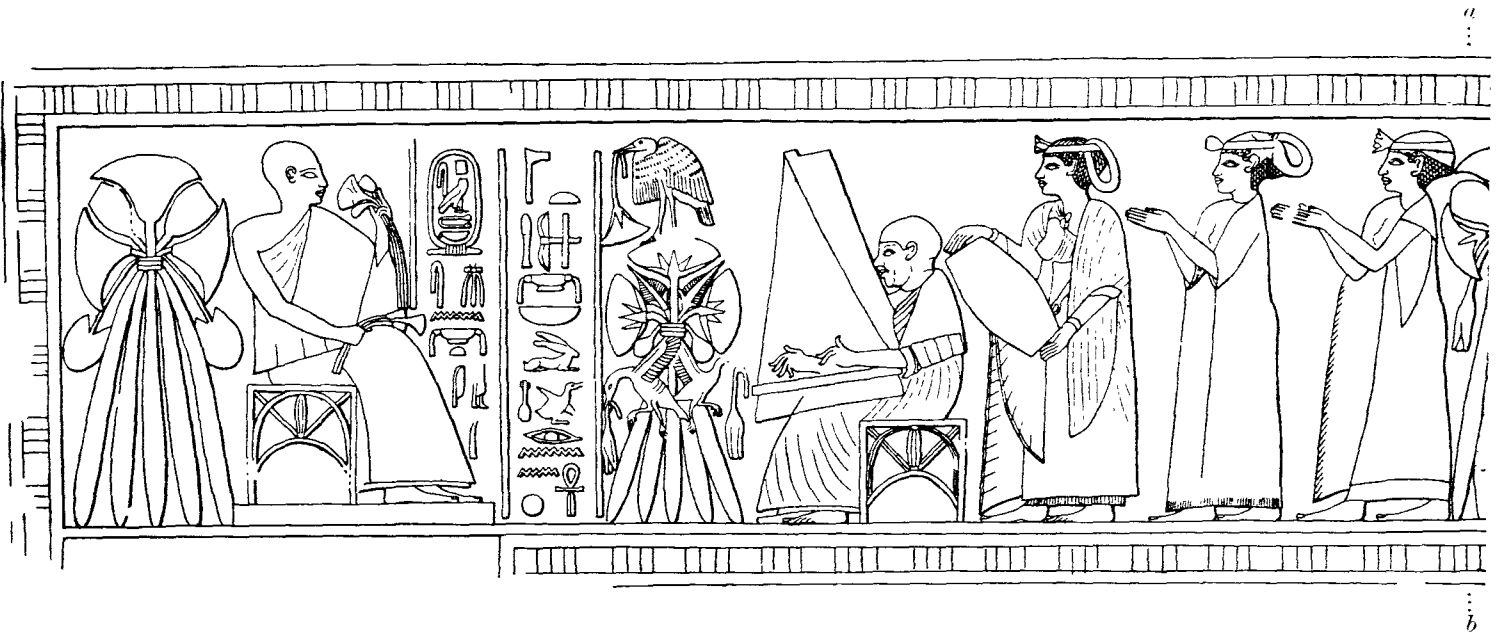
Fig. 2. (FROM ROCHEMONTEIX, *Le Temple d'Edfou*, Pl. XLVI, b.)

of Thanûfer, with which we are especially concerned, he wrote: "ils ne peuvent pas remonter plus haut que la XXIX<sup>e</sup> ou la XXX<sup>e</sup> dynastie, et sans doute faut-il les faire descendre jusque sous l'un des trois ou quatre premiers Ptolémées." Later, in *Art in Egypt*, p. 266, he supported unequivocally a date "in the reign of one of the first Ptolemies." Dr von Bissing discussed the date at great length and finally labelled his Pl. 101 "XXXth Dynasty"; in his text he came to the conclusion that the various characteristics of the Alexandrian relief go back in origin to the Persian period, but that much in the impression made by the work in its entirety suggests a date at least as late as the XXXth Dynasty, if not indeed Ptolemaic. He found no single detail, except the stalks of *Cyperus alopecuroides* seen in the construction of plants and birds in front of Thanûfer, which could not be paralleled in pre-Ptolemaic times. At once, however, a XXXth Dynasty occurrence of *Cyperus alopecuroides* may be mentioned, namely in the capital from the Hibis temple in the Khargeh Oasis, now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, pictured in the frontispiece of the 1911 *Handbook of the Egyptian Rooms*.

As between a dating in the XXXth Dynasty or early in the Ptolemaic period, there is little further to be said. Certainly, of late years, we have been realizing more and more that the artistic style characteristic of early Ptolemaic monuments began earlier, in the XXXth Dynasty, as witness, for instance, such reliefs as those which have come to light since 1910 at Behbêt in the Delta<sup>2</sup>. There is a freshness and charm in Thanûfer's reliefs and in our piece which one would preferably believe to belong to the years when works of their artistic style were new. On the other hand the mantle with slashed edge worn by Thanûfer

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the dancing lute-player of the tomb of Nakht, DAVIES, *The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, frontispiece, Pls. XV and XVI. There are other similar figures with lute or lyre in the tombs of Nebamûn (No. 90), of Harenhab (No. 78) and of Wah (No. 22) at Thebes. The figure in the tomb of Nakht is perhaps the earliest extant.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. EDGAR and ROEDER, *Recueil de travaux*, Vol. XXXV (1913), pp. 1 ff.



RELIEF FROM THE TOMB OF THANUFER, NOW IN THE MUSEUM AT ALEXANDRIA





and by the man with the trigon is favourable to the later period, since all the definitely dated occurrences known thus far are of Ptolemaic times<sup>1</sup>, cf. Fig. 2 on p. 282.

Both Maspero and Dr von Bissing refer to the dress as Greek; but is it purely Greek? The fringe around the bottom of the tunics worn by the drummer and her companion in Thanûfer's relief, and in all probability originally by the girl with drum in our piece, is not characteristically Greek. Thanûfer's mantle is, to be sure, apparently put on like the Greek himation, but again the slashed border does not have a Greek look; nor is the small garment with fringed edge worn by the dancers and fastened by a brooch around the neck necessarily the Greek chlamys, which belonged properly to men's apparel. Rather we are reminded of the influence from Asia observable in Egyptian dress as far back as the XVIIIth Dynasty. For instance, the small statuette of Amenophis III published by M. Chassinat<sup>2</sup> shows an under-dress fringed around the bottom and an over-dress which passes over the left shoulder and leaves the right free; the well-known seated statue of Ramesses II in Turin Museum also wears the dress fringed around the bottom, and examples of later date could be mentioned<sup>3</sup>. All the fringed garments worn by mortals which precede those on the reliefs under discussion have the appearance of sheer, pleated linen, and the mantles, although resembling these of later date in leaving the right arm and shoulder free, also look like linen and are fastened under the breast. The later fringed tunics may still be of linen, but at least the mantle would seem to be, like the himation, of wool and merely thrown about the person. A new influence in dress is undeniable in these reliefs, but is linked with the old influence from Western Asia by the prominence of fringe, and may perhaps be considered a modified Greek influence brought by the Persians, or even, if Maspero was right in the later dating of these reliefs, by the Ptolemaic newcomers into Egypt, as is suggested by the numerous representations of Ptolemaic rulers in fringed tunic and slashed mantle.

Dr von Bissing has already shown that the form of jar from which the priest in Thanûfer's relief is about to dip is Mesopotamian rather than Greek. Other elements in the two reliefs are traditionally Egyptian, as, for example, the instruments, although even here it may be pointed out that the lyres are not so ornate as those of the Egyptian Empire, resembling much more the earliest lyre represented on extant Egyptian monuments, that borne by a Semitic immigrant in a tomb-painting at Beni Hasan<sup>4</sup>. The different wigs are not unlike some of earlier times, but strikingly new and contributory to the exotic look of the costumes is the ribbon or roll attached to many of the wigs behind. Dr von Bissing saw in them wreaths, perhaps identical with the loops on the stack of lotus in front of Thanûfer's lyre-player; but the Cleveland relief makes clear in the case of the figure on the left that we have to do with an appendage to the wig, attached by two ends. Perhaps in these accessories of the wig we see the beginning of a tendency toward elaborate gear which culminated in such structures as were represented on anthropoid

<sup>1</sup> See Von Bissing's commentary, note 15.

<sup>2</sup> *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*, Vol. VII (1910), pp. 169—172, Pls. I—III. The figure is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, belonging to the estate of the late Mr Theodore M. Davis.

<sup>3</sup> Among them, the fringed dress worn by Bast in numerous small cat-headed statuettes, which are surely of earlier origin than our reliefs and directly influenced from Asia.

<sup>4</sup> NEWBERRY, *Beni Hasan*, Vol. I, Pls. XXX and XXXI. For the drum, cf. the actual drum found at Beni Hasan, GARSTANG, *Burial Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, Fig. 155 and p. 156; also MASPERO, *Guide to the Cairo Museum*, 4th Engl. ed., p. 299.

coffins of late date, where various rolls seem to intermingle with, or surmount, the wig<sup>1</sup>. Interesting details in the Cleveland relief are the drummer-girl's string of beads—ball beads alternating with barrel beads as of old, but in the centre an exceptionally large barrel-shaped bead—and her ear-ring of a well-known classical pattern, that is, consisting of a crescent-shaped piece passing through the ear, from which hangs a pendant of several members strung vertically<sup>2</sup>.

In the central construction between our two figures, lotus leaves and papyrus umbels are unmistakable. Corn-flowers may be represented below, although their size is out of all proportion to that of the other plants; certainly pine-apples, which are an American tropical fruit in origin, could not have been intended. There remain the four smaller pointed buds and one more advanced, blunter, bud. For the similar, but less clearly defined, forms in the Alexandrian relief, Dr von Bissing suggested the buds of *Nelumbium speciosum*, which is generally believed to have been introduced into Egypt by the Persians; this identification appears to me to be correct<sup>3</sup>. The whole, however, has a distinctly more artificial look than the stacks in Thanûfer's relief; there the actual plants seem tied together and the characteristic bulging form of the lower ends of the papyrus stalks is preserved. Here the two papyrus umbels seem almost to run into legs fastened together by rails, instead of ties, as if the structure were of light wood, but this effect is probably deceptive, enhanced by the loss of the lower edge of the relief.

It seems established that the reliefs from Thanûfer's tomb were found at Memphis, and the Cleveland relief is so closely related to them that we may at least believe it to be of the same school of sculpture and also to have come from Memphis. But can we go further? That the source of the two reliefs in Cairo and Alexandria was Thanûfer's tomb is made certain by their inscriptions. Presumably Dr von Bissing assigned the relief in his possession to the same tomb on grounds of style, possibly aided also by information as to the circumstances under which it was found. It would not be surprising if the relief in Cleveland were from the same source, although we have no indisputable proof such as an inscription would furnish. If this be true, our piece must have come from a different part of the decoration than the relief in Alexandria; for the torus moulding above the latter is carved with bands in relief, while ours is plain and, as we have seen, the stacks of plants and birds there are different in style. If the tomb, about which all information is lacking, was a large one, the Cleveland piece, in view of its artistic style, costumes and other details may quite possibly have come from one of its rooms.

In conclusion, we may turn our attention, for a moment, to the second of the two reliefs published by Dr W. Max Müller (*Egyptological Studies*, Pl. 2). It belongs certainly to the same school of sculpture, possibly to the same tomb as the Cleveland piece. The design includes a girl poling a papyrus skiff; her body is in much the same posture as that of our lyre-player; on her forehead is a rosette such as the lyre-player wears; and she also has the ribbon or roll attached to her wig behind. A stack of lotus and papyrus on the raft, some fringed garments represented in the register above, and the artistic style, even though the execution is casual, mark this relief as belonging to the same category as the Cleveland piece and Thanûfer's reliefs.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for instance, the British Museum guide entitled *A Guide to the First and Second Egyptian Rooms*, 1904, Pl. XXXI.

<sup>2</sup> For actual examples of Roman date found in Egypt, see PETRIE, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, Pl. XL, two upper rows, and PETRIE and MACKAY, *Heliopolis, Kafir Ammar and Sharafa*, Pl. LII, No. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Ancient Egypt*, 1917. Part I, Fig. 8 on p. 4.

*Corrigendum.* By a regrettable error the cartonnage head described under No. 14 on p. 176 was attributed to an inner anthropoid coffin. I was deceived by its comparatively advanced style and the fact that the preserved portions of the sides of the head do not show in the photograph which was in my hands when writing this paper. On a later visit to Cleveland I found that there could have been no division into box and cover. The piece is, then, from a mask—a Twelfth-Dynasty survival in form, although not in style, of the masks of the Transitional Period.—C. R. W.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY 1917—18: ANCIENT EGYPT

By F. LL. GRIFFITH, M.A.

LETTERS have appeared in the newspapers urging that the British Government should give support to Egyptology, and in particular advocating the creation of a subsidised British Imperial Institute of Archaeology in Egypt. The present is a moment when the Empire must feel deeply its responsibility for the safety of the monuments in Egypt, the scientific control of its exploitation and the recording and garnering of its marvellous treasures of art and history. A letter on this subject addressed to the *Times* by our President is reprinted on p. 217 of the *Journal*.

*The work of the Egypt Exploration Fund 1882—1918* is a brief review, in seven pages, with illustrations, of what the Society has accomplished in the thirty-six years of its existence.

The publication of *Ancient Egypt* has been suspended since the end of 1917 owing to the war.

The first volume of Oric BATES' *Harvard African Studies* is reviewed by SELIGMAN, *Man*, 1918, no. 44. May we express the hope that this promising enterprise will not be allowed to lapse, but may become what its lamented author evidently desired it should be, a permanent repository for research in a wide field around the great centres of early civilisation in Africa?

An influential committee at Khartoum, headed by Mr J. W. CROWFOOT, has founded a magazine entitled *Sudan Notes and Records*. The first number, which appeared in January 1918, contains interesting and valuable articles on the Ancient History (by REISNER), anthropology and natural history of that country. Subsequent numbers are not less valuable in their contents. Subscribers who send half-a-guinea to the Secretary, *Sudan Notes and Records*, Law Courts, Khartoum, will recognise that they are aiding a worthy enterprise, one which will improve our knowledge of a substantial portion of the British Empire and will help forward its scientific development.

We may here call attention to FLINDERS PETRIE's *Eastern Exploration, Past and Future*, three lectures delivered at the Royal Institution dealing with Jerusalem and Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia; their historical importance at all periods; how to preserve their archaeological records; how to establish an efficient Department of Antiquities and satisfactory laws in regard to the handling of discoveries and treasure trove: and what pitfalls to avoid.

In a report on repairs by BARSANTI at Saqqâreh (Serapeum, etc.), Thebes (Ramesseum and Tombs of the Kings) and Nubia (Abusimbel to Philae), it is stated that the relief inscriptions reached by the reservoir water at Philae, etc., are doomed to gradually disappear, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 8, 11, 14.

DARESSY writes on the water question in Ancient Egypt, the Nile, irrigation, wells and disputes about them, and cisterns constructed in the desert, *Mémoires présentés à l'Institut Égyptien*, VIII, 201.

QUIBELL gives a very interesting account (though with but little archaeology) of a visit to the Oasis of Siwa, *Ann. du Service*, XVIII, 78.

ROEDER has contributed a survey of the progress of Egyptology during 1916 to *Zeits. d. Morgenl. Ges.*, LXXI, 272.

Bibliography of the principal and most useful works for the study of Egyptology and of the monuments and sites in topographical order, RICCI, *Revue Archéologique*, v sér., tome VI, 197, 374. On the long series of publications of the *Institut français au Caire*, ID., *op. cit.*, v, 359.

#### EXCAVATIONS AND EXPLORATIONS.

NAPATA. Prof. REISNER describes the results of his excavations of 1916 in the Barkal temples, giving in detail, with numerous plans, the architectural history of the rear part of the Great Temple, *Journal*, iv, 213: of the Meroitic temple 600 with reused blocks of Tuthmosis IV: by the side of it was the larger temple 700, partly buried by a fall of cliff, which smashed it yet kept the fragments safe; here remains were found of a Meroitic portico (containing *inter alia* a statuette of Amenhotp III duly defaced by Akhenaton); the temple was founded by Atlanersa and added to by Senkamanseken. A paved roadway, short and curved, was found in front of 700, *op. cit.*, v, 99.

The Boston Museum publishes an illustrated account of REISNER's discoveries in the Pyramids of Nûri, especially from the point of view of finds of objects and royal names. The former included a vast number of stone ushabtis of Tirhaka and faience ushabtis of Senkamanseken; the ancient plunderers, cruelly systematic though they were, had left behind several interesting specimens of work in gold and silver, besides commoner materials which they despised. Foundation deposits were discovered under the corners of most of the pyramids. The chief pyramid was that of King Tirhaka, surrounded by the small pyramids of many of the later queens: a little to the west stood the pyramids of Tirhaka's fourteen successors down to Nastasen. *Boston Mus. Bulletin*, XVI, p. 67 (Oct. 1918).

KURRU. A pyramid, on excavation, proved to be of late Ethiopian age: about another lay fragments of ushabtis of a king Piankhi whom Reisner identifies with Piankhi II; there are also grave tumuli.

ZUMA and TANGASSI. The mounds are not pyramids but grave tumuli, very late Meroitic at the earliest, ID., *Journal*, v, 67.

KERMA. Description of Reisner's results, NAVILLE, *Revue Archéologique*, v sér., tome v, 265.

ELEPHANTINE. In January to March 1918 three members of the *Institut biblique Pontificale de Rome* excavated a portion of the island, keeping careful record of the finds. Amongst the finds was a fragment of an Aramaic stele which seems to show an early type of writing. STRAZZULI, BOVIER-LAPIERRE and RONZEVILLE, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 1.

THEBES. After sketching the history of the Thebais under the Romans, LEGRAIN describes the condition of Luxor and the progress of excavation there down to 1915, when the houses on the river bank to the west of the temple were expropriated. After this had been accomplished *sebakh*-digging was systematically permitted under inspection. The result has been the gradual uncovering of a Roman forum with monuments including two inscribed bases for columns dedicated to "Caesar" (perhaps Julian the Apostate) by Aurelius Ginus, prefect of the Thebais. LEGRAIN gives a plan of so much as had been cleared. *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 49, also in *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, v sér., XI, 241.

FOUCART publishes some frescoes discovered in clearances of tombs made by the French Institute in 1917. At Kurnet Murrai in tomb no. 16 of Amenemōnet (Dyn. XIX) are unusual scenes of (1) the conveyance of the mummy by four bearers, (2) the funerary cult of Amenophis III and queen Taia, and (3) offerings to king Menthōtpe and queen Neferys (*sic*). In the last the queen's name is new; both king and queen are coloured black. A tomb of Dyn. XX near Dêr el-Medîneh of a certain Khabekhonit, with worship of deceased kings as in a homonymous tomb long since known to science, gives a most remarkable scene in which a great mummied fish called *abt* is upon the bier tended by Anubis. This fish must be a symbol of Osiris and is the text for a long discussion of the origin of the Christian fish-symbol. A connexion is suggested with the fish as a symbol of Hathor or with the *abdu* fish of the Osirian mysteries. *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, v sér., XI, 261.

After an introduction by LYTHGOE, LANSING reports on the excavations at the palace of Amenophis III in 1916-17, when the work reached the northern limit, so that one more season would complete the exploration of this important site. Here a great court was revealed and at the west end the foundations of a pillared hall surrounded by chambers; this was identified by inscriptions on jars as having been built or at least used for the celebration of the second *sed*-festival of Amenophis III, which is now found to have taken place in his 34th year.

DAVIES reports on the completed restoration and copying of the tomb of Puyemrē and figures an ideal reconstruction of one of the decorated doorways. He also illustrates a number of interesting and finely executed hieroglyphs and fragments of scenes from the tomb of Kēnamūn, keeper of the cattle of Amūn, whose magnificent sepulchre evidently suffered from the displeasure of his royal master Amenophis II. *The Egyptian Expedition 1916-17*, Supplement to *Bull. Metro. Mus.*, March 1918.

*The Tomb of Nakht at Thebes*, by N. de G. DAVIES, reviewed by GRIFFITH, *Journal*, IV, 282.

DENDEREH. Note of the discovery of a late Ptolemaic temple treasure by the *sebbākhîn*, *Journal*, v, 68. FISHER describes the Philadelphia excavations in the necropolis, revealing tombs which date from Dyn. II onwards almost continually to Moslem times, all very carefully recorded and planned, *Philadelphian Museums Journal*, VIII, 1917.

TELL EL-AMARNA, review of BORCHARDT's excavations (Smithsonian Report 1916), *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 140.

HERACLEOPOLIS MAGNA. Blocks of a temple building have been found with the names of Sebeknefru, etc.; amongst them were two colossi usurped by Ramesses II and Meneptah. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 33.

FAYŪM. AUDEBEAU Bey studies the construction of the roof and architraves of the temple of Kaṣr Kaṣrūn, of late Ptolemaic period. After reviewing the evidence regarding the levels of the Fayūm lake he doubts whether it has materially fallen since Roman times. *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, v sér., XI, 171.

MEMPHIS. Mr C. S. FISHER notes that he arrived in Egypt on Dec. 15, 1915, the day when it became a British protectorate, in order to take up work for the Eckley B. Coxe expedition of the University of Pennsylvania. At Memphis, where a building with columns of Meneptah had been discovered, as well as colossi of Ramesses II, he began a large clearance which exposed the whole eastern wing of a palace of Meneptah with remains of numerous columns. The throne room could be identified by its sculptured dais; there were also recognised the vestibule, paved court with remains of painting, and small rooms at the

back including bath room, the inscriptions inlaid with faience. In front there was evidence of a balcony for speeches, etc., as often represented in tombs. Among miscellaneous finds are a fine quartzite head of a member of the family of Akhenaten and from the "Saite" stratum a group of beautiful gold jewellery [according to the Oxford finds at Napata this is characteristically of Ethiopian period], *Philadelphian Museums Journal*, VIII, 211, cf. *Journal*, v, 66.

Muhammed Effendi SHABAN describes a Saite tomb excavated by him beneath the church of St Jeremias, yielding ushabtis of a general named 'Enkh-uahebrē-sineit and two door jambs of Dyn. XIX, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 177.

DAKHLEH OASIS. Report of a journey to the Oasis in 1917 by Girgis Effendi ELIAS, who brought back squeezes of inscriptions of Nero, Vespasian and Titus in the temple of Dêr el-Hagar, published by DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 141.

## PUBLICATION OF TEXTS.

(a) From sites in Egypt, etc.

PHILAE. Inscriptions from the temple of Arsenuphis regarding that god and Tefēnet. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 76.

EDFU. Inscriptions of shrine from a mastabeh belonging to a Governor of the South named Qar or Nefer-merirē who lived under Teti, Pepi I and Merenrē, DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 130. Stelae, two statues, etc. of Middle Kingdom, *ib.*, 237; XVIII, 49.

KARNAK. Fragments of stele of New Kingdom from the *farissa* inscribed with spells against snakes etc., DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 195. Inscriptions of a small temple, partly excavated by Maspero in 1884, in front of the South Tower of the First Pylon. It may have been founded by Tirhaka; the inscriptions prove that Psamuthis (Pshemmut) preceded Achoris [cf. SPIEGELBERG, *Sogen. Demotische Chronik*, p. 6]. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 37.

KĀS. Granite naos for the statue of a vizier of the Old Kingdom; schist naos of Philadelphus already recorded in Napoleon's *Description*, also by Champollion and by Lepsius. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 224.

DENDEREH. Two late stelae and a statue with local titles, stele of Dyn. XIX, DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 89. Naos of Neb-hept-rē Menthotpe (III), built of limestone blocks; as usual his headdress implies rule over Lower Egypt only, but the scenes and inscriptions record victories over foreigners in all directions, *Id.*, *ib.* 226; DARESSY here suggests that the flower of the south may be a trailing and climbing plant—the convolvulus.

SIŪT. Ptolemaic coffin with local religious text. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 95.

CUSAE. Titles of a high priest of Cusae, on canopic jars. *Id.*, *ib.*, XVII, 31.

BALANŠUREH. Statues of period of Amenophis IV of a prince of Nefrus and his wife who was priestess of Khnum of Herwer. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 53, who would distinguish Hetwer from Herwer = Nefrus.

'AHNÂS. Stele of year 10 of king Neferkerē-Pefteaubaste. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 43.

BENHA. Slabs from late shrine with unusual scenes and inscriptions, inscribed earlier with cartouches of Ramesses II. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 185.

FAKĀS. Stele naming the place Pir-nesu "King's house," DARESSY (who discusses the geographical evidence). *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 123.

KANTIR (N.E. Delta). Fragment mentioning Amūn of Khenti-nefer, which, however, seems to belong to the S.W. of the Delta. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 34.



MEENDES. Three late statues with inscriptions of local interest. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 21.

XOIS. Stele of reign of Augustus(?), with geographical names. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 46.

BELTIM (in middle of Delta near coast). Three blocks of a late gateway found in 1907 with interesting geographical names and referring to the recovery of Osiris' body. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 276.

SINAI. Review of GARDINER and PEET, *The Inscriptions of Sinai; Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 134.

ROME. ERMAN gives the history of two obelisks originally designed to be erected in Rome, and prints and translates the inscriptions upon them. (1) The so-called Pamphylius of Domitian, the inscriptions of which follow the ancient Egyptian scheme; this obelisk was restored in the seventeenth century and the smaller fragments were replaced by imitations in which the injured hieroglyphs have been much distorted; ERMAN considers that it belonged to a temple of Isis which Domitian is reported to have built in Rome. (2) The obelisk of Antinous, of a more original and interesting character. The translation of this curious inscription shows a remarkable advance on that which the same scholar gave some 20 years ago; but the materials for establishing the text of each obelisk are still unsatisfactory. *Römische Obeliken in Abhandl.* of the Berlin Academy, 1917, no. 4.

(b) From Museums etc.

CAIRO. Fragments of two wooden coffins (Ptolemaic) engraved with many figures of deities and inscriptions. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 1. Text of ostrakon from Bibân el-Mulûk naming Piankh son of Hrihor, wazir etc., but without his high priesthood of Amûn, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, XVII, 29. Upper part of a stele of Haremhab, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 85. Ritual of offerings for Amenophis I (with whom are joined Ahmesnefertere and Amenrê) in name of Ramesses II. from a papyrus, *ib.*, 97.

MOSCOW. Hand-copies (founded on those of Prof. TOURAEFF and his photographs) of the inscriptions on the naophorous statue published in *Journal*, IV, 119, with photograph and translation of an unpublished inscription on the back. GUNN, *Journal*, V, 125.

COPENHAGEN (National Museum). Catalogue of the Egyptian inscriptions, in autograph, with photographs of the principal monuments, and indices. Maria MOGENSEN, *Inscriptions hiéroglyphiques du Musée National de Copenhague*.

ENGLAND. Archaic funerary stele in the Bankfield Museum, Halifax, attributed to Dyn. II, GARDINER, *Journal*, IV, 256. Statue purchased by Mr H. SWAINSON COWPER from the Hope Collection with a difficult inscription [a priestly title proves it to be of Ptolemaic age]. MURRAY, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 146. Funerary papyrus (Shrine no. 2) in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, with figures of demons and brief texts (Dyn. XX). BLACKMAN, *Journal*, V, 24.

NEW YORK (Metropolitan Museum). Diorite statue of Harnufi, prophet of Amûn in Karnak, received with the FLETCHER collection [Persian period rather than Ptolemaic]. *Bull. Metr. Mus.*, XIII, 59.

(Historical Society.) Relief with head of Semenkhuptah evidently from his tomb at Sakkhareh, and relief of king Sankhkare before the goddess Buto from Hermonthis, both in the Abbott Collection. Miss RANSOM (Mrs C. R. WILLIAMS), *Bull. N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, II, 14.

CLEVELAND (Ohio). Fine stele of Shedesnefertem, high priest of Ptah early in Dyn. XXII, with a representation of Horus on the Lotus, etc. Mrs WILLIAMS, *Bull. Cleveland Mus.*, V, 67.

(c) *Miscellaneous*. Spell or chapter 19 of the Book of the Dead (completing the group 17—20 of which the famous ch. 17 is the chief element), and the interesting ch. 99 concerning the ferry boat, edited from Middle Kingdom, New Kingdom and late texts, with translations. GRAPOW, *Religiöse Urkunden*, Heft III, in STEINDORFF's *Urkunden des ägyptischen Alterthums*.

(d) *Demotic*. Marriage contract of the later type (110 B.C.) from Hermonthis, with juridical note by PARTSCH, SPIEGELBERG, *Zeits. f. ägypt. Spr.*, LIV, 93. Duplicate contracts in the British Museum, 270 B.C., with a choachyte for the burial of a child; duplicate contract in the same collection for a loan of silver in the reign of the Theban king Harmachis; Berlin ostraca of 1st century A.D. concerning the *λογεία* of Isis; a fragmentary proscynema from Philae; a new fragment of the large Parthenios stele from Coptos; a British Museum bilingual mummy label with an interesting name Thutorkhes; another dated in 256 A.D. in the reign of the "Publii" emperors (Valerian and Gallienus). *Id., ib.*, 111.

Bilingual ostrakon, no. 46, in photograph and two others, 7 and 23, with demotic names copied and translated by SPIEGELBERG in P. M. MEYER, *Griechische Texte aus Ägypten*.

(e) *Meroitic*. Note on the panel from Meroe [published by Griffith in *Journal*, IV, 21]. SAYCE, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXIX, 183.

#### HISTORY.

REISNER is contributing to the *Sudan Notes and Records* a very instructive sketch of the history of the Sudan. The first section (vol. I, p. 3) treats of the periods before Dyn. XII, the second (p. 57) deals with the conquest by Dyn. XII and goes onward to the Hyksos period, the destruction of the Kerma fort at the Third Cataract marking the end of the first Egyptian occupation of the Sudan. The third (p. 217) deals with the Hyksos period and the New Kingdom. REISNER points out that the first province organised in the Empire of the New Kingdom was that of Wawat or Lower Nubia, in the reign of Amosis I. This section contains an estimate of the revenue derived from Kush and Wawat by Tuthmosis III and a valuable list of the viceroys under the Empire.

SETHE upholds his view that the words according to which Nefermaat was son of king Senefru by his eldest daughter Nefertkau are to be taken literally, *Zeits. f. ägypt. Spr.*, LIV, 54.

MORET discusses the evidence regarding the administration of Egypt under Dyn. VI to be gathered from the inscription of Kara, nomarch of Edfu. On the strength of this he would interpret the tombstone records of generosity of the nomarchs as referring, not to any private generosity, but to their praiseworthy employment of public funds called *perdet*, *Comptes Rendus*, 1918, 105.

REISNER proves beyond dispute by the inscriptions of two statues found in the great tumulus of Kerma at the Third Cataract that it was the burial place of Hepzefa, long known as the proprietor of the largest and most magnificent of the Siût tombs and nomarch of the Lycopolite nome, but now revealed to us as governor of the south. In this light he reexamines the Siût tomb with its decoration and inscriptions and re-translates the long text of the ten contracts made with the Siût priests and officials for the service of his *ka*. He considers that there is evidence not only that the tomb was left unfinished, but also that considerable alteration took place in the plan of the decorations and inscriptions when Hepzefa received his appointment in Nubia. *Journal*, v, 79.

WEILL supplements his study of the period between Dyn. XII and Dyn. XVIII by a full catalogue of the known kings and their monuments grouped according to the results of his researches, a table being prefixed to show the succession or parallelism of the eleven groups which he has formed. Weill attaches little importance to the order observed in the Turin Papyrus and other traditional documents, and bases his system mainly on the forms of the prenomen and personal names. For more than half of the period dealt with he shows two contemporary dynasties and for a brief space three, and he adheres to the "short chronology" of MEYER. *Journal Asiatique*, XI sér., t. ix, 193.

GUNN and GARDINER re-translate all the texts relating to the expulsion of the Hyksos, with critical discussion of their historical value and import, *Journal* v, 36; also the inscriptions of Sethos I in the temple of Wâdy Abbâd (Redesiye) on the road from Edfu to the goldmines, *op. cit.*, IV, 241, with photograph of the temple.

DARESSY, describing the mummy of Menephtah and the history of his reign, throws serious doubt on the theory that he was Pharaoh of the Exodus; this event would rather have taken place in Dyn. XVIII. *Bull. Inst. Ég.*, v sér., XI, 39.

DARESSY describes the statue of a Mnevis bull in the Cairo Museum from Heliopolis naming the chancellor Bay and with mutilated cartouches of a king, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 75. On monuments naming Semtutefnakhti of Heracleopolis, governor of the south, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 29 [cf. *Demotic Papyri in the John Rylands Library*, vol. III, pp. 71—75]. On an inscription published in SHARPE's *Egyptian Inscriptions* from Athribis, naming king Teos, *op. cit.*, XVII, 42.

The fifth volume of GAUTHIER's *Livre des Rois d'Égypte* contains the names and titles of the Roman Emperors down to the latest of those found in hieroglyphic (Decius), including Greek demotic and Latin examples in abundance. It will be especially useful as bringing together the Egyptian and Graeco-Roman sources. The volume is complete in itself with indexes, and apparently the end of the whole of this voluminous and most useful undertaking has now been reached. [The unidentified name at the end of vol. v is evidently Nero, but apparently the example named, if genuine, was not included in HILTON PRICE's *Catalogue* nor in the catalogue of his sale.]

#### GEOGRAPHY.

On the precise situation of the old town of Takinash, in Arabic Diqnâsh, DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVIII, 26.

M. DARESSY has also published elsewhere many important remarks on the geographical names belonging to Middle and Lower Egypt, see above pp. 289—90.

GARDINER discusses in detail the residences and temples named after Ramesses II and III, in connexion with the site of the Biblical store-city of Raamses and the Lower Egyptian capital of the Ramesside kings, *Journal*, v, 127, continuing with a chronological series of references to or descriptions of the great royal residence of the Ramesside kings in the Delta, translated from papyri and the monuments, beginning with the eighth year of Ramesses II. *op. cit.*, 179.

The city-name usually read Gesem or Qesem, and equated with the Biblical Goshen, should in reality be read Shesmet. It seems to have belonged originally to the mining region of Sinai and was transferred to the capital of the Arabian nome owing to its connexion with the god Sopl, with whom Shesmet was associated in Sinai. GARDINER, *Journal* v, 218.


Dr W. F. HUME gives a brief history of the city of Pelusium and its neighbourhood. As the key of Egypt it was usually the first goal of the invader. In 1118 it was burned by Baldwin I, king of Jerusalem, and it is mentioned in the crusading annals down to 1169, after which, though it still appeared on maps, it seems to have passed out of existence and is not referred to in the invasion of 1515, which gave the Turks possession of Egypt. *Cairo Scientific Journal*, ix, 54.

NAVILLE has found the deities Chnumu and Hathor of Herwer named on the columns of the Ramesside temple of Antinoë, and would place the ancient Herwer at that site. *Journal*, iv, 233.

#### FOREIGN RELATIONS.

Dr G. ELLIOT SMITH puts forth the theory that the use of incense and libations in worship must have originated in Egypt, where it was due to the attempt to preserve in its entirety the living body—its form, scent and suppleness—after death and to re-endow it with vitality; and that from this curious beginning, first pointed out by Dr BLACKMAN, it developed in Egypt and was widely spread abroad, especially in China. *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, iv, 191—262.

*Europe.* Professor Naville suggests that the Greeks derived the name Aegyptus for the river Nile and the country from an Egyptian word *agb.t* meaning 'river' or 'flooded land.' *Journal*, iv, 228.

Character written on XVIII Dyn. jar interpreted as a compound of Greek-like letters, as on tiles of Tell el-Yahudiyyeh, WAINWRIGHT, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 97. [Is it not merely a rather unusual form of the hieratic sign for ? See MÖLLER, *Hieratische Palaeographie*, I, no. 33.]

ROUSSEL, *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III au I<sup>er</sup> Siècle avant J.C.*, an account of the exploration of the temples on the island with cults of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis and Harpocrates, is reviewed by H. I. BELL, *Journal*, v, 143, and by S. R[EINACH], *Revue Archéologique*, v sér., t. v, 361.

NASH endeavours to trace the origin of the mediaeval representations of the Weighing of the Soul to the Egyptian Psychostasia. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, xl, 19.

*Mesopotamia, Syria, Semites.* Miss MURRAY reviews the second volume of Paton's *Egyptian Records of Travel in Western Asia*, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 173.

NAVILLE suggests that Mizraim as the Semitic name of Egypt means 'the two enclosures,' one of which is named in texts of the Old Kingdom; and that the Egyptian name of Cyprus is to be read Amasi and connected with Amathūs. *Journal*, iv, 230.

SCHEIL read a paper on a new batch of cuneiform tablets of the Tell el-Amarna series recently acquired by the Louvre; it contains correspondence of Amenophis III and IV with the governors of towns in Palestine and Syria. *Comptes Rendus*, 1918, 104.

MEISSNER describes the relations of Egypt with the kingdom of Khatti from the evidence of Hittite documents, written in Babylonian and Hittite cuneiform, from El-Amarna (KNUDTZON, no. 41) and Boghaz Keui. *Zeits. d. deutschen Morgenl. Ges.*, lxxii, 32.

DARESSY publishes a fragment of a statue in the Cairo Museum from Aswân, apparently of late period, with a non-Egyptian inscription, *Ann. du Serv.*, xvii, 81. The writing on this is identified by Père RONZEVALLE as Aramaic and discussed with another from the same source previously published by LIDZBARSKI. Incidentally RONZEVALLE promises a criticism of Dr GARDINER's theory of the Semitic alphabet and the Sinai inscriptions. *loc. cit.*, 265.

Discussion of the Biblical *manna*, PILTER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XXXIX, 155, 187.

DARESSY suggests that *Rmn* whence *ash*-trees were obtained was not Lebanon but Hermil in the Orontes valley at the north end of Lebanon, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 25. RONZEVILLE criticises this, *op. cit.*, 261.

HOLLINGWORTH finds traces of revolt in Syria in the Egyptian records of Amenophis III and suggests that the Amarna tablets which refer to invasion and revolt belong to the early years of Amenophis III (who reconquered the country with the diplomatic aid of his minister Amenophis son of Paapis) rather than to the reign of Akhenaton. *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 100.

H. M. WIENER examines the Egyptian and Biblical evidence for the date of the Exodus, associating the defeat of the Israelites by the Amorite in Deut. i, 43 et seqq. with the record of their enfeeblement in the stele of Menepthah. *Bibliotheca Sacra*, 1916, 154.

*From the Garden of Eden to the Crossing of the Jordan*, by Sir Wm WILCOCKS, is a pamphlet full of fresh observations and inferences. Our great authority on Mesopotamian irrigation has formed on the spot, in Egypt as well as on the Tigris and Euphrates, a very clear view of an historic basis for the early Mosaic tradition. With the late Mr Cope-Whitehouse he places Avaris at Hawara, at the entrance of the Fayûm, and there are doubtless other identifications which a scholar cannot admit; but the scholar cannot fail to profit from reading this suggestive essay. The last chapters, on the Plagues (rationalising the miraculous account in the Bible), the Passage of the Red Sea (located in Lake Serbonis as by Brugsch), and through the Wilderness and the Crossing of the Jordan, are reprinted (with corrections and additions) from the *Bulletin* of the Institut Égyptien, vol. XI, 69, 341.

Ahmed Bey KAMAL continues his comparative study of Egyptian and Arabic, in regard to the nomenclature of dress etc., *Bull. Inst. Égypt.*, v sér., XI, 93; and replies to DARESSY's criticism of his method, *op. cit.*, 325.

#### PHILOLOGY.

Note by NAVILLE on Maspero's *Introduction à l'étude de la phonétique Égyptienne*. Unfortunately only the first two chapters and a fragment of the third exist, in which the alphabetic signs are divided into consonants proper, vowels, and sonants. No trace even of the plan for the continuation of the work is to be found, *Comptes Rendus*, 1918, 167.

A treatise of over 100 pages on the Nominal sentence in Egyptian of all periods including demotic and Coptic, a precise classification with numberless examples. SETHE, *Der Nominalsatz im Ägyptischen und Koptischen* (*Abh. Kön. Sächsischen Gesells.*, Bd. XXXIII, no. III).

In 1900 ERMAN explained the common verbal form *sdmḥ* as a participle with pronoun "hearing is he." In 1910 SETHE devoted a few sentences to explaining *sdmḥ* and other related forms on similar lines: thus *sdm-n-f hrw* "to him is heard the voice" = "he has heard the voice," although when the form was well established it came to be used in ways at variance with its origin. SETHE now devotes a special article to the subject in its different branches, showing that the origins of all the suffix conjugations are analogous to these, *Zeits. f. ägypt. Spr.*, LIV, 98. *Imḥt*, the name of the female ibex, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 136.

An adverb *ny* "thereby" in very ancient texts, GARDINER, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 5.

Forms and uses of the possessive article at different periods, SPIEGELBERG, *Zeits. f. ägypt. Spr.*, LIV, 104; the demotic group for the name of the Hermonthite goddess Raḥtani,

*ib.* 127; the name *Τητονχωνσις* containing the element *dnì* "portion," *op. cit.*, 128; Coptic equivalents of demotic *he.t* "quarry," *op. cit.*, 131, and *tpy* "head," *op. cit.*, 133, and Egyptian equivalent of Coptic *ǵôrem*, "wink," *op. cit.*, 135.

GUNN has made the interesting observation that the "scribes of the house of life," so often mentioned in the demotic texts, reappear in the Coptic version of Genesis as the "magicians" who were called in to interpret Pharaoh's dreams, *Journal*, IV, 252.

LEXA has autographed a long series of demotic word-groups (with examples and explanations) which were misunderstood by REVILLOUT in his translation of the Insinger Papyrus. LEXA thus gives some of the main results of his labours on the papyrus at a time when the publication of an entire memoir is impossible. *Beiträge zum demotischen Wörterbuche aus den Papyrus Insinger* (Prag, 1916).

*Nubian.* Professor SCHÄFER of the Berlin Museum has published a substantial memoir containing 230 pages of modern Nubian texts with translations and notes. In the introduction he sketches the work of his predecessors in recording the dialects and manners of the people of Nubia (beginning with CARREDORI's vocabulary of 1650), and explains how he made his own collections. The latter consist of sentences, narratives, discussions and letters written by a remarkably intelligent native who has adopted Christianity and in the course of a varied life has enjoyed the advantages of a European training for mission work. In spite of all this SAMUEL, like the rest of his travelled countrymen (whose foreign experiences however are generally confined to Egypt), is devoted to his native sands and palms and is enthusiastic for his mother-tongue. Before 1902, while in the German Protestant mission at Aswân, he translated St Mark's Gospel into Nubian, writing it in Arabic characters, and from 1908 onwards has frequently aided SCHÄFER and JUNKER in their linguistic studies in Nubia and in Berlin.

Exclusive of remnants of the language in the Nuba hills of Kordofan and Darfur, there are two main linguistic divisions of Nubian in the Nile valley. To one belong the Kunûzi in the north about the First Cataract and the Dongolawi in the south about Dongola; the Kunûzi and Dongolawi are separated from each other by the other division, the Mahâs, spoken in the central portion between Korosko and the Third Cataract. Every village area however has its own peculiarities of sound and speech. SAMUEL belongs to the village of Abûhôr, speaking a pure Kunûzi dialect, and knows no other. The sentences and narratives spoken by him were written out in his presence by SCHÄFER in European characters; they deal with household life, marriage, agriculture, boating, buying and selling, religion, sickness, death, etc. and have the double purpose of philological illustrations and of displaying the life and occupations, manners and customs of that northernmost group of Nubians whose home is now so rudely flooded and destroyed by the great Nile dam. The accomplished editor has addressed himself to his task with enthusiasm and has produced a work which places our knowledge of this somewhat neglected dialect on a much sounder footing than before. He promises to give us a grammar of Kunûzi in the near future. H. SCHÄFER, *Nubische Texte im Dialekte der Kunûzi (Mundart von Abûhôr)* *Abhandl. of Berlin Acad.*, 1917, no. 5.

MACMICHAEL writes on the Nubian elements in Darfur (Midôb and Birqed) with short vocabularies. He considers that they entered Darfur from the Dongola province. *Sudan Notes and Queries*, I, 30.

## RELIGION.

W. MAX MÜLLER of Philadelphia has written an interesting treatise on Egyptian mythology and religion, showing boldness of view and great learning in Egyptian and other texts. Full use is made of the pictorial representations of the deities, which in some cases represent the ideas of priests and people concerning the deities more fully than the texts. Numerous elaborate notes and a bibliography are appended, making it a useful work of reference. *The Mythology of All Races*, vol. XII, *Egyptian* by W. M. MÜLLER, *Indo-Chinese* by Sir J. G. SCOTT, K.C.I.E.

PETRIE studies the distribution on the map of Egypt of the principal centres of worship of individual deities or groups of gods, drawing conclusions as to the origin and early history of their cults. *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 109.

Mrs WILLIAMS describes and figures a number of divine images in wood, many having a cavity in the base to contain a small mummy or a papyrus. *New York Hist. Soc. Qu. Bulletin*, II (Oct. 1918), 75.

Figures of Thueris, goddess of childbirth: one, of lapis lazuli with gold headdress, contains in a gold tube inserted in the base some linen threads which presumably had been taken from the clothing of a woman about to become a mother; the other of wood with stomach in a separate piece, probably to hold an offering of similar character; a third example is referred to in which the breast is pierced, probably to emit milk from the interior. MÖLLER, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 138.

Memoir on the relief depicting birth-scenes on the temples, illustrated by photographs from Dêr el-Bahri, etc. WEINDLER, *Geburts- und Wochenbettsdarstellungen auf alt-ägyptischen Tempelreliefs* (Munich 1915).

Corrected lists of the forms of the sun at the different hours of the day, from the ceilings of Ptolemaic and Roman temples, and an allied series of representations on a Theban coffin of about Dyn. XXII, proving that they had an Egyptian and not a Hellenistic origin, DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 197. Gazelle representing Anukis on an ostrakon from Dêr el-Medineh, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, XVIII, 77.


Miss ECKENSTEIN studies the god Sopt and his worship in Sinai, suggesting a Semitic origin for his name and worship, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 103.

Worship of Chnumu of Elephantine in the Theban necropolis, SPIEGELBERG, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 64. Bronze statuette of anthropomorphic god with sheep's or goat's face, Ammon horns, and crown of Lower Egypt, probably Amūn, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 74. The name of the Hermonthis goddess Raḥtaui in demotic on Theban ostraca, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 127. A shrine of the "Two Brothers" at Oxyrhynchus not to be connected with the Dioscuri, the "Two Brothers" being Faiyumic crocodile gods, *Id.*, *ib.*, 140.

Statuette in black granite of a divinity with bull's head, named "Shu in Ha-Amen," from Tukh el-Malak. DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 45.

SETHE shows that the word translated "forgerons" by Brugsch and Maspero in the myth of Horns of Edfu really means "harpooners." *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 50; notes that GAUTHIER and JÉQUIER had pointed out before himself that the so-called Nile-figures, when wearing the plants of the north and south, represent respectively the lands of Upper and Lower Egypt and not the Niles, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 138.

On sacramental ideas and usages in Ancient Egypt:—illustrations, producing life, rebirth, purity and righteousness in the king and in the deceased by analogy with the

Heliopolitan Sungod, BLACKMAN, *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.*, XL, 57; purificatory ceremonies for crown-prince and king, ID., *op. cit.*, 86. On the practice of washing the dead, probably connected mythologically with the lustration of the Sun-god; rare figures of a peculiar vessel, shaped like the hieroglyph  with spout added, intended for the washing of the feet: and of stands for ablutions, ID., *Journal*, v, 117. Long article on "The House of the Morning (*pr dw3t*)" as the place of royal lustration and toilet chamber, in the palace, the temple and the tomb or place of embalming, ID., *op. cit.*, 148.

On the relationship of the Egyptian *ku* with the external soul and guardian spirit, G. VAN DER LEEUW, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 56. Suggestion, following up Dr BLACKMAN's recent article on the royal placenta, that the moon was the twin of the sun as the afterbirth was twin of the child; hence the name of the Moon-god Khons meaning "Placenta of the King," ID., *Journal*, v, 64.

SETHE discusses the Introduction to chapter xcix of the Book of the Dead, containing the interesting spell for bringing the ferry boat. GRAPOW's edition of the difficult text comprises a translation, but SETHE corrects GRAPOW's version in very important points and pretty certainly proves that the whole text is made up of four similar but independent spells which copyists in the Middle Kingdom linked together with slight modifications to improve the "fit," *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 1. Continuing, SETHE shows that when the hesitating ferryman objected that the deceased could not count his fingers, the latter proves his good education by counting them in ten sentences which rhyme in pairs. Rhyme had not previously been recognised in any form of Egyptian literature. The sentences play on the names of the successive numerals and refer in antique language to the treatment of the Eye of Horus by Thoth, ID., *op. cit.*, 16. SETHE also discusses the first sentence of the important chapter xvii, the original form of which he traces in some early texts (with a slight but highly significant variant not noted by GRAPOW), proving that it bore the meaning: "to me belonged all, whereas I was alone"—very different from that attributed to it by later scribes and interpreters, namely "I am Atum who was alone," *op. cit.*, 40. These articles of SETHE are of first-rate importance.

SPIEGELBERG transcribes and translates the text in mixed hieratic and demotic of a Vienna papyrus published by BERGMANN, showing that it is a liturgy for a woman named Artemis, of very late period. *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 86.

Inscribed and sculptured slab in Dr GAYER-ANDERSON's collection lent to the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, apparently dating from the early years of AKHENATON's heresy and connected with his jubilee. GRIFFITH, *Journal*, v, 61.

"Emperor"-worship in Egypt, by S. A. B. MERCER, in *Journal of the Soc. of Oriental Research* (Chicago 1917) is reviewed in *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 170.

Slabs from Koptos in the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, showing worship of Ptolemy I, are published by Miss MURRAY, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 167.

MORET writes on the lotus as a symbol of birth and re-birth, not only of Horus as the Sun-god, but also of other deities and of the dead; as a source also of fecundity and life; and points out striking analogies with the ideas of Buddhism. *Journ. Asiatique*, XI sér., t. ix, 499.

ERMAN points out a myth of the birth of Thoth from the head of the god Min and references to other strange births of deities; explains the title "Hand of God" given to priestly princesses along with "Wife of God" and "Adoratrix of God," with parallel titles



of goddesses; proves that Apis is entitled not "Renewal of the Life of Ptah" as has been commonly supposed, but "The Living, the Reporter (or Herald) of Ptah"; and shows that the doctrine of the heart that devises and the tongue that ordains and executes, as laid down in an ancient Memphite work, is found in the first book of Horapollon's Hieroglyphica (I. 21). *Beiträge zur ägyptischen Religion in Sitzungsberichte Berlin Akad.*, 1916, 1142.

#### SCIENCE, ETC.

Additions to Mr SPANTON's paper on Water Lilies of Ancient Egypt, by El. ARMITAGE, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 178.

Analysis of silky efflorescence on Greek terracotta statuettes from the Faiyûm, consisting chiefly of lime with indications of contact with fatty material, LUCAS, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 86.

First discovery of traces of iron-smelting near the already-known mines of limonite at Aswân. BOVIER-LAPIERRE, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 272.

DARESSY publishes three stones marked as weights and a reclining calf in bronze marked 5[*kiti*], and directs attention to the vagueness of Egyptian weights and measures, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 39.

TOURAEFF tells of a new mathematical papyrus of the Middle Kingdom in the Moscow Museum. The text consists of 36 short columns of writing comprising nineteen problems, some of which offer types of calculation not hitherto known; this is evidently a very valuable addition to the scanty material relating to Egyptian mathematics. He publishes from it a new geometrical problem for calculating the volume of a truncated pyramid, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 100.

A paper by the late Sir Armand RUFFER on rheumatic disease amongst the Ancient Egyptians (*Arthritis deformans* and *Spondylitis*). It appears that the Fourth Dynasty prince Nefermat, interred at Meidûm, was a martyr to the painful disease of arthritis, his spine being found completely ankylosed. Arthritis is traced from the early prehistoric population of Egypt and Nubia onwards to the Greek soldiers and people of Alexandria and the Christian monks of Aswân and the Menas monastery. It occurred even in the hottest and driest parts of Nubia, at Faras and Meroe. *Journal of Pathology and Bacteriology*, XXII (1918), p. 152.

An unfinished paper by the same authority on the use of natron and salt by the Ancient Egyptians discusses their use in connexion with mummies as purifying agents, their action on the dead body and the effect of the natron bath. *Cairo Scientific Journal*, IX, 34.

Skull remains from a cave in the Mokattam hills near Cairo appear not to be prehistoric, much less fossil. V. GIUFFRIDA-RUGGERI, *Cairo Scientific Journal*, IX, no. 100, p. 25.

#### LAW.

MORET retranslates the stele of the judgement of the deceased king Amosis I (published last year by Legrain), and makes the interesting suggestion that it belongs to the process recorded in the tomb of Mes, supplying the lost final stage in the record. The stele proves that the ecclesiastical tribunal in the presence of the deity was in use as early as Ramesses II. and that appeal could be made to it from the decision of the ordinary courts. M. MORET rejects LEGRAIN's view that the god signified his opinion by refusing

to be carried onward, and reverts to the old view that he did this by nodding his head. *Comptes Rendus*, 1917, 157.

Review of MORET's *L'administration locale sous l'ancien Empire* (*Comptes Rendus*, 1916) in *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 139.

#### ART AND ARCHAEOLOGY.

Dr BOESER has published two more parts, the ninth and tenth, of the great photographic description of the Leyden collection, continuing the series of coffins of the New Kingdom. The former number is reviewed by GRIFFITH in *Journal*, IV, 283. The tenth part contains the coffin of Zemont (var. Zemontefonkh), a priest of Ammon at Thebes, son of the priest Zekhons(efonkh). It may be attributed to Dyn. XXII or later, and is very elaborately decorated in good style with religious figures and inscriptions, the latter consisting mainly of prayers for the future existence of the deceased. (This fine coffin was elaborately figured by LEEMANS in the earlier publication of the Museum under the number M. 3, but his plates were very ill drawn.) *Beschreibung der aegyptischen Sammlung des Niederländischen Reichsmuseum der Alterthümer in Leyden*, IX, X.

The *Catalogue of Egyptian Antiquities* of the New York Historical Society, published in 1915, gives an idea of the importance of the collection owned by that society, which includes the fine though little known series of antiquities got together by Dr Abbott in Egypt towards the middle of the last century. Most of the catalogue consists of a reprint of Abbott's catalogue of 1854, but other smaller collections received at various dates are included, the chief of these being the Edwin Smith collection (1907), which amongst other rarities contains a medical papyrus of 22 pages, practically complete. Miss Caroline RANSOM (now Mrs Grant WILLIAMS), late of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, has undertaken to superintend the conservation and rearrangement of the Egyptian collections, and a *catalogue raisonné* is promised.

As a sample of the collection Mrs WILLIAMS figures a statuette of a royal scribe named Senu, of a very rare and interesting funerary type found occasionally in the New Kingdom, in which the deceased is represented grinding corn, N.Y. Historical Society, *Quarterly Bulletin*, I, 34. In a second paper she describes the collection of ushabtis, which is now definitely arranged for exhibition, and figures several specimens of exceptional interest and beauty, *op. cit.*, 91, and further publishes a selection from the bronze statuettes, viz. a "Soul of Pe," cow-headed Hathor, cat- and human-headed Bubastis, group of cat and kittens, throne of Harpocrates supported by lions with worshipper, and Harpocrates with case for amulet on ground in front; also a negro captive and a priest, *op. cit.*, II, 43.

The Metropolitan Museum has set aside a special room for the exhibition of objects illustrating the daily life of the Ancient Egyptians. So far as may be the objects are accompanied by drawings from the monuments showing them in actual use. A preliminary notice of this interesting exhibit is written by Mr A. M. L[ythgoe], *Metrop. Mus. Bulletin*, XIII, 283.

Mrs WILLIAMS has begun the description in detail of the important Egyptian collection in the Museum of Art at Cleveland, Ohio, with illustrations of jewellery, etc., *Journal*, V, 166.

J. Reid MOIR publishes three flint implements from Egypt given to the Ipswich Museum by SETON-KARR, pointing out certain peculiarities and suggesting that they combined the uses of a push-plane and a cutter or chopper, *Man*, 1918. no. 2.

NAVILLE supports the view of TORR and LORET that the so-called figures of boats on Egyptian prehistoric vases were representations of neolithic villages enclosed by palisades with posts surmounted by emblems, *Archives suisses d'anthropologie*, II, 77. S. REINACH after wavering is convinced by M. NAVILLE's examples and accepts this view, *Revue Archéologique*, v sér., t. v, 244.

BÉNÉDITE publishes and describes an ivory handle for a flint knife, belonging to Lord CARNARVON. On one face it has a pierced boss for suspension, and both faces are sculptured with animals in low relief, including an elephant upon two serpents, and a Barbary deer. The deer and its congeners are discussed at some length by BÉNÉDITE, who shows that the Barbary deer vanishes early from the Egyptian monuments, while the Mesopotamian fallow deer takes its place. The handle belongs to the earlier of the two groups of this class of monument and must be attributed to the Prehistoric period as distinct from that of the Narmer palette, etc. *Journal*, v, 1.

Miss CROMPTON publishes a prehistoric palette in the Manchester Museum, sculptured with a group of ostriches and a man who appears to be disguised by wearing an ostrich head for stalking them. *Journal*, v, 57.

Photographs of modern Egyptian and South American reed floats to illustrate references to such in the Pyramid Texts. The Egyptian examples are taken at Oxyrhynchus on the Bahr Yûsuf by Grenfell and Hunt. *Journal*, IV, 255.

MACKAY describes the different methods of figuring hair used in the Theban wall-paintings. Thick locks are sometimes represented by slabs of coloured paste laid on in relief. *Journal*, v, 113.

SPIEGELBERG collects examples of how the artist before the Middle Kingdom endeavoured to represent the signs of old age in relief and in statuary. *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 67.

On DAVIES' interpretation of the plan of a building drawn in a quarry (*Anc. Eg.*, 1917, p. 21), Somers CLARKE, *op. cit.*, 141.

MASPERO's hypothesis of a school of art at Tanis which at various periods produced monuments in the style of the so-called "Hyksos" sphinxes is combated by DARESSY, who points out that the early monuments at Tanis appear to come chiefly from Memphis, others from other cities in Upper and Lower Egypt. They were probably gathered from far and wide by Ramesses II to adorn the temple of his residence at Tanis. Apart from this, the absence of stone quarries in the N.E. Delta makes a local school of sculpture very unlikely. Moreover the strongest type of "Hyksos" sculpture has been found in the Fayûm and even as far south as El-Kâb. *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 164.

RICKETTS publishes the fine head of Amenemmes III in serpentine belonging to Mr Oscar RAPHAEL and formerly in Lord GRENFELL's collection. He draws attention to the remarkable series of independent portraits of the king at different ages which we now possess. *Journal*, IV, 211.

Inscribed statuette of Khons, bronze inlaid with gold. *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 120.

Alabaster figure of a dwarf bearing a vase, in the PIERPONT MORGAN collection recently presented. *Bulletin Metrop. Mus.*, XIII, 1.

Faience figure in relief for inlaying, representing a king of the Ptolemaic period, from the collection of the Earl of CARNARVON, RICKETTS, *Journal*, v, 77. Two exceptionally fine chalices of faience in the late Major MYERS' collection at Eton College: they were found at Taneh and are here attributed to Dyn. XVIII, *Id.*, *op. cit.*, 145.

Five selected drawings on ostraca collected at Thebes, with important remarks on this


class of objects as represented in published examples, including the Berlin series edited by SCHAFER. DAVIES, *Journal*, IV, 234.

Ostrakon of the Ramesside period with a free rendering of the well-known representation of the scribe Heye (Huy) in a tomb of the time of Ramesses IV. SPIEGELBERG, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 77.

With regard to the work by Luise KLEBS, *Die Reliefs des Alten Reiches*, which was noted in last year's Bibliography, I then knew of it only through a review but have since had an opportunity of seeing and studying it. It is a really valuable publication. The *catalogue raisonné* of known scenes from the Old Kingdom is very thorough and the interesting introduction contains many original observations. The authoress has had the advantage of Prof. RANKE's guidance in the matter of inscriptions.

Following on SPIEGELBERG's suggestions of the previous year that the *sâkîyeh* may have existed at the beginning of the New Kingdom, SCHAFER points to Deut. xi, 10 as evidence that some kind of machine worked by the foot was regularly used in Egypt in the 7th century, B.C. *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 140.

Prof. PETRIE has published the catalogue of a very important section of the Egyptian collection at University College. Tools and weapons have been a favourite subject with the author from his earliest years of exploration. The objects treated of here are those in metal and wood; flint and stone weapons are reserved for another volume. The catalogue is illustrated by 2000 drawings of tools and weapons from all countries and in many collections; it thus presents a view of the whole subject so far as it can affect Egypt. The text is very concise. A conclusion well brought out is that, so far as the evidence at present goes, the main Egyptian types in the several classes are found but little outside Egypt. Egypt and the surrounding countries had each its well-developed culture and style, and the patterns of tools in any one of them generally resisted the encroachment even of advantageous features possessed by those of neighbouring countries. This is a fact which may be usefully remembered in discussing the history of invention and the spread of civilisation. *Tools and Weapons*, by W. M. Flinders PETRIE.

A staff hooked at one end and forked at the other is now used in Egypt in gathering dates and also in supporting a burden slung on the back over the shoulder, and may be the origin of the *wîs*-sceptre . DARESSY, *Ann. du Serv.*, XVII, 183.

In *Studies in primitive looms*, H. Ling ROTH has some remarks on the vertical and horizontal looms of Ancient Egypt and their possible spread in Africa. *Anthropological Journal*, XLVIII, 140.

X-ray photographs of balls of thread from Lisht in the Metropolitan Museum, showing that they have been wound on potsherds. Miss CARTLAND, *Journal*, v, 139.

Hans BONNET has written a treatise on Egyptian dress down to the end of the New Kingdom, with multitudinous references and eight plates of diagrammatic drawings; the addition of figured examples taken directly from the monuments would have made it clearer and more interesting; *Die aegyptische Tracht bis zum Ende des Neuen Reiches* completing SETHE's *Untersuchungen*, Bd VII. BONNET shows how the *nmš* headdress of the king is derivable from the simpler *h'ht* headdress, each being formed of a napkin covering the top of the head and wrapping the hair round in a tail at the back; the *nmš* in addition has side flaps on the breast from the shoulders. Similar head coverings were worn by servants to protect the hair from dust, and these royal headdresses were put on as supports for wigs, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, LIV, 79.

PETRIE's *Scarabs and Cylinders with Names* is reviewed by HALL, *Journal*, v, 73, cf. *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 135. OFFORD writes on WEILL's theory that the typical scarabs of the Hyksos were manufactured in Palestine, *Pal. Expl. F. Quarterly Statement*, Oct. 1918, 175.

MILNE discusses the Alexandrian coins of the eighth year of Gallienus and the period during which Macrianus and Quietus were recognised as Emperors in Egypt, with illustrations of Alexandrian coins of the seven years preceding. In the eighth year there was a marked change for the better in the reverse types, *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 152.

#### PERSONAL.

Notices of the death of Mrs GRENFELL, of M. BARSANTI and of M. LEGRAIN are printed in *Journal*, iv, 280. M. DARESSY contributes an obituary notice of Alexandre BARSANTI describing his valuable work as engineer in the Museum, with portrait and a bibliography of reports and articles due to his pen. *Ann. du Serv.*, xvii, 245. Georges LEGRAIN is the subject of articles by A. MORET, *Revue Archéologique*, v sér., t. vi, 309 (reprinted from the *Journal des Débats*), and by PIOT-BEY, president of the Institut Égyptien, *Bull. Inst. Égypt.*, v sér., t. xi, 425.

Obituary notices of Mrs MCCLURE, who translated Maspero's great *Histoire de l'Orient Classique*, of Mr J. S. COTTON, and of O. VON LEMM, of the University of Petrograd, are printed in *Journal*, v, 140.

A printed slip attached to the *Bulletin* of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts for Oct. 1918 (vol. xvi, no. 97) gives the sad news of the death of Oric BATES, the enthusiastic student of Libya and excavator in Egypt. Born Dec. 5, 1883, he died of pneumonia on Oct. 8 at an artillery camp in Kentucky.

Obituary notice of Adolph ROST, the head of the firm of J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, which for many years past has held an important place in Egyptology through its public spirit in producing scientific work that could not be expected to pay its publishers. STEINDORFF, *Zeits. f. aegypt. Spr.*, liv, 142.

An interesting account of the life and works of G. MASPERO with portrait of him at an advanced age (throwing light also on the circumstances of his expulsion from the Lycée in 1867 on account of his uncompromising political attitude), by René CAGNAT, who succeeded him in the honourable post of Secrétaire Perpétuel of the Académie des Inscriptions. *Comptes Rendus*, 1917, 445.

DARESSY gives a brief account of the famous commission of scientific men who gathered the materials for the *Description de l'Égypte* in Napoleon's expedition, *Bulletin Inst. Égypt.*, v sér., t. xii, 13. Several articles in the same volume recall the important work accomplished by it, especially that of the engineer GIRAUD.

PETRIE publishes a 4-page document in the handwriting of Sir William Gell, part of which at least is dated 1 Jan. 1822, the date of Champollion's first definite decipherment, with readings of hieroglyphics on the Rosetta stone and various cartouches; also an undated page of notes. *Anc. Eg.*, 1917, 162.

## NOTES AND NEWS

IT becomes more and more clear that the rising in Egypt has been a serious affair, but time alone can show how far-reaching or permanent its effects will be. Whether or no damage has been done to the monuments is not yet known. Meanwhile, it is necessary for all those in Great Britain who realise that the care of the Egyptian antiquities is a matter affecting the national prestige to see that none of the political fluctuations of the moment be permitted to swamp or wreck archaeological interests and prospects, so far as these can be legislated for from the home-country. We do not regard it as more than a temporary set-back that the Lords of the Treasury have returned an adverse answer to the memorial of the Joint-Committee for the Archaeology of the Near East petitioning for the establishment of a British Institute in Cairo (see this *Journal*, pp. 216-7). The demand for such an Institute is based upon such irrefutable arguments and has received such unanimous support from the Press that we cannot but believe its foundation to be a mere matter of time. Indeed, the Treasury reply distinctly recognized the importance and necessity of an Institute of the kind, and merely pleaded the present financial embarrassments of the Government as an excuse for its refusal of financial support.

We have received the following:—

“To the Editor, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*.

“Dear Sir,—With reference to the most interesting article by Dr Gardiner on the name of Goshen in the recently-received number of the *Journal*, may I venture to point out that the late and probably conventional pronunciation and vocalisation of the word by the Massoretic scholars cannot for a moment stand against the Greek form of the Septuagint translators? The latter, themselves Jews of Alexandria, would presumably be familiar both with the district and its name. The Massorettes, working on a narrow tradition half a dozen or more centuries later and ignorant of Egypt or of Egyptian life, apparently accepted in this instance, as in other Old Testament names, a more or less conventional setting of the vowels, for which there was probably no real basis or authority. The aspirated sibilant (*shîn*) is entirely in the same category. It may well represent an original *s* (*sîn* or *sāmakh*) which has been modified in accordance with the Hebrew preference for the aspirated form. The Septuagint writers clearly differentiate the district of Goshen named in Joshua, when they transcribe the latter Γόσομ.

“I am only an amateur in Egyptology and must not commit myself to criticise Dr Gardiner's arguments in this respect. It is pertinent, however, to express dissent from his inference from Gen. xlv, 34, and the passages in Exodus that Goshen was not inhabited by Egyptians themselves. All that is implied in the negotiations for a settlement of the sons of Jacob is that the ‘shepherds’ are to be placed at a distance from the royal palace or capital. The narrative shows clearly that Egyptians were found amongst the Israelites.

“Believe me, yours sincerely, A. S. GEDEN. Harpenden, April 21st, 1919.”

Mr H. I. Bell sends us the following:

"Papyrologists will hear with great regret of the untimely death of Dr Gerhard Plaumann, who was killed at the Belgian front on 3rd October last. Dr Plaumann deservedly ranked among the best of the younger German papyrologists, and his death is a grievous loss to historical research. His first publication was a work, undertaken as a dissertation for Leipzig University, on Ptolemais (*Ptolemais in Oberägypten: Leipziger Historische Abhandlungen*, XVIII. 1910). Another independent volume was an edition of the Gradenwitz Papyri (*Griechische Papyri der Sammlung Gradenwitz*, 1914; *Sitzungsber. d. Heid.-Akad. d. Wiss.*); and in addition he had published several important articles in periodicals—among others a collation, with introduction, in collaboration with Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, of the Pierpont Morgan Iliad papyrus (*Iliaspapyrus P. Morgan; Sitzgsber. d. Kön. Preuss. Akad.* 1912, liii). It was specially to the dating clauses of Ptolemaic papyri and inscriptions that he devoted his attention. In *Klio* he published a series of articles under the title *Bemerkungen zu den ägypt. Eponymdatierungen aus ptol. Zeit*; in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* appeared another on *Die demotischen und die griechischen Eponymdatierungen* (Band 50, p. 19 ff.); and, most important of all, he contributed to Pauly-Wissowa under the heading *Hiereis* a section (v) on the priests in the eponymous cult of Hellenistic Egypt. Of particular value was his demonstration, from the wording of Demotic dating clauses, that the official cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies was Greek and not Egyptian. It was probably his interest in this subject which led him to take up the study of Demotic. He would undoubtedly have produced more work of the highest value; and his letters revealed a very attractive personality, modest, enthusiastic, and broad-minded. *χρηστὸν ὥρε εὐψύχει.*"

The Editor of the *Journal* has been fortunate enough to secure, for his own personal library, the Egyptological remains of G. A. Hoskins, who visited Egypt and the Sudân in 1833 and published a well-known book entitled "Travels in Ethiopia" in 1835. There are three volumes of water-colour drawings, mostly of temples, but with some copies of scenes in the Theban tombs and elsewhere. Hoskins was a rather indifferent artist, as the illustrations in his book (the originals are in the collection purchased) suffice to show. But archaeological records of that early date are never lacking in value, and this note is intended to advertise the fact that Hoskins' sketches are available to any student that may wish to consult them. There are some copies of the Theban tomb of Neferhotpe (no. 50), which preserve parts of valuable inscriptions which are now lost, and were copied neither by Hay nor by Dümichen: it is unhappily clear that the famous "Song of the Harper" was just as much destroyed in 1833 as it is to-day.

## NOTICE OF RECENT PUBLICATION

*Einführung in die Papyrskunde.* By WILHELM SCHUBART. Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1918. Pp. vii+508. 6 plates.

Dr Schubart deservedly stands in the front rank of German papyrologists, and the publication by him of a general introduction to papyrology is an event of importance. It might indeed at first be thought that Mitteis and Wilcken's *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyrskunde*, published in 1912, had rendered a further work on the subject unnecessary, and that the utmost required was a re-edition of Mitteis and Wilcken, with the modifications rendered necessary by the material published since the appearance of their volumes. A short examination of Schubart's book shows, however, that it is planned on quite different lines from theirs. For one thing he includes, and devotes much attention to, the literary papyri; but even as regards documents, whereas Mitteis and Wilcken dealt in the main with the *contents* of the papyri, their historical and legal significance, Schubart devotes special attention to what we may call the diplomatic of the subject: script, format, punctuation, decipherment and the like. The earlier work appeals in fact as much to the historian using only published texts as to the actual decipherer, whereas Schubart's is addressed more particularly to the would-be editor, to whom it will be quite invaluable as an introduction to the whole subject. The arrangement of the volume, which is different from that of Mitteis and Wilcken, is excellent for a work of the kind; in order to avoid cumbersome footnotes all references are relegated to the end of the respective sections, thus forming a sort of review in detail of the subjects previously treated in outline. Some of these reviews are perfect masterpieces of compression and a mine of information.

It goes without saying, to those who know Schubart's previous work, that he maintains a high standard in this volume. It reveals not only wide reading and an acute judgment but, what is perhaps even rarer, an exemplary caution, which is careful not to mistake the probable for the proved, and which makes allowance for considerations adverse to the theory favoured by the writer. There are of course points on which his conclusions may be challenged, and there are even, in the present reviewer's opinion, certain defects of plan; but these detract but little from the solid value of the work as a whole.

It will perhaps be well to sketch the plan and arrangement of the volume, noting in passing certain matters in which the author's views invite correction or allow of amplification.

As already said, Schubart includes in his purview both literary and non-literary papyri, and he lays stress (*e.g.* p. 9) on the importance of paying attention to the former as well as the latter. There is no doubt much to be said for this, particularly in a work intended, *inter alia*, for use in the training of editors; but Schubart seems, both in his theory and still more in his practice, to exaggerate the importance for papyrology of the literary texts. How useful they may be for our knowledge of the culture and educational conditions of Graeco-Roman Egypt he has himself shown in his admirable chapter (IV) entitled *Überblick über die literarischen Papyri*; but there is less to be said for his more detailed treatment of these papyri in chapters VI—X, and still less for the specimens of literary works included in the collections of material at the end of sections. These matters concern rather the student of Greek literature than the papyrologist as such; for whereas the non-literary papyri obviously belong to the sphere of papyrology, which is in its essence a branch of documentary history, the connexion of the literary fragments with the science is purely fortuitous, the survival of, for example, the *Athenaion Politeia* on papyrus rather than in a mediaeval vellum MS. being a mere accident of the MS. tradition. And similarly, whereas such specimens of the non-literary style as Schubart collects at the end of chap. XI are of the utmost importance for the student of papyri, most of the specimens of literary texts which he quotes have for the papyrologist *quâ* papyrologist no interest whatever. That the chapter devoted to literary papyri will often be found very useful may be admitted; but, with certain exceptions, like the whole of chap. IV, they might perhaps more profitably have been used for a separate work, leaving the space thus saved for a fuller discussion of documentary questions.



Before the chapters devoted to the literary papyri come three dealing with what I have called, in the widest sense of the term, the diplomatic of the subject. Though sometimes of a rather elementary kind, this sketch is always sensible and based on wide knowledge, and it will prove very valuable in the training of papyrologists. A few remarks may be made on single points. Thus, for the usual division of the script into three periods, Ptolemaic, Roman and Byzantine, Schubart substitutes a more elaborate classification in seven periods. There is something to be said for this, but it is not above criticism; e.g. it ignores the change in hand at about the end of the third century B.C. Less to be commended is his proposal (p. 22) to substitute the terms "calligraphic script" and "cursive" (or "script of ordinary use") for the division into literary and non-literary or uncial and cursive hands; for though, as he says, there are documents written in the "literary" uncial and literary works in cursive, yet the old distinction is on the whole a real one, and there are documentary hands quite distinct from the literary uncial which are yet in the truest sense calligraphic.

Schubart well brings out the as yet unsolved problem of the script seen in the earliest papyri, its primitive and rather clumsy appearance as compared with that seen but a very few years later in the documents and literary works written from about B.C. 285 onwards. He suggests no explanation, which is perhaps wise; but one may ask whether perhaps local peculiarities may be at the root of the mystery. The earlier settlers came from many parts of the Greek world, and it may be that the specimens of early script hitherto found represent schools of writing existing in certain of the obscurer cities of Greece or of Macedon rather than those of such literary centres as Athens. That after the first settlement a single type or a mixture of single types, presumably of better quality, would soon acquire supremacy seems likely enough. This suggests the question of local peculiarities in Egypt itself, which Schubart does not touch upon. Little or no research in this direction has so far been attempted, but the subject is a very interesting one and might prove very fruitful both for a study of the development of handwriting and for fixing the provenance of papyri in the absence of other evidence; most editors will doubtless have noticed how often the documents from a single locality tend, amid all individual variations, to show a certain affinity of style, difficult it may be to define but none the less sensible.

A few minor points in this part of the work may be briefly referred to. On p. 36 the statement that even in the western half of the Roman Empire the true supplanter of papyrus was not vellum but paper is a startling one; it would be interesting to know on what evidence it is based. Equally hard to accept is the assertion (p. 41) that parchment is not in reality more durable than papyrus. The bad preservation of parchment fragments from Egypt cannot be used in support of this view; for while parchment may have suffered even more than papyrus from burial in the sands of the desert it is quite impossible to admit that in ordinary use, as in a monastic library, a vellum codex would have no better chance of survival than one of papyrus. In the collection of material relating to parchment (p. 46) it would have been well to add a reference to the Avroman documents published in the *Journ. of Hell. Stud.* 1915. The section on punctuation and similar signs would have been improved by more emphasis on the chronological development. In connexion with the subject of illustrated papyrus books a reference might have been given to the picture found by Johnson at Antinoopolis (*Journ. Eg. Arch.* 1, p. 177)—a particularly charming specimen.

I have already referred to Schubart's chapters on the literary papyri, but a few notes on points of detail may be added here. In chap. V there are some characteristically sensible remarks on the use of papyrus texts of known works for critical purposes, which editors would do well to lay to heart. Reference should, however, have been made on p. 92 to the rather striking variants found in certain early Plato papyri. In the chapters devoted to new literary texts recovered from papyri Schubart admittedly does not aim at mentioning more than a selection of such texts, but there are one or two rather notable omissions. In the chapter devoted to the Roman and Byzantine period there might have been a reference to the distinctly interesting Dionysus epic in *P. Lond.* 273; and why is not the long London medical papyrus 137 published by Diels mentioned on p. 161, the Akhmim mathematical papyrus on p. 162, or the London Trypho papyrus in virtue at least of its length, among grammatical works?

The literary chapters are followed by an interesting one on the language of papyri, at the end of which is given a very useful collection of specimens of style. This selection might with advantage have been considerably enlarged; in particular the vulgar style is very inadequately represented by the one boy's letter given at the end. The caution on p. 187 against taking the errors of papyrus letters, etc., as representing the spoken speech, and the remark that they witness not to the *koiné* spoken by Greeks but to

that imperfectly acquired by non-Greeks are justified up to a point, but Schubart probably exaggerates; otherwise how are we to account for the occurrence of so many forms (like *έσε* for *σε*) and constructions which appear in later and modern Greek? Very good is the warning on p. 209 against seeking "juristische Feinheiten" in the painful laboriousness with which in Byzantine documents synonyms or allied words are piled one on another; jurists have not always allowed for what Schubart well calls "die Entwertung des Wortes" in the Byzantine period. In the specimen of style quoted on p. 221 from one of the letters of the Arab Governor Kurrāh b. Sharik Schubart renders πάνυ γὰρ ἡδέως ἔχομεν εἶναι τὸ ἔργον σου προκόπτειν by "wir sind sehr geneigt, dich zu fördern." This seems a very improbable sense. In the first place it is stretching the Greek considerably, in the second it leaves out of account the conclusion of the clause in the original, and in the third it is not very appropriate to the context. The rendering given of the whole clause in the note to the text in the London catalogue, "for we are very desirous that your work should be more energetic and trustworthy than it is," is surely far more likely. In a note appended to this text Schubart speaks of "die Ungewandtheit eines arabischen Sekretärs, der das Griechische nur gelernt hat"; but it is improbable in the extreme that these Greek letters were written by Arabs. We know that Greek notaries were employed in the Government service (see *P. Lond.* 1434, 301, 311; 1435, 56, where charges are levied for their maintenance); we know also that there were Christians, *i.e.* Greeks or Copts, in the immediate service of the Governor (*P. Lond.* 1375, 6—7); and finally we know that such high officials as the Augustal of Alexandria (*P. Lond.* 1392, 13) and the two *chartularii* at the head of the departments of finance for Upper and Lower Egypt respectively were Christians; is it conceivable that the Governor should have had to employ Arabs to write his Greek correspondence? If there really are Semitic idioms in these letters they must be due to translation from an Arabic original; but it is very doubtful whether the Greek letters were ever translations of the Arabic ones (see *P. Lond.* iv, *General Introduction*, p. xlii), and great caution should be used in assuming any unusual phrase to be due to immediate Arab influence.

The rest of the volume is devoted to a general account of the history, administrative system, economic development, law, state of culture, population, religion, trade, social life, etc. of Graeco-Roman Egypt. Here there is, of course, more agreement with Mitteis-Wilcken; but the arrangement is different, and Schubart is able to utilize material published since the preparation of his predecessors' work. His summary is admirably clear and compact, and his list of references will be of great value to all students in this field. If a general criticism may be allowed he rather neglects the Byzantine period, in common with so many papyrologists. Space does not allow of any detailed consideration of these later chapters, but some comments on single points follow.

I have spoken of Schubart's conciseness. An excellent example of this quality is his general summary of the political development of Egypt on pp. 274—275. On p. 331 ff. he has a very useful section on personal names; but it would have been improved by some mention of their local distribution. The time has perhaps hardly come yet for a classification of names by localities, but it is obvious from the papyri already published that particular groups of names are characteristic of particular districts. Schubart rightly calls attention (p. 331) to the importance of names as evidence for the spread of cults, but conversely they are often of importance as indicating the provenance of papyri (Schubart does indeed at a later point, p. 467, refer in passing to the utility of an investigation into local distribution). He has an interesting discussion of the Sarapis problem, in regard to which he rejects the theory that the cult was a deliberate attempt at a compromise between Egyptian and Greek religious ideas; he might in his bibliography have referred to Roussel's recent work on the Egyptian cults of Delos.

A curious omission from these chapters is that of any discussion of the army in Roman and Byzantine times. There is a good account of religious institutions for the Ptolemaic and Roman periods, but the Byzantine period is rather scamped. Thus it would have been interesting, after the account given of the method of administering the temple estates, to say something of the estates of Christian churches and monasteries. There is no general work on the papyrus material, but a good deal of information on the subject can easily be gathered from quite accessible texts. Again, the references to heathen art should have been followed by some allusion to the Christian terracottas and similar votive and ritual objects. A reference is given on p. 401 to C. M. Kaufmann's *Koroplastik*; but the same author's *Ikongraphie der Menas-Anpellen* (Cairo, 1910) and his *Berichte* on the excavations at the Menas shrine should also have been mentioned; the whole subject of the Menas cult is of special interest for the transfer of pagan ideas

and usages into a Christian setting. Kaufmann's *Ägyptische Terrakotten* (Cairo, 1913), which deals largely with pre-Christian work, is also useful, and has a large number of plates.

On p. 366 Schubart mentions that the invocation of the Trinity, etc., at the beginning of documents begins "erst später"; but it would have been better to indicate at what period this occurred. For in this case we can fix the date at which the usage was introduced with some exactitude, *viz.* between A.D. 590 and 593<sup>1</sup>; and some bad mistakes of dating might have been avoided if editors had always known this fact. Such small points of detail, used with caution, are often of great assistance in determining questions of date and provenance, and in a work which will doubtless be used by many beginners in the art of editing or using papyri attention should be called to them.

In speaking of the banks (p. 427) it would have been interesting to refer to *P. Cair. Masp.* ii, 67126, where two natives of Aphrodito, negotiating a loan from a banker of Constantinople, agree to repay the money to his branch establishment at Alexandria.

The volume concludes with a list (compiled by Frau Schubart) of known literary papyri, which, though susceptible of improvement in some points, will be extremely valuable, with indices, etc., and with some useful plates.

These criticisms and suggestions must not be allowed to convey the impression that Schubart's work is of other than fine quality. The points on which criticism is called for bear but a very small proportion to the vast mass of information which he has managed to compress into his by no means bulky volume. He deserves the warm thanks of all students in this field, and it is indeed an achievement to have produced such a work in the middle of the great war.

One further remark may be made in conclusion. Schubart frequently indicates points on which investigation is needed and likely to be fruitful. Is it too much to hope that some of this work may be done in this country? The few existing English papyrologists are fully occupied with the mere editing of texts; is there nobody ready to take up the work of research into a mass of material already so rich and opening up such immense possibilities?

H. I. BELL.

<sup>1</sup> The usage fluctuated slightly at first. Thus BGU. i 295 (A.D. 591) and Preisigke, S.-B. 4484, of the same year (wrongly dated by Pr. in 592) have the Christ invocation, but P. Paris 21 bis (A.D. 592), P. Lond. v 1898 (probably 592) lack it.

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